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VEDIC VARIANTS SERIES

Volume III, 1934

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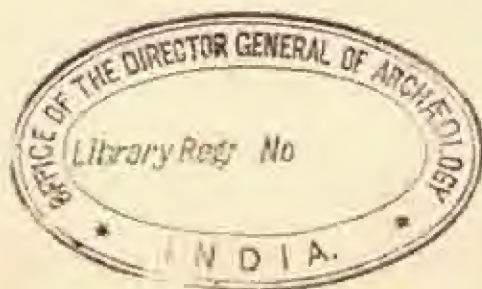
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VEDIC VARIANTS

BY  
MAURICE BLOOMFIELD  
FRANKLIN EDGERTON  
AND  
MURRAY BARNSON EMENEAU

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# VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated  
Mantras of the Veda

BY

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*Volume III*

NOUN AND PRONOUN  
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## PREFACE

This third volume of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* deals with the inflectional forms of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns. The general plan and purposes of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* series have been set forth in the preface to Volume 1, *The Verb* (1930). Volume 2, *Phonetics*, appeared in 1932.

Except for a preliminary and incomplete collection of materials, Bloomfield's relation to this volume does not go beyond the formulation of the original project. On the other hand, I have had the benefit of active assistance from my friend and pupil Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, who supplemented Bloomfield's lists of materials by extensive additions of his own collectanea, and prepared a preliminary draft of the entire book. I hope that it may be possible for him to continue this cooperation in future volumes of the series; this volume has benefited greatly by his industry and acumen. I have, however, worked over the entire book in the most intimate way, and the responsibility for its final form is wholly mine.

During correction of the proof, we received Hanns Oertel's valuable monograph, "*Zur Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṁhitā*" (*SBBAW.ph.-h.Abt.*, 1934, Heft 6). We felt able to make only the most important additions from its materials; these are indicated by references to "Oertel" followed by a page-number. They include all appropriate variants not previously noted by us.

The publication of this volume, as of its predecessors, has been made possible by the very generous financial aid of the *LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA* and of the *AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES*, to both of which we are deeply grateful.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.



## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The standard abbreviations used in this volume are the same as in its predecessors. VV = Vedic Variants; the numerals 1 and 2 after VV refer to the first and second volumes. Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Concordance. *RVR* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*.

The asterisk \* indicates a variant reading in one text when the mantra occurs in that same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute; that is, it calls attention to the occurrence of both forms of the variation in the same text.

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance.





## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

§1. This volume of the Vedic Variants deals with the inflection of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, and aims to include all variations in the inflected forms of such words in the repeated mantras of the Veda, except as indicated in §9. The material falls into two divisions, which we call formal variants, and syntactic and stylistic variants. Under formal variants we include all variations between what are intended as equivalent forms for the same case, number, and gender. Under syntactic and stylistic variants are included the rest, that is variations in case, number, and gender. The latter are, as was to be expected, much more numerous than the former.

#### FORMAL VARIANTS

§2. The formal variants constitute a kind of addendum to the third volume of Wackernagel's great grammar, which, we need scarcely say, has been constantly consulted by us and has been of infinite value. Students of that masterly work will find, we hope, that it is supplemented and at times corrected by this book.

§3. We begin with variation between the dual endings *ā* and *au* in all declensions (Ch. II). They are fairly numerous and interesting, but reveal nothing new in principle. Next (Ch. III) the variations between the feminine endings *ai* and *ās* in the dative and ablative-genitive singular, which put this important matter in a somewhat new light. Not only may *ai* forms be used as ablatives as well as genitives, but also *ās* forms as datives; the latter fact has, so far as we know, never before been specifically recognized.

§4. Coming now to formal variants in the *a* declension specifically (Ch. IV), we take up first the nom. pl. in *ās* or *āsas*, which is largely a matter of meter. The same is true of the more numerous variations in the neuter plural *ā* and *āni*, and of the relatively few interchanges of the instr. pl. in *aīs* and *ebhīs*. The abl. sg. endings *āt* and *(a)tas* interchange but rarely, and so far as we have noticed only in pronouns and pronominal adjectives. Still rarer, and somewhat dubious, are the interchanges of *ā* and *ayā* in the fem. instr. sg.

§5. The next chapter (V) is a long one, and takes up variant forms of the short and long *i* declensions. That there is much interplay between these declensions has long been recognized, but the extent and variety of these interchanges as here revealed is surprising and goes farther at a number of points than has been shown by any previous treatment. Next comes a much shorter but still fairly lengthy chapter (VI) on variations in the short and long *u* stems, also with interesting results.

§6. In the *r* declension we find little except variations between long and short *r* in the gen. pl., and one or two shifts of ablaut in the stem final. Such shifts of ablaut form the first part of the section dealing with consonantal stems. It is followed by a section dealing with the interplay of *vant*, *vāns*, (*e*)*as*, and *san* stems. Next a section on *a* stems; the principal variations here are in the neuter plural (*a* and *ā*, partly phonetic in character; very rarely *ā* or *a* and *āni*); oblique cases with and without intermediate ('euphonic') *a*; instrumentals in *nā* for *mnā* from *man* stems; and loc. sg. in *an* or *ani*, largely a matter of meter. This chapter (VII) is concluded with a few miscellaneous variants dealing with heteroclitic stems and the like.

§7. The short chapter (VIII) on diphthongal stems does not contain much of general interest. That on adjectives and numerals (IX) is also brief and not very important; it contains chiefly shifts between fem. adjectives in *ā* and *i*, and nominal and pronominal forms from pronominal adjectives.

§8. Our formal variants conclude with a chapter (X) on the forms of pronouns. Except a few sporadic and miscellaneous variants listed at the end, they all concern interchange between enclitic and orthotonic pronouns, acc., dat., and gen. sg. and pl. Meter is apt to be concerned in them, and in the case of the acc. sg. forms also certain phonetic aspects, which have already been referred to in VV 2.

#### SYNTACTIC AND STYLISTIC VARIANTS

§9. These are much more numerous than the formal variants. We have found shifts between every one of the eight cases and every other, as well as between each of the three numbers and genders and every other. In these sections we usually group nouns, adjectives, and pronouns together, without distinction, since it is obvious that as a rule the principles governing shift of case in noun forms are just the same as in adjective and in pronoun forms. The lists are in general as complete as we could make them by repeated and intensive search.



However, in the variations in number we have included complete lists of pronoun variants only when there is no change of person or stem. That is, we have tried to include all shifts between pronouns of e.g. the 1st sg. and 1st pl., and between 2d sg. and 2d pl., but not of 1st sg. and 2d pl. or vice versa. To have included the latter would have swollen the lists out of all proportion to the value of the additional materials for our present subject; in so far as they have a bearing on number, this bearing is sufficiently illustrated by the examples we have included.—In a few other cases, all specifically noted, we have given only examples, rather than complete lists, of formally similar variants occurring in the same passage.

§10. As was to be expected, there are great differences in the frequency of interchange between the various categories. Certain of the cases—such as vocative and locative—hardly ever exchange, while others—such as nominative and accusative—exchange very frequently. Case variations as a whole are much more numerous than those of number and gender, and number variations much more numerous than those of gender.

§11. Roughly speaking we may think of these variants as falling into two main categories. One group consists of those in which the variation has an immediate relation to the meaning of the two varying morphemes. Thus, first, we may find the substitution of one construction for another, where both are equally possible, without change of meaning, or with so little change that the meanings are essentially identical. For instance, after certain prepositions and certain verbs different oblique cases may be used without difference of meaning. Or a double dual may vary with a pair of singulars. Or a noun may vary in gender, and consequently its form, or the form of a modifying adjective or pronoun, may vary, without difference in meaning. Or the difference of meaning may be a very slight one, such that similar changes occur in considerable numbers in Vedic tradition, as is the case with instrumentals and datives like the following: the RV. *pāda saṁ taṁ siñcatu rādhasē* 'may he sprinkle it unto bounty' is changed in KS., in the like context, to *saṁ tat siñcatu rādhasā* 'may he sprinkle it with bounty,' which means virtually the same thing. There are very many cases of this sort among the interchanges of case, and they constitute one of the most interesting and important results of this volume. They show interplay between the various case forms to a hitherto unsuspected extent.

§12. There are all possible gradations between absolute equivalence and marked difference of meaning in connection with such shifts of



form. On the whole, we recognize it as our duty to seek for differences of meaning, however slight, when different morphemes are used. But the important lesson of our materials is not the differences between variant syntactical usages; these were pretty well understood before. It is rather the surprising extent to which they play into one another. Constructions which at first sight seem to have nothing to do with one another turn out to be practically interchangeable on an astonishing scale. Who would think *a priori* that there could be any relation between the instrumental, of either accompaniment or means, and the final dative? Yet we find a large number of cases like that quoted above, in which the two are virtually synonymous. And we shall find that this is no isolated instance.

§13. The second large group of these variants consists of those which have no real relation to the syntactic uses of the variant morphemes, but whose interest consists in the light they throw on the processes of Vedic tradition. They illumine the ways in which the whole stock of mantra material was reworked in the course of centuries, but do not illustrate points of Vedic grammar.

#### *Transfer of epithet*

§14. Probably the most widespread of the processes here referred to is that to which we have given the name of 'transfer of epithet.' A change in number, gender, or case, or in two or all three of these, may signalize the application of an epithet (whether noun, adjective, or pronoun) to a different person or thing in one text from that to which it applies in another. Thus, RV. 10.125.3cd reads *tām mā devā vy adadhuh purutrā, bhūriṣṭhātrām bhūry āveśayantīm*. In the repetition of this in the AV. 4.30.2cd, *āveśayantīm* is changed to *āveśayantaḥ*. The RV. original means 'the gods have established me (Vāc) variously in many places, me of many stations, bestowing abundantly.' The epithet *āveśayantīm* here agrees with the object, Vāc. In the AV. it is made to agree with the subject, the gods: 'introducing (installing) me abundantly,' or 'making me enter into many things.' By this alteration the AV. substitutes a nominative for an accusative, a plural for a singular, and a masculine for a feminine; yet obviously the change has no bearing on the syntax of case, number or gender. It interestingly illustrates the psychology of the Vedic traditionalists; whatever may have been precisely in the mind of the composer of the original form (this is a problem which may be left for exegetes of the passage), the AV. has a secondary *lectio facillior*, the meaning of which is simple

enough; evidently the AV. redactor stumbled over the recondite meaning of the passage in its Rigvedic form. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, 126.

§15. Only slightly different is a case like the following: *tasmai devā amṛtāḥ* (AV. *amṛtaḥ*) *sam vyayantām* (AV. °tu) AV. TS. MS. ApMB., 'let the gods provide for him nectar' or 'let the immortal gods provide for him' (objects supplied from the preceding line). Here one of the two variant forms, in this case we believe the original one (that of AV.), contains an independent noun, not strictly speaking an 'epithet' of any other word, which in the other version is 'transferred' as an epithet to the word *devā(h)*. The reverse of this, in which the older form of the variant presents an 'epithet' which is given independent construction in the secondary form, also occurs (an example is found in the next paragraph). Such variants as these are also included by us, with a slight stretching of the term, in the category of 'transfer of epithet.'

§16. Transfers of epithet are extremely common, and are found as between each of the three genders and numbers and almost every two of the eight cases. Often the variation involves more change than that of the word-ending alone; the variant forms may be really different words, as in *asmabhyam indav indrayuḥ* (SV. *indriyam*) RV. SV.; here the RV. *indrayuḥ* is an epithet of the subject of the verb (*pasava*); SV. changes it into *indriyam*, object of that verb. Since such variations really concern Vedic psychology rather than grammar and syntax, variants of this sort are included in our lists of 'transfer of epithet.'

#### *Form attraction or assimilation*

§17. The process described as 'transfer of epithet' involves in many, perhaps most, instances attraction in form (case, number, or gender) to another word in the context. We have, however, restricted the term 'form attraction' or 'assimilation' in a technical sense to a different group of variants. In them a word, without being made to refer to a different person or thing in such a way that the process can be described as 'transfer of epithet,' nevertheless suffers a change in form by attraction or assimilation to an adjacent word in the context. Such variants are fairly frequent as between different cases, and we then describe the process as 'case attraction.' They are much rarer as between different numbers and genders.

§18. The word exercising the attraction may be a name or epithet of the same person or thing to which the variant word refers, as in *yajñasya* (AV. *cittasya*) *mātā* (SMB. *mātaram*) *suhavā me* (AV. *no*) *astu*



AV. TB. SMB. (preceded in SMB. by *ākūtiḥ devīm manasā prapadye*): 'I do homage with my mind to the goddess Ākūti, the mother of the sacrifice, may she be easily invoked for us.' So SMB., construing the epithet 'mother of the sacrifice' with the accusatives of the preceding pāda, while the other texts make it agree with the subject in its own pāda; but both refer to the same personage.

§19. Furthermore, however, the word exercising the attraction may not refer to the same entity as the attracted word. In such cases the result is a real difference of meaning as well as of construction. In the following formula we have two such attractions, each in a different text: *haviṣā yajña* (TB. *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS. *°yatiḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. The original form was clearly that found in MS. KS.: '(They praised Indra,) his strength, with oblation, at the sacrifice.' In VS. *indriyam* is attracted to the case of *haviṣā*: '... with oblation, with powers.' In TB. *yajñe* is attracted to the case of *indriyam*: '(They praised Indra) with oblation, (praised) the sacrifice, (his) strength' (§473). Such changes as these are easy enough in the ritualistic language of the Vedic mantras, which are much more interested in impressive sound than in sense. They occur between most of the cases.

§20. Special attention may be called to a particular type of case attraction, in which one form of the variant contains a relative pronoun, most often in the nominative case (the defining or 'articulate' relative), as in *taṁ kṛavyādāṁ aśīṣamam* AV., *yah kṛavyāt taṁ aśīṣamam* Kaus., 'I have appeased the flesh-eater' (§396). Here, if we regard the AV. form as older (which however can scarcely be regarded as certain), the change is a sort of converse of case-attraction, the assimilated form being the older. But such instances can hardly be separated from the following, where the assimilated form, without the relative, is clearly secondary: *taṁ u śruhi yo antaḥ sindhau sūnuḥ satyasya yuvānam* AV.; *taṁ u śruhy antaḥsindhun sūnum satyasya yuvānam* AŚ., 'praise him who is within the waters, the son of truth, the youthful' (§394).

#### Phrase inflection

§21. The third type of variation which seems to us to illustrate the underlying psychology of Vedic tradition, rather than the grammar or syntax of the language, is that to which we have given the name of 'phrase inflection.' In it a phrase is lifted out of its original context and used in a different one, which requires a different form or construction for one or more of the words. Sometimes it is a single pāda which is borrowed and adapted to a new context, perhaps in the same



vicinity, as when AV. 4. 34. 6b. *kṣīreṇa pūrṇā udakena dadhṇā*, 'full of milk, water, and sour milk,' is repeated in the next stanza with *pūrṇā* for *pūrṇā(h)*. The stanzas are otherwise different; in the first the nom. case agrees with the nouns in the preceding pāda, *ghṛtahrādā madhukūlāḥ surodakāḥ*, while in the second the acc. agrees with the preceding acc. (*caturāḥ kumbhāś caturdhā dadāmi*). The same sort of adaptation to new contexts occurs much more often in passages which are not so closely associated.

§22. A somewhat different type of 'phrase inflection' is illustrated by the following: *āyusmatīdam* (ApMB. HG. *āyusmān idam*, MG. once *āyusmann idam*) *pori dhatva vāsaḥ* AV. SMB. ApMB. PG. HG. MG. (bis), 'O long-lived one (or, being long-lived) do thou put on this garment.' In some texts the epithet is masculine; here the Aryan boy at the initiation ceremony is addressed. In others it is feminine; these address the bride at the marriage rite. An entire stanza may be thus adapted to a new *material* context (as distinguished from the different *verbal* context concerned in the variant quoted above), and such 'phrase inflection' is a very fruitful source of variation in number and gender, while case variation is usually associated rather with the type of the preceding paragraph. Yet the two do not differ much in essence and it is impossible to draw a sharp line between them. They include a great many variants which the Vedic ritualists would call *āhas* or *vikāras*.

#### *Miscellaneous variants*

§23. It should finally be said that, among the variations in case particularly, there are not a few that are miscellaneous and unclassifiable. Generally they involve rather sweeping reconstructions of the variant passage, with substitutions of different words and other drastic changes. For the sake of completeness we have tried to include even these, and indeed many of them have considerable interest, and throw light on the mental operations of the ritualistic traditionalists, and at times on the exegesis of individual passages.

#### *Arrangement of the materials*

§24. In arranging the 'syntactic and stylistic' variants (as distinguished from the 'formal variants', §1) we have decided, after some hesitation, to follow strictly the classifications suggested by the forms themselves. We shall begin with the variants of each case with every other case, whatever their nature, and then follow with the variants

of the three numbers and the three genders. This involves separation of the variants of the types last described, cases of 'transfer of epithet', 'form attraction', 'phrase inflection', and miscellaneous, into thirty-odd possible divisions (not all showing actual examples), so that e.g. variants involving 'transfer of epithet' appear separately under variations of Vocative and Nominative, Vocative and Accusative, Vocative and Instrumental, and so on through the list. Of course, such variants may be said logically to belong together; for they illustrate the same aspect of Vedic literary psychology, and nothing else. In principle it makes no difference what case-forms, number-forms, or gender-forms are involved.

§25. Despite this objection, we feel that it was impossible for us to do otherwise than follow the lines of formal variation. For no rigid line can be drawn between the categories at certain points. Form attraction or assimilation often seems to have been a contributory influence in bringing about a syntactic shift, which nevertheless occurs elsewhere without any such contributory influence. Some types of 'phrase inflection' are closely similar to, and should certainly not be separated from, certain syntactic variations. For instance, the shift between a vocative of direct address, usually with a second-person verb, and a nominative of indirect statement, typically with a third-person verb, is a genuine syntactic variation. Yet it occurs also, and quite often, in cases where a formula is lifted from its original context and adapted to a new context, and where the change of case is precisely due to this fact, so that we have a genuine and typical case of 'phrase inflection' (see §329). By consulting our Table of Contents and the Index of Subjects it will be easy for any one interested to bring together all the instances of 'transfer of epithet' etc.

#### SUMMARY OF SYNTACTIC VARIATIONS

§26. We shall now proceed to summarize very briefly the contents of the syntactic chapters, and to indicate the most important results that bear on Vedic grammar and syntax. In this summary we shall ignore the variants dealing with 'transfer of epithet', 'form attraction', and 'phrase inflection'. We shall begin with brief accounts of the most important and interesting ways in which each of the eight cases varies with the others, and follow with corresponding statements on variations of number and gender.



*Vocative and other cases*

§27. Variations between the vocative and other cases usually signalize shift between direct address and indirect reference, as in *māte-vāsmā adite* (ŚG. °tiḥ) *śarma yacha* (ŚG. yaṁsat) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB., 'like a mother grant, O Aditi (Aditi shall grant) protection unto him' (§§322, 326). However, in variants with the nominative, the latter may be appositional to a 2d person subject, so that direct address is found in both forms. Thus, *ā tiḡṭha mītravardhanaḥ* (AV. °na) AV. KS. TB.† ApS.†, 'approach increasing friends' or 'approach, O increaser of friends!' (§§323, 334).

§28. Similarly also with other cases in variation with voc. Thus, a vocative of direct address may vary with an accusative of indirect reference: *rcā yāmi maruto brahmaṇaspatim* (SV. °te), *devān* (SV. devā) *avo vareṇyam* RV. SV. MS. KS., 'with a hymn I approach the Maruts, Brahmaṇaspati, the gods, for excellent aid' or 'I approach [you], O Maruts' etc. (§343). Or else both forms may contain direct address: *namasyāmas tvedyaḥ* (KS. °ya) *jātavedaḥ* RV. MS. KS. TB., 'we pay homage to thee, the worshipful one, O Jātavedas (to thee, O worshipful J.)' (§348).

§29. With the instrumental, where both forms have direct address, a second subject may be expressed by an associative instr. or by another voc., as in *mo ṣū ṇa indrātra* (TS.† indra) *pṛteu devaiḥ* (KS. devāḥ, TS. MS. deva) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., 'O Indra along with the gods (and ye gods, or O god!)' (§353). On the other hand the instrumentality thru which a result is expected may be indirectly referred to in the instr. or directly addressed in the voc.: *jagatyainam* (AŚ. °ty enam) *vikṣv ā vebayāmaḥ* (°mi, °nā) TS. MS. KS. AŚ., 'O jagat! (by means of the jagatī) may we (I) settle him in the tribes!' (§354).

§30. Likewise with the dative both these types are found: *agnaye* (AV. Kauś. agne) *samidham āhārṣam* (āhārṣam) AV. Kauś. AG. GG. SMB. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB., 'O Agni (for Agni) I have brought fire-wood, for the great Jātavedas'; *kṣayadevīra* (TS. °vīrāya) *sumnam asme te astu* RV. TS. (§§358-9).

§31. And with the genitive, the shift between direct address and indirect reference is found in *ghṛtavatī savitar* (MS. KS. °tur) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °tyaiḥ) TS. MS. KS. AŚ., 'in [thy] overlordship, O Savitar' or 'in Savitar's overlordship' (§363); while direct address is found in both variants in *brhaspatisutasya ta* (KS. om. ta) *indo* (KS. MS. inda) . . . TS. MS. KS., *brhaspatieutasya deva soma ta indor* (VSK. inda) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. (§365).



*Nominative and other cases*

§32. Perhaps the most characteristic way in which the nominative may vary with other cases in general is that in which one variant form has an independent statement, with subject nominative, which in the other form is compressed into syntactic dependence, as a rule on an adjoining sentence, the nominative being replaced by any other case. Thus, with the accusative: *nīrtiṃ tvāham pari veda viśvataḥ* VS. MS. ŚB., *nīrtir itī tvāham pari veda viśvataḥ (sarvataḥ)* AV. TS. KS., 'I know thee completely as Nīrti' (§393). Or the dependence may be created by the insertion of an active verb: *iyam veditḥ paro antaḥ pṛthivyāḥ* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ., *vedim āhuḥ param antam pṛthivyāḥ* TS. KSA., 'this altar is the extreme limit of the earth' or 'they declare the altar (to be) the extreme limit of the earth' (§392). And notably we find a group in which the independent nominative is put in a relative clause: *taṃ u śfuiḥ yo antaḥ sindhau* AV.: *taṃ u śfuiḥ antakṣindhum* AŚ., both meaning 'praise him who is within the waters' (§394).

§33. With the instrumental: *gavā te kṛiṇāni* TS. ApŚ.: *iyam gaus tayā te kṛiṇāni* MŚ., 'with a cow let me buy of thee' or 'here is a cow, with her' etc. (§418).

§34. With the dative: *tasmā etaṃ bharata tadvaśāya (tadvaśo dadāḥ)* RV. (both), 'bring this to him who desires it' or 'bring this to him, he desires it and is generous' (§425).

§35. With the ablative: *viṣṇo (viṣṇoḥ, viṣṇos) athānam aśi* (MS. MŚ. *athāmāsi*, KS. *athāmnaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (§433). In KS. connected syntactically with the following, *ita . . vīryam akṛiṇot*.

§36. With the genitive: *agnīṣomayor aham devayajyayā cakṣuṣmān (vṛtrahā) bhūyāsam* TS. ApŚ., *agnīṣomau vṛtrahanau tayor (vṛtrahanāv agnīṣomayor) aham devayajyayā vṛtrahā bhūyāsam* KS. MŚ. (§445).

§37. With the locative: *kṛte yonau* (KS. *kṛtō yonir*) *vapateha bījam (vījam)* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., 'in the prepared womb (the womb is prepared,) scatter here the seed' (§450).

§38. With the vocative (§338): *tiṣṭhā ratham (rathe) adhi taṃ (yath, TB. *yad*) vajrahasta* (TB. *\*taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. Instead of 'O vajra-handed!', TB. says 'since (thou art) vajra-handed.'

§39. Otherwise most of the interchanges between nominative and other cases either belong to general classes like 'transfer of epithet' or 'phrase inflection' (§§14-6, 21-2), or are matters of alternative syntactic expressions for what is essentially the same idea. Thus, the same thought may be expressed in an active or transitive form, with accusative of direct object or goal, or in an intransitive or passive form, with the

accusative changed to a nominative, as in (*om*) *agnīm tarpayāmi* BDh., 'I gratify Agni,' but *agnis trpyatu* ŚG., 'let Agni be gratified' (§373).

§40. Similarly, the instrumental of agent or means expresses that which performs an action, and so in intransitive or passive expressions may vary with another expression in which it is made the subject of an active verb, in the nominative, as in *ya im vakanta dāubhiḥ* RV., 'who travel by horses,' but *yadi vakantj āsavaḥ* SV., 'when horses carry [him]' (§408). And in the same way, with a verb denoting origin, the ablative of source with a passive expression is the equivalent of the subject nominative with the corresponding active, in *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā*. . . JB. AG. Kauś., 'from him thou wast produced,' *asmāt tvam adhi jāto* 'si VS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. Karmap., same sense, but *ayan vai tvām ajanayad*. . . ŚŚ., 'he verily has begotten thee' (§432).

§41. In a rather more intricate way, but fairly commonly, the dative of purpose varies with a nominative (usually then an epithet of the subject), as denoting something desired for or attributed to the subject. Thus, *pade-pade pāśinaḥ santi setavaḥ* (AV. °*ee*) RV. AV. KS. ApŚ., 'on every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond)' (§420).

§42. Other variations are related to specific aspects of the syntax of other cases and will be treated in dealing with them below.

#### *Accusative and other cases*

§43. The accusative may be used in forming adverbs, of such loose and general meaning that they may vary with corresponding forms of practically any other case. Thus even with the nominative, the nominative form being then of course an adjective, as in *subhūḥ mayambhūḥ prathamah* (AŚ. ŚŚ. °*mam*) VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ., where the word 'first' has essentially the same meaning and application whether it be in form an adjective agreeing with the subject (VS. ŚB.), or an adverb (AŚ. ŚŚ.); §404.

§44. The instrumental varies in such cases especially easily with the accusative, being used in quite the same adverbial way, as in *ghṛtācy asy upabhr̥ṇ nāmnā* (VSK. *nāma*) VS. VSK. ŚB. (and others, §471). Here both mean simply *nomine*, 'by name.'

§45. The final dative may also be substantially equivalent to an adverbial accusative, as in *taṁ* (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °*yi*) TS. MS. TA., 'may the gods aid me unto splendor (splendidly)' (§487).

§46. The locative is used as well as the accusative in forms that are



vaguely adverbial: *tena devā devatām agra* (VS. MS. KS. *agram*) *āyan* AV. VS. MS. KS.: *tapasā* (TS. *tapā*) *devā devatām agra āyan* TS. TB. TA. MahānU., 'by this (by tapas) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning (*agre* or *agram*)' (§530).

§47. The accusative of goal, which develops into, and cannot clearly be distinguished from, the purely syntactic accusative of 'direct object', is found varying in one way or another with every other oblique case. Naturally the psychology of the passages varies to some extent. Thus with the instrumental and accusative, the variation is specially apt to occur when the verb may be felt as connoting the idea of 'joining', which suggests the associative instrumental, as in *śunam kīnāśā abhi* (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS. *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaiḥ* (AV. TS. *vāhān*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., 'prosperously let the plowmen (plowman) go along with (after) the draft-animals' (§467). But these two cases also interchange where no notion of 'joining' is present, as in *pra śmaśru* (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvat ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV. *°dhā bhuvat*) RV. SV., 'shaking (with) his beard' (§469). Or the 'inner', 'cognate', or 'resultative' accusative varies with an instrumental of manner or means: *ghṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam* AV., *tam arkair abhy arcanti vatsam* TB., 'they sing with ghee a song (sing with songs) unto the young' (§465). And *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB. *haviṣā*) *jūhota* MS. TB. (and others, §466), 'offer (with) oblation to Indra here.'

§48. So the final dative or the dative of the interested party may vary with the accusative of goal; *kāmena mā* (TA. *me*) *kāma āgan* (TA. *āgāt*) AV. TA., 'by love love has come to (for?) me'; *sā paprathe pṛthivī pāṛthivāni* (KS. MŚ. *°vāya*) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ., 'this earth spread out unto the earthly (regions)' or 'so as to reach the earthly (region)' (§§478-9). Many other cases will be found below under accusative and dative variants, but in perhaps the majority of them the psychological difference is greater between the two variant forms.

§49. With the ablative we find strict equivalence only after prepositions (*ā* 'until' with acc. = abl., §494). But with verbs of separation the two things separated (one acc., the other abl.) may change places, as in *iyaṁ duruktāt* (PG. *°taṁ*) *paribādhamānā* ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG., 'this (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or 'warding off slander (from its wearer)' (§493).

§50. With the genitive, equivalence to the accusative shows itself chiefly after certain verbs which may govern both cases, and after nouns with verbal force. Thus, verbs of eating and drinking show objects in either case, as also in the locative: *papuh sarasvatyā nadyāḥ*



(MŚ. \**tyāṃ nadyām*, KŚ. ApŚ. \**īm nadīm*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ., 'they drank (of, or in) the Sarasvatī river' (§§501, 544).

§51. Verbs of offering take acc., gen., or instr. of the thing offered: *tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota* (TB. ApŚ. *juhomi*) VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ., *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV., *tasmā indrāya havirā* (TB. *havir ā*) *juhota* MS. TB. (§502).

§52. Verbs of ruling, of knowing, and of robbing, see §§503-5.

§53. Nouns with verbal force: *mām anuśratā bhava* HG., *agner* (AV. *patyur*) *anuśratā bhūtā* AV. TS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApMB. (§506).

§54. As to the locative, its use as virtual equivalent of the accusative of goal is very familiar; a striking instance is *yasya vratam* (*vrate*) *paśavo yanti sarve*, *yasya vratam* (*vrate*) *upatiṣṭhanta āpaḥ*, §§523, 526, 'into whose control go all cattle, under whose control enter the waters.' Here a minority of texts, and different ones in the two cases, substitute a loc. *vrate* for the acc. *vratam*, altho motion is surely implied both times. There are, however, many cases of such variants where the loc. may be interpreted as denoting position, in contrast with an acc. of motion; see our detailed discussion below, §§523 ff. We shall also find there that verbs of placing, *dhā* and its group, govern acc. and loc. interchangeably, altho often one may plausibly argue some psychological difference in the variant usages (§§533 ff.). With various prepositions, too, the two cases are at times nearly or quite equivalent (§§539 ff.).

#### *Instrumental and other cases*

§55. An important general class of variants between instrumental and other cases concerns the associative instrumental, which may theoretically vary with any other case in this way, that in one form two parallel nouns are put in the same case (any case whatever), while in the other form one of them is replaced by an associative instrumental. That is, 'A. and B.' is the equivalent of 'A. along with B.' Such variants actually occur with voc., nom., and acc. Thus, with the vocative, *mo ṣū na indrātra* (TS.† *indra*) *prteu devaiḥ* (KS. *devāḥ*, TS. MS. *deva*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Originally, 'O Indra along with the gods!'; in KS. at least, 'O Indra (and) ye gods!' (§353).

§56. With the nominative, *yavā* (MS. *yavair*) *na barhīr bhrurī kesarāṇi* VS. MS. KS. TB., 'the hairs on his eyebrow are like barley and sacred straw (like sacred straw together with barley)' (§412).

§57. With the accusative, *rūpair apinśad* (TB.\* *rūpāni pinśan*) *bhuvanāni viśad* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. (both N., 'he shaped all beings along with forms', or 'shaping forms (and) all beings' (§459).

§58. The associative instrumental is by its nature related to the meaning of bahuvrīhi compounds, so that in theory we may expect an associative instr., either of a karmadhāraya compound or a separate uncompounded word, to vary with a bahuvrīhi compound agreeing with the noun with which the instr. is connected, in any case whatever. We actually find such variants with nom. and acc. only, so far as noted. Thus, nom., *tripād ārdhva ud ait puruṣaḥ* RV. ArS. VS. TA., *tribhiḥ padbhir dyām arohat* AV., 'with three quarters (Puruṣa) went aloft (mounted the heaven)' (§413). Acc., *rākām aham suhṛdām* (AV. °*ed*) *suṣṭuḥi hure* RV. AV. etc., 'I call on Rākā of (with) good call, with fair praise' (§470).

§59. Verbs of joining, and their antonyms denoting severance or separation, show a curious blend of constructions involving the associative Instrumental in interchange with accusative, dative, ablative, and locative. Even the genitive also becomes involved if we add nominal expressions equivalent to verbs of joining; and dat. and loc. vary with each other (§645). Details will be set forth under the various rubrics; here we shall content ourselves with a group of variants which illustrate the several types:

*aṅgāny ātman (aṅgaṁ ātmānam) bhijaṣā tad aśvinā*, 'the physician Aśvins joined his limbs upon his body (self)' or 'his body with his limbs.' See §462.

*saṁ mā rjāmy adbhīr (apa) oṣadhībhiḥ*, perhaps 'I unite myself with (unto?) waters, with plants.' See §460. Acc. and instr.

*tvasṭā rūpeṇa samanaktu yajñam: tvasṭā rūpēṇi samonaktu yajñaiḥ*, 'let Tvasṭar unite sacrifice with form (forms with sacrifices).' Here the acc. and instr. interchange doubly, the result being substantial equivalence. (§461.)

*sasambhṛtā (°te) tvā saṁ bharāmi*, 'I unite thee with (unto) good union.' Dat. and instr.; §560.

*saṁveśane tanvaś (°vā) cārur edhi*, 'in joining of (with) thy body.' Gen. and instr., with a nominal expression. The dat. is also used; §§455, 560, 578.

*saṁ devānām sumatyā (sumatau) yajñīyānām*, '(bring us) together with (to, in) the favor of the sacrificial gods.' Loc. and instr.; §605.

—The following curious case may also be noted here:

*saṁjagmāno (°nā, °nau) diśā (diva ā) pṛthivyā (°vyāḥ)*, 'uniting with heaven and earth' or 'uniting from heaven and earth.' Abl. and instr.; §576.

§60. The above contain verbs of joining; verbs of separation are



more restricted, and with them the most characteristic constructions are the abl. of separation or the associative instr. (by analogy with verbs of joining):

*tebhīr na adya (tebhyo na indrah) saritota viṣṇuḥ (tebhyo asmān varuṇaḥ soma indrah)*, sc. *vī muñcantu*, 'may . . . free us from these (fetters of Varuṇa)' or the like; §573.

§61. But note also the following, where two accs. vary with an acc. and an instr. (for abl.):

*vī kuṁdraṁ jarāyuṇā (vī garbhaṁ ca jarāyu ca)*, sc. *bhīnaṁmi*, 'I separate the child from the afterbirth (the embryo and the afterbirth)' (§459).

§62. An instr. still felt, apparently, as associative, tho without clear expressions of joining, varies without marked difference of meaning with the acc., dat. and loc.:

*pra rādhasā (rādhāṁsā) codayāte (°yate) mahitvunā*, 'let him promote us with favor (unto favors), with might' (§469).

*vaiśvānaro na ūtaye (ūtyā) [ā pra yātu parāvataḥ]*, 'let V. come . . . unto (with) aid' (§558).

*me dakṣe (svair dakṣair) dakṣapiteha śīda*, 'be seated here in (with) thine own powers' (§603).

§63. The instrumental of means may vary with any other oblique case. The means whereby an end is obtained may also be regarded as its source or cause, and so be expressed by the ablative, or, with nominal forms, by the subjective genitive. With expressions of gratification it may exchange with the objective genitive. It may be felt as the occasion, the sphere within which the action takes place, and so be put in the locative. And finally, with nouns meaning 'something in the nature of a boon or desirable object or quality' (§556), it very often interchanges with a final dative, as expressing the result rather than the means. There is in this last interchange a slight shift in psychology, but from the point of view of Vedic thought it is very slight, as may be seen from such an example as the following, which is typical of many: *pra na rāyā pariṇasā* (SV. *rāye paṇīyase*), followed by *raśi rājāya paṇthām*, RV. SV. KB., 'break forth a path for us by riches and plenty (unto wonderful riches), unto strength.' Here the RV. original has a dative in the near-synonym *rājāya*, which has doubtless caused SV.'s alteration to the dative *rāye*. But we shall see (§558) many cases where no such assimilatory influence is found.

§64. With the ablative of source or cause: *yās te viśas tapasaḥ* (TB. °sā) *sambabhūnuḥ* AV. TB., 'what clans have sprung up from (by) thy

tapas.<sup>1</sup>—*bhuras tvam indra brahmanā* (MS. \*yo) *mahān* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ., 'become thou great, O Indra, by (thru, as a result of) our holy words' (§§569, 571).

§65. With the genitive the instr. of means exchanges in various ways. After expressions of gratification an objective genitive varies with it in *juṣṭam deवेbhir* (AV. *devānām*) *uta mānuṣebhiḥ* (AV. *mānuṣāṇām*) RV. AV., 'accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men' (§579). The subjective genitive may be its equivalent with nominal (participial or quasi-participial) forms, as in *āpo devīḥ prathamajāḥ ṛtena* (AV. *ṛtasya*) RV. AV., 'the divine waters, first-produced by (first-born of) the ṛta' (§580). And with verbs of offering, the partitive gen. (as well as the acc., §466) may vary with the instr., as in *tasmā indrāya haviṣā juhota* MS., *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV., 'to Indra here make offering with oblation (make offering of the soma)' (§582).

§66. And finally the locative, as expressing the occasion or sphere of activity, may vary with an instr. which seems often, tho not always, to be felt as expressing the means, as in *maruṭām prasave* (VS. ŚB. \**vena*) *jaya* (TS. *jayata*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ., 'in (upon, by) the impulse of the Maruts conquer' (§§593, 601).

§67. The instrumental lends itself easily to use in adverbial formations of many sorts. No sharp distinction can be made between such forms which contain temporal or local force (instr. of time and place), and others which are more vaguely adverbial, denoting manner or attendant circumstance of various kinds. We saw in §44 that the instr. and acc. interchange in this latter way. Some variants of instr. and dative come pretty close to this, as *kāmena* (TS. MS. *kāmdya*) *tvā prati* (TS. om. *prati*) *grhṇāmi* AV. TS. MS. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ., 'I receive thee with (unto) affection', i.e. 'affectionately', which is about all that is meant by both forms (§558). Worth mentioning is the following, in which instr., dat., and loc. all are used, with little difference of real meaning: *apām uta praśastiḡu* (RV. †*praśastaye*, AV. VSK. \**tibhiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (§§558, 601, 690), 'unto (by, in) praising of the waters [O horses (gods), are (be) ye strong]'. An instance of instr. and loc. would be *sa rāye sa purandhyām* (SV. \**dhyā*) RV. SV. AV. JB., preceded by *sa ghā no yoga ā bhuvāt*: 'may he stand by us in our work, unto riches, in (with) liberality' (§603). The last word means virtually *liberaliter*; note the parallel dative *rāye*.

§68. In adverbial or quasi-adverbial forms denoting time the instr. varies with abl., gen., and loc. Thus, *yad ahnā* (and *rātriyā*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA. MahānU., *yad ahnāt* (and *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA.



(on the latter forms see §575);—*madhu naktam ulogaśaḥ* (KS. °śā, TS. TA. °śi) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. Kauś. Here it seems fairly certain (see §584) that all three forms mean 'at dawn'; the only question is whether *uśaśaḥ*, which varies with both instr. and loc., is gen. sg. (as we think probable) or acc. pl.

§69. In similar forms with local meaning the instr. varies with abl. and loc.: *ayam paścād* (MS. *paścā*) *vidadvasuḥ* MS. KS. (§575).—*adhi kṣamī viśurūpaṁ yad asti* (MS.† *asta*) RV. AV. MS. TB., *adhi kṣamā viśvarūpaṁ yad asya* ArŚ.; both *kṣamā* and *kṣamī* 'on the earth' (§598).

#### *Dative and other cases*

§70. The dative of purpose often denotes something attributed to, or desired for, some other entity in the context, and may vary with a form which has the construction natural for that entity. Thus the variant form may be nominative, in apposition with the subject, as in *pade-pade pākināḥ santi setavaḥ* (AV. °ve) RV. AV. KS. ApŚ., 'on every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond)' (§420). Quite similarly the accusative, as in *mahyam sūro abharaj jyotiṣe kam* AV. 'to me the sun brought (it) in order to light,' *mahyam jyotir abharat sūryas taḥ* KS., 'to me the sun brought that (as) light' (§486). Of almost the same nature is the following variant in which, after a verb of ruling, the 'object' required is genitive instead of accusative, so that we find gen. and dat. varying: *kṣayantam rādhaso* (TS. °se, KS. *śavase*) *mahaḥ* (TS. KS. *mahe*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., 'ruling over (unto) great bounty (strength)' (§628). Elsewhere the genitive form of the variant is dependent on another dative of purpose, with which the dative form is parallel: *rāye* (ApŚ. *rāyo*) *agne mahe tvā [dānāya samidhīmahi]* SV. ApŚ., 'we kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches)' (§629). With the instrumental, also, the dative of purpose often varies, but here the psychology is rather different; the same thing (regularly a boon or desired quality) is felt alternately as means or as desired result: *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya* (LŚ. °yena) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Valit. LŚ., 'Sarasvatī pressed (the soma) for (by) strength' (§558).

§71. The loose use of the dative of indirect object or of the interested party, the 'to' or 'for' case, makes it possible to use it in variation with almost any other oblique case after various verbs and verbal nouns. Thus after verbs of motion acc. and dat. are used to express the goal (cf. §§478 ff.): *kāmena mā* (TA. *me*) *kāma āgan* (āgāt) AV. TA., 'by love love has come to me.' The loc. is also used in the same sense and

frequently interchanges with the acc. (§§523 ff.); with the dative it is not in common interchange in this meaning; perhaps the clearest case is the following with a verbal noun: *devebhyo* (ApŚ. *deveṣu*) *havyarḥanaḥ* RV. ApŚ., 'bearing the oblation to the gods' (§646).

§72. With verbs of giving and placing, especially *dā* and *dhā*, the loc. and dat. are in specially close relations, on which see §§639 ff. and VV 2 §101. The simple *dā* is not used with the loc. of the person; otherwise the constructions of *dā* and *dhā* are or may be identical. Even this exception disappears with some compounds of *dā*, as in *taṁ devebhyah paridadāmi* ApŚ., *taṁ deveṣu paridadāmi* *videṣi* AŚ, MŚ, 'I give him over to the gods.' Moreover the acc. comes into contact with both dat. and loc. in connexion with such roots as *dhā*, which may govern either acc. of person and loc. of thing ('set...in') or dat. (loc.) of person and acc. of thing ('establish...for, give...to'), as in *svargam me lokam yajamānāya dhekī* Vait., *svarge loka yajamānam hi dhekī* (and *dhekī mām*) TB. ApŚ. (§482). And with noun compounds containing *dā* or *dhā*, an adnominal genitive may vary with a dative dependent on the verbal force still felt in the root: *devebhyo* (VS. *devānām*) *bhagadā* (TS. °*dhā*) *asat* VS. TS. MS. KS.†, 'be he a giver of portions to the gods' (§619).

§73. Verbs of saying, offering, and various others are construed interchangeably with dat. and loc.: *devebhyo* (*deveṣu*) *mā sukr̥tam* (*naḥ sukr̥to*) *brūtāt* (etc.), 'declare me (us) virtuous to the gods' (§647).—*pr̥thivyām* (KŚ. °*vyā*) *amṛtam juhomi*...AŚ. KŚ. ApŚ., 'I offer nectar to the earth' (§650).

§74. Verbs of joining show especially the instrumental (§59) in variation with other cases. But as we saw that both dat. and loc. vary with instr., it is not surprising to find them varying with each other, as in *apriye prati muñca tat* (*muñcatam*) AV. Kauś., *dvīḍadbhyuḥ prati muñcāmi pāśam* (*pāpam*) SMB. BG. ApMB., '(I) fasten this (evil, bond) upon the enemy' (§645). And as the gen. was seen to vary with the instr. after nouns of joining (§59), so also with the dative: *samveśanas* (°*ne*) *tanuvai* (*tanve*, *tanvaś*, *tanvā*) *cārur edhī*, 'in joining of (with) thy body (uniting to thy body)' (§578). Here all three cases, instr., dat., and gen., interchange.

§75. With the ablative the relations of the dative are more specialized, indeed practically restricted to verbs meaning 'remove' or 'free.' With them the dative of the interested party easily interchanges with the ablative of separation, as in *sa sutrāmā svavān indro asme* (*asmā*), followed by *ārdc cid deṣaḥ sanutar yuyotu* (°*ta*), 'may Indra, well-



saving, . . . keep very far away from (for) us all hatred' (§612). The original form of this (RV.) has the dative, only the secondary AV. (and MS.) the very natural ablative.

§76. Even the gen. is found in exchange with the dative after verbs in a couple of cases, which to be sure strike us as rather anomalous; see §§632-4 below.

§77. With the genitive, however, the dative varies chiefly after nouns and adjectives rather than verbs. Among these one prominent group consists of adjectives meaning 'pleasant' and the like, with which the loc. is also almost equally frequent: *juṣṭo vāco* (vāce) *bhūyāsam* 'may I be pleasing to Speech' (§616); [*priyam mā kṛṇu* . . .] *uta śūdra utārye* (*śūdrāya cāryāya ca*), 'make me dear . . . to both Śūdra and Aryan' (§654).

#### *Ablative and other cases*

§78. The ablative as the 'whence' case expresses source, cause, or place from which, and in various ways may interchange with any other oblique case. Thus in expressions of origin it may vary with the instrumental of means or the locative of position, since the source of anything may be regarded either as the instrument which produces it, or as its original and typical location. So, *yās te viśas tapasaḥ* (TB. °sā) *sambadhūcuḥ* AV. TB., 'what clans have sprung up from (by) thy tapas' (§569).—*karkandhu jajñe madhu sārāgham mukhāt* (MS. *mukhe*) VS. MS. KS. TB., 'jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth' (§600). Also an adnominal genitive may replace the ablative in similar phrases: *tato mā yajñasyāśīr āgachatu* MS. KS. ApŚ., 'from it may blessing of sacrifice come to me'; *tasya māśīr asutu vardhatām* AŚ., 'may its blessing aid and increase me' (§656).

§79. Similar ablatives vary with instrumentals and locatives where no idea of origination is expressed, at least clearly: *bhūvas team indra brahmaṇā* (MS. °go) *mahān* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ., 'become thou great, O Indra, by (from, as a result of) our holy word' (§571).—*taḥ* (VS. ŚB. *pra*) *parvatasya vṛṣabhasya prṣṭhāt* (TS. KS. *prṣṭhe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., '(the ships proceed) from (upon) the back of the mountain bull' (§661).—*apām yo madhyato* (KS. *madhye*) *rāsaḥ* . . . KS. TB., 'the sap that comes from (is in) the middle of the waters' (§664).

§80. With expressions of separation, the ablative seems to us the natural case, but it may interchange with the instrumental (by analogy with the antonymic verbs of joining, §60), with the dative of the interested party, and with an adnominal genitive. So, *tebhīr no adya* (ApŚ. *tebhyo na indrah*) *savitota viṣṇuḥ* KŚ. ApŚ., *tebhyo asmān varuṇaḥ*

*soma indraḥ* Kauś., 'may...free (*vi muṣcantu* is the verb) us (today) from these (fetters)' (§573).—*sa sutrāmā svawān indro asme (asmat)*, followed by *ārāc cid dveṣaḥ sanutar yuyotu* ('ta), 'may Indra...keep very far away from (for) us all hatred' (§612).—*mā parā seci mat payaḥ* (*no dhanam, naḥ svam, me dhanam*), 'let not the sap from me (our, or my, wealth) be poured away' (§656).—Furthermore the accusative may vary with the ablative after such verbs, according as the entity in question is treated as the thing removed or that from which something else is removed: *īyaṁ duruktāt* (PG. °*taṁ*) *paribādhamānā* ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG., 'this (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or 'warding off slander (from its wearer)' (§493).

§81. Unusually lively are the relations of the ablative with other cases after prepositions and prepositional adverbs. Thus *ā* in the sense of 'until' governs either acc. or abl. (while in the sense of 'from' it governs only the abl., but may vary with an acc. in the other sense): *ūrjo* (intending *ūrdhvo*) *mā pāhy odṛcam* MŚ., *ūrdhvo mā pāhy odṛcaḥ* TS. (and others; *ā* + *udṛcam* or *udṛcaḥ* 'until the end of the sacrifice'), §494. And, with different meanings, *pari* with acc. interchanges with *pari* with abl. (l. c.).

§82. The prepositional adverbs *paras*, *avas*, *aradā* govern either instr. or abl. without difference of meaning (§574). The preposition *pari* in the sense of 'from' regularly governs only the abl., but one variant shows abl. varying with gen. dual (§657). In somewhat different senses, the prepositions *adhi* and *antar* govern either abl. or loc. (§665).

§83. Adverbial forms with abl. endings vary with instrumental and locative adverbs; sometimes we can still feel the force of the 'from' case in the abl. form, but sometimes not, the form having faded out to an indifferent adverb: *āre* (TS. *ārāt*) *te goghnam* (TS. °*na*) *ulā pūruṣagham* (TS. °*ne*) RV. TS. (§667). Here *ārāt*, like *āre*, can only mean 'far away', not 'from afar'.—*ayaṁ paścād* (MS. *paścā*) *vidadevasuḥ* MS. KS. (§575).

#### *Genitive and other cases*

§84. The partitive genitive may be used as the virtual equivalent of an appositional noun, which may then replace it in another form of the same passage, taking the case of the word on which the genitive depends. In theory, such partitive genitives might therefore vary with any other case. Actually we find them varying with vocative, nominative, accusative, and instrumental. So, *tvam uttamāsy oṣadhe* RV. VS., *uttamaḥ asy oṣadhīnām* AV., 'thou art most excellent, O plant (most



excellent of plants)' (§367).—*subhūr* (*svayambhūr*) *asī* (*nāmāsi*) *śreṣṭho* *raśmīr* (*raśmīnām*)..., '...the best ray (best of rays)' (§439).—*imam* *mā* *hinsīr* *ekaśapham* (also, *dvipādām*) *paśum* (TS. KS. *paśūnām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., 'this whole-hoofed (two-footed) animal (one of animals)' (§515).—*vasantēna* (*grīṣmeṇa*, etc.) *tvartunā* (KSA. °*nām*) *haviṣā* *dikṣayāmi* TS. KSA., 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc.) season (of the seasons), with oblation' (§581).

§85. In a somewhat similar way, a descriptive or possessive genitive may vary with an appositional or adjectival form which agrees in case with the word on which the genitive depends in the other variant. When, as often happens, there seems to be reason for supposing that the genitive is more original, we may suppose that case-attraction has been at work. Indeed, this may sometimes be assumed even when the reverse is the case, that is when the assimilated form is historically older in the variant passage; for case assimilation is certainly a very old phenomenon, and may easily have been replaced in individual instances by a phrase containing a descriptive or possessive genitive. Such variants occur especially between genitive and nominative, accusative, and locative. So, *vṛṣāsy ūrmīh* TS. TB., *vṛṣormīr asī* MS. KS. MŚ., *vṛṣṇa ūrmīr asī* *rāṣṭradāh* VS. ŚB., 'thou art a bull-wave (a bull's wave)...' (§440).—*avyo* (SV. PB. *avyām*) *vāraṁ vi dhāvati* RV. SV. PB., 'he (soma) flows thru the sieve of wool (the woollen sieve)' (§509).—*asyā* (MG. *ṭasyām*) *nāryā gaṇīnyoh* (MG. °*nyām*) AV. MG., *asyām nāryām gaṇīnyām* RVKh. ApMB., 'in this woman's two canals (in this canal of the woman)' or 'in this woman, in her canal' (§672).

§86. With the dative of purpose, especially in infinitives, such assimilation may fairly be called regular; but here also dependent genitives may vary with the assimilated dative form. And we find the same variation with ablative infinitives. See Delbrück, *ATS*. §§54, 103, 232b, and our §§629, 659 below: *rāye* (ApŚ. *rāyo*) *agne mahē tvā* (*dānāya samidhīmahi*) SV. ApŚ., 'we kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches; note that this is the secondary reading).—*tat tvam bibhṛhi punar ā mad aitoh* (*ā mamaitoh*), '...until my return.' Here also the assimilated ablative *mad* is the original reading (TS., while the secondary AŚ. MŚ. have *mama*, gen.).

§87. The genitive is acutely described by Speyer (*VSS*. §62) as 'hauptsächlich der adnominale Casus.' A large number of its variations with other oblique cases (not nom. or voc.) have this trait in common, that the gen. is broadly adnominal, the other case (acc., instr., dat., abl., loc.) broadly adverbial. That is, the gen. is definitely dependent

on a noun (whether we classify it as objective, subjective, descriptive, possessive, or partitive makes little difference). The variant case is usually also dependent on the same noun, but is differently felt; it is governed by a verbal notion felt in the noun. So perhaps most clearly with the acc., as in *mām anuvratā bhava* 'be faithful to me', cf. *agner (patyur) anuvratā bhūtvā* 'being faithful to Agni (to her husband)' (§506). Or again in the acc. and gen. after nouns of agent in *tar*, as *datā vasū-nām (vasūni)* . . ., §507.

§88. With the instrumental, an adnominal gen. describable as objective varies with the associative instr. after nominal expressions of joining, and with an instr. of means after nominal (and apparently even verbal) expressions of gratification, while a subjective adnominal gen. may also vary with an instr. of means depending on a passive participle or its equivalent. So, *samvasānam* (SV. °no) *vivasvataḥ* (SV. °tā) RV. SV., 'fellow-dweller of (with) Vivasvat' (§578).—*juṣṭam devebhir uta mānuṣebhiḥ* (AV. *devānām uta mānuṣāṇām*) RV. AV., 'accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men' (§579).—*yan me (mayā) manasā vācā [. . . kṛtam]*, 'what (has been done) by me (on my part; as if 'my deed') with thought or speech' (§580).

§89. Rather varied also are such instances of adnominal gens. varying with dat.; we quote an example or two at random: *devebhyo* (VS. *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS. °dhā) *asat* VS. TS. MS. KS.†, 'be he a giver of portions to the gods' (objective gen.), §619.—(*eṣa ōya te madhu-mān indra somaḥ*,) *vṛṣā vṛṣṇe* (SV. °ṇaḥ) *pari pavitre akṣāḥ* RV. SV., 'this honeyed soma, the bull, has flowed thru the sieve for thee, the bull (thru thy, the bull's, sieve)' (possessive gen.), §621.

§90. With the ablative: *tato mā yajñasyāśīr āguchatu* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *taśya māśīr avatu vardhatām* AŚ., 'from it may blessing of sacrifice come to me' or 'may its blessing aid and increase me' (possessive gen.), §656.—*agnir etu prathamo devatābhyaḥ* SMB., *agnir aitu prathamo devatānām* AG. etc., 'let Agni go (come) first from among the gods (first of the gods)' (partitive gen.), §656.

§91. With the locative: *aśmākam* (TS. *aśmāsu*) *santv ākṣaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ., 'let blessings be ours (be in us)' (possessive gen.), §671.—*ahiḥ śayata upapṛk pythivyāḥ* (TB. °vṛām) RV. MS. TB. N., 'the dragon lies clinging to the earth' (objective gen.), §676.

§92. Special mention may be made of the gen. after adjectives meaning 'pleasing' and the like, which varies especially with the dat. (§77), but also with the instr. (§65); the loc. is likewise used (§77) but we have noted no case of its variation with the gen.



§93. In addition to its adnominal use, however, the gen. is also used with not a few verbs, and often varies with other cases, particularly the acc. Thus after verbs of eating and drinking the acc. and the (partitive) gen. (occasionally also the loc.) are found: *papuh sarasvatyā nadyāh* (MŚ. °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ. ApŚ. °*tīm nadīm*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ., 'they drank (of, or in) the Sarasvatī river' (§§501, 680). So after verbs of offering, the (partitive) gen. varies with the acc. and instr. (§§51, 65). Verbs of ruling and of intellectual activity also govern either gen. or acc. (§§503-4), and verbs of robbing either two accs. or acc. of the person and gen. of the thing (§505).

§94. With verbs of gratifying the gen. interchanges with the instr.: *tena ħtṛpyatam anḥahau* TB. ApŚ., *tasya ħtṛmpatam aḥāhahuhū svāhā* ŚŚ. (§579).

§95. The dat. and gen. vary after verbs only rarely, and probably as a result of the general tendency to confusion between these two cases (§614, and for examples after verbs §§632-4). On the variations of loc. and gen. after verbs, also sporadic, see §§680-2.

§96. In adverbs of time there is one variant, *madhu naktam uḥṣasaḥ* (°*sā*, °*si*), which appears to involve the gen. in relations with both instr. and loc. (§§68, 584), and in adverbs of place we find a gen. varying with the (apparent) loc. *dive-dive*, §678.

§97. As to the gen. after prepositions, we find it once replacing the regular abl. after *pari* (§657), and once varying with the loc. after *antar* (§677).

#### *Locative and other cases*

§98. The locative is commonly thought of as the 'where' case. Somewhat more scientifically it may perhaps be defined as denoting fundamentally the sphere within which, or that in relation to which, something exists or takes place. Its meaning is, in any event, broad enough to permit it to exchange on occasion, with little difference of meaning, with all the oblique cases, from accusative to genitive. To begin with the ablative, which expresses the source of anything, this may also be conceived as its original or typical location, and so be put in the locative: *karkandhu jajñe madhu sāraghaṁ mukhāt* (MS. *mukhe*) VS. MS. KS. TB., 'jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth' (§660). Or, *śivaṁ prajābhyo 'hinsantam (ahins°) pṛthivyāḥ sadhasṭhād* (TS. MS. KS. °*sthe*) *agnim (gnīm) . . . khandamaḥ (°mī)* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., 'we (I) dig forth from (in) the abode of earth Agni . . .' (§664).

§99. More familiarly the locative tends in the opposite direction; it

inclines to denote the final rather than the original location, and so varies with the accusative (or dative) of goal, often as we think (cf. §523), tho by no means always, with no difference of meaning, as in *yasya vrataṁ (vrate) paśavo yanti sarve*, 'into (not in!) whose control go all cattle' (§526). Or with dat., *mahyaṁ vittaḥ pavatām (°te) kāmē asmin* (AV. *kāmāyāsmāi*) RV. AV. TS. KS., 'the wind shall blow (blows) for me unto this desire' (§646).

§100. With neither 'final' nor 'original' tinge, but simply as denoting the general sphere, that in (any sort of) relation to which something exists or takes place, the locative varies with instrumental, dative, or genitive. The instr. may be one of means, manner, or accompaniment. So, *śam u yāḥ kumbha ābhṛtāḥ* and *śam yāḥ kumbhebhīḥ ābhṛtāḥ*, '...brought in a pot (with pots)' (§600).—*apām uta pratustiṣu (°taye, °tīdhīḥ)*, 'in (by, unto) praising of the waters [become ye strong, O gods (horses)]' (§601).—*rāyas poṣeṣa (poṣe) sam iṣā madema*, 'may we revel with (in) increase of riches, with food' (§603).—*we dakṣe (swair dakṣair) dakṣapiteha sīda*, 'be seated in (with, or by) thine own power(s)' (§603).

§101. With the dative, the locative in this sense interchanges in dependence on both noun and verb forms. Thus quite standardly with adjectives meaning 'pleasing' and the like (for other cases used with them, gen. and instr., cf. §§88, 65): *supṛito manuṣo viki* (SV, *vike*) RV. SV., or *priyaṁ mā brahmaṇi (°ne) kuru* 'make me beloved to (with, among) the brahman caste' (§654). And with various verbs, such as *hu* 'pour (in, upon)' or 'offer (to)', *prthivyaṁ* (KŚ. *°vyā*) *amṛtaṁ juhami* AŚ. KŚ. ApŚ., 'I pour nectar on (offer. . . to) the earth' (§650). Or *ci* 'pile, build': *saharākṣa (°kṣo) medhāya (medhā ā) ciyamānaḥ*, 'piled up at (for) the sacrifice' (§651).

§102. So with the genitive. The person or place at or near which something is located (loc.) may also be conceived as its possessor, or as that upon which its influence is exerted (objective gen.). Thus, *mayy āśtr astu mayi (mamaśtr astu mama) devahūtiḥ*, 'may prayer and divine invocation be in me (be mine)' (§671).—*nanāndari samrājñi bhava*, and *nanānduḥ samrājñy edhī*, 'be queen over (of, in relation to) thy sister-in-law' (§676).

§103. Rather more specifically, we find the locative interchanging with most of the other oblique cases after various verbs. Special attention should be directed to the rather complicated interchanges after verbs of placing, especially *dḥā*, where acc., dat., and loc. all appear. The relations of the dat. and loc. have been summarized above, §72. The regular constructions are acc. of person and loc. of thing ('set,



establish...in'), or dat. of person and acc. of thing ('establish...for, give...to'). So, *svargam me lokam yajamānāya dhehi* Vait., *svarge loke yajamānam hi dhehi* (and *dhehi mām*) TB. ApŚ., 'grant heaven's world to me the sacrificer' or 'set (me) the sacrificer in heaven's world' (§482). But two accusatives may also be used, a second acc. replacing the loc. of the remoter goal; so most clearly, perhaps, in the following where the verb *d-sic* 'pour' is equivalent to a verb of placing, *ā gharne (gharman) sīca paya usriyāyāḥ* 'pour the milk of the brindle-cow into the hot drink' (§535).

§104. We have seen above (§§59, 74) that the loc. varies with various other cases (instr., dat.) after verbs of joining; we may add here one case in which it varies with the acc. after *sam-dhā*, construed as a verb of joining: *aṅgāny ātman (aṅgair ātmānam) bhīṣajā tad āvīnā* (followed by *ātmānam aṅgair samādhat sarasvatī*), '...joined his limbs upon his person (his person with his limbs)' (§536).

§105. The use of the loc. after verbs in variation with other cases has perhaps been sufficiently illustrated under the other cases. Summarily we may recall its interchange with the gen. (and acc.) after verbs of eating and drinking (§93) and some others (§680-2); and with the dat. (§73) after various verbs. With the acc. it varies after a verb of beating, *āghnānāḥ pāṇinorasi* and *urāḥ paśaurāv āghnānāḥ*, 'beating upon their breasts with their hands' or 'beating their breasts and thighs (?)', §545. The person or thing spoken about (not to) is put in acc. or loc. with a verb of speaking, *pratiprasthātāḥ paśau* (MŚ. *paśum*) *sanivadisva* ApŚ. MŚ., '...speak about the victim with (the slaughterer)' (§543); this contrasts with the classical usage in which the person addressed may be put in acc. or loc. (as well as dat.) after verbs of speaking, doubtless an extension of the goal construction. This classical usage, however, is found with dat. and loc.: *devebhyo (deveṣu) mā sukṛtāḥ (naḥ sukṛto) brūdāt* (etc.), 'declare that I am (that we are) righteous to the gods' (§647).—After a verb of fighting an 'inner' acc. varies with a loc.: (*tvayā*) *vayaḥ saṁghātāḥ-saṁghātām (saṁghāte-saṁghāte; saṁghātāḥ, omitting the 2d form) jeṣma (jayema, saṁjayema)*, 'may we (by thee) conquer (in) every fight' (§546).

§106. In adverbial expressions of time, place, and manner the loc. seems to be used in interchange with practically all other oblique cases. So, with acc.: *tena devā devatām agra (agram) āyan, tapasā (tayā) devā devatām agra āyan*, 'by this (by tapas) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning' (§530).

§107. With instr. especially in place and time expressions, in our

opinion (cf. §594) without any essential difference of meaning: *maghāsu* (*aghāsu*, *maghābhīr*) *hanyante gāvah* (*gāvo gṛhyante*), 'in the (asterism) Maghās (Aghās) cows are slain (taken)', §596.—*madhu naktam utoṣaṣah* (*\*śā*, *\*śi*), see §584 (also gen.).—*adhi kṣami viśurūpahi* (*kṣamā viśvarūpahi*) *yad asti* (*asya*, *āsta*), 'on the earth...', §598.

§108. With abl., *āre* (*ārāt*) *te goghnam*... (§667); both 'far off'.

§109. With gen., see §96.—Dative variants have not been noted.

§110. After prepositions: with acc., after *adhi*, *acha*, *antarā* (§§539–42); with abl., after *adhi* and *antar* (but with difference of meaning, §665); with gen., after *antar* (§677).

§111. Finally, we have noted a very few cases where the loc. seems to be used in a way approaching the absolute construction, and varies with a regularly governed accusative. We might expect to find any other case varying with the quasi-absolute loc. just as well, but have not noted any others: *nābhā prthivyāḥ samidhāne agnau* (TS. *\*dhānam agnim*, MS. KS. *\*dhāno agnim*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (followed by *rāyaspoṣāya brhate havāmahe*), 'when Agni is enkindled at the navel of the earth, we call upon (him)...' or 'we call upon Agni enkindled...' (§548).

#### Number

§112. A large majority of the variations in number concern cases of what we call generalizing singular and plural. We have included under this head all cases in which singular and plural interchange without any clearly intended difference in meaning, as well as cases in which the singular is generic, while the plural seems to refer more particularly to various specific instances. No line can be drawn between the two classes. Thus in such a variant as *asmān rāya uta yajñāḥ* (KS.† *yajñah*) *sacantām* TS. KS. ApŚ., *yuyṁān rāya uta yajñā asācanta* MS., 'let wealth and sacrifice(s) attend us (wealth and sacrifices have attended you)', no one can say that the plural *yajñāḥ* really means anything different from the generic singular *yajñah*, 'sacrifice' in general (as an institution), and on the other hand one could not deny that the plural may have concentrated the attention more on the various specific acts of sacrifice. Such instances are very numerous: §§685 ff. Of essentially the same sort are the (also very common) variations between singular and plural pronouns, particularly of the first person (§§722 ff.), many of which refer either to the speaker alone or vaguely to him and his associates; but the use of a plural rather than a singular pronoun certainly does not prove that he is really including other persons than himself; as in *agne dakṣaiḥ punīhi nah* (TB. *mā*) RV. TB., 'O Agni,



protect us (me) with powers.' Here the chances are that RV. means 'me' as well as TB., but there is no way of proving it. Such variants belong psychologically with the variations in number of verb forms treated in VV 1 §§344 ff., and like them show in not a few cases more or less inconsistency with the context in one or both forms (§723). Thus *śradāthe śrad dhāpayeha naḥ* (TB. *mā*) RV. TB.; here the context in both forms contains a 1st plural verb, so that *mā* of TB. is mildly inconsistent with its context.

§113. In our chapter on gender (cf. §807) we shall see that the neuter singular is not infrequently used in forms which are indefinite or abstract or collective in force, and varies with more definite plural epithets of the same or different gender (§727). A good example is *kr̥ṣṭapacyāś* (TS. KS. °*yañ*) *ca me* 'kr̥ṣṭapacyāś (TS. KS. °*yañ*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. (preceded by *oṣadhayaś ca me vīrudhaś ca me*), '(plants) which ripen under cultivation and not under cultivation' or 'that which ripens' etc. To the same general category belongs the use of substantive pronouns in the neuter singular in variation with pronouns agreeing in number and gender with the predicate (§730), as in *tad* (VS. *tā*) *āpah sā* (VSK. *ta*) *prajāpatiḥ* VS. VSK. TA. MahānU., 'that is the waters, that Prajāpati.' Neuter singular adverbs also belong originally to the class of indefinite neuters, and vary either with adjectives or with plural adverbs which presumably must originally have been more definite in meaning (with some noun understood), as in *nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthau* Ppp. TS. KS., *nīcāir uccāiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV. Here *nīcād* and *nīcāir*, *uccā* and *uccāiḥ*, are synonymous. (§734.)

§114. When two or more nouns are used in correlation, we occasionally find adjectives variously put in the singular, then agreeing formally with only one (as a rule the nearest) of the series, or in the dual or plural, agreeing with the whole group. There is little real difference in the meaning, cf. §§735, 757; and the same kind of variation has been noted in verb forms, VV 1 §§353 ff. Thus, *candreṇa jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānāḥ* (°*nā*), *śukraṁ na jyotir amṛtaṁ dadhānā* (°*nāḥ*); here *dadhānā* agrees with Sarasvatī, the nearest subject, while *dadhānāḥ* includes her and the Aśvins. Or, *yasya dyaur urvī prthivī ca mahi* AV., *yena dyaur ugrā prthivī ca dṛḍhā* (TS. *dṛḍhe*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.; here the final adjective is singular, agreeing with *prthivī* alone, in all but TS., which makes it dual, including *dyaur*.

§115. An elliptic dual or plural may vary with a singular referring only to the first of the group. Both may be followed by a complementary singular referring to another member of the group, as in *mītraḥ*

(SV. *mitrās*) *pānty adruhaḥ* RV. SV. (preceded by *yam marutaḥ yam aryamā*). Here *mitrās* means Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, and *aryamā* is a complementary singular (§733). So also *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indro*) *udithaḥ sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB., where *indrā* can only be elliptic (= Indra and Sūrya), §747. In other cases an elliptic dual plus complementary singular may vary with a double dual, as in *dyāvā hotrāya prthivi* (°*ām*), §746; or such a double dual may vary with two singulars, whether the two form a *devatā-dvandva* compound as in *indrāsūrā janayan vīśvakarmā* TB. but *indrah sūrah prathamō vīśvakarmā* AŚ. (§749), or whether the two duals are separated by other words as in *viṣṇum agan varuṇam pūrvahūtīḥ* AV., *viṣṇū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau* (MS. °*ām*) VS. MS. etc. (§748). The normal Sanskrit *dvandva* compounds, of both types (dual and neuter singular), are likewise found; the former varies with equivalent double singulars, as in *mayi dakṣo mayi kratuh*, *mayi dakṣakratū* (§750); and the two types vary with each other, *kṣetripīḍasābhyām* (and °*pāsāya*) *svāhā* (§751).

§116. In the case of certain parts of the body, and also some other entities (§§752-3), it is possible to think of them either as dualities, with regard to their two component parts, or as singular units. So the nose is either singular or dual (referring to the two nostrils): *opānena nāsikā* (MS. °*kām*) VS. MS. With certain other parts of the body, as well as other entities, either dual or plural is possible, as in the case of the constellation Phalgunī, which is made up of two pairs of stars, and so may be either dual (referring to the two pairs) or plural (referring to the total of four stars): *phalgunir* (TS. °*nī*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. (§754-5).

§117. There remain many number variants which show more real and definite change of meaning in the different forms. By simple multiplication or division, a singular entity may be made dual or plural, or vice versa, as in *tasya te dattān yasya* (and *yayoh*) *prāṇo 'si svāhā*, *tasya te dadātu yeṣān prāṇo 'si svāhā*, *tasya te dadātu yasya prāṇo 'si svāhā*, all modulations in a single passage of TS. (§§740, 767-70). Such modulations may occur in repetitions of the same context, or in adaptations of old material to a new context, in which case they constitute what we call 'phrase inflection' (§§730, 764-6). They include many ritualistic ūhas and vikāras. There are also not a few instances of 'transfer of epithet' from one entity to another (§§737-8, 762-3), as in variations of case, and some instances in which, without proper 'transfer of epithet', we seem to note external assimilation of form which consists in change of number (§§741, 773-7). These are of the same sort as the corresponding variations in case, and call for no comment.



*Gender*

§118. Real change of gender in nouns is a well known phenomenon in Sanskrit, and is sufficiently illustrated by the variants. It may appear in different forms of the noun itself, that is in shift between endings characteristic of different genders, or in change of the gender of modifying adjectives or pronouns. Some of the variations in gender revealed by the variants have not been recorded previously. We shall not anticipate them here (see §§783-802), but may call attention to a fact which has not been clearly brought out before, that some of these shifts appear to be mere nonce-phenomena, and due to assimilation to words in the context. Thus in the mantra *vyomā* (TS. *vyoma*) *saptadaśaḥ* (sc. *stomaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ., §794, the stem *vyoman*, regularly neuter, appears to have masculine gender in all texts except TS. We have no doubt that the original form of this variant presented the word as if masculine; but it seems to us equally clear that this is due to assimilation to the gender of the predicate *saptadaśaḥ* (*stomaḥ*). It hardly justifies us, therefore, in attributing real variation in gender to the stem *vyoman*. And this is by no means an isolated instance, as the sections mentioned will show.

§119. Of a different sort are variations between names of male and female animals and persons, where the change merely indicates that some texts have in mind a male animal or person, others the corresponding female (§§779-82).

§120. A small but interesting group of cases shows variation between distinctively feminine forms and others which are, at least in appearance, masculine, tho referring to feminine entities. Thus it has long been recognized that the anomalous *yusmās*, acc. pl. of the 2d personal pronoun, is a feminization of the regular *yusmān*, which has common gender tho its ending presents a masculine aspect (§803). Contrariwise, agent nouns in *tar* have regularly a corresponding feminine stem in *trī* when applying to feminine entities, but at least one variant presents the masculine (really 'common') stem in *tar* under such circumstances (§805).

§121. We have seen above (§113) that the neuter gender, especially in the singular number, often has a sort of indefinite force. Even when a masculine or feminine entity is referred to it may be used in such a sense, as in *indrasya* (and *viṣṇor*) *dhruvo* 'si (*dhruvam asi*), 'thou (O knot, *granthi*, masc.) art Indra's (Viṣṇu's) firm one (firm thing),' §808. Such usage is particularly common with pronouns, demonstrative or relative, as in substantive pronouns (§§113, 812); *am tam* (KS. ApŚ. *at*)

*siñcatu rādhasē* (\**ed*) RV. KS. Vait. Ap8., 'let him besprinkle that unto (with) bounty'. Here the pronoun refers to soma-drops (*drapsa*, *anāu*, masc.) and hence has masculine gender in RV., but once, in repeating the mantra in the same context, KS. uses the neuter *ta*, 'that (thing)', tho still having the same reference (§809).—But an indefinite masculine may also vary with such an indefinite neuter, when the unspecified entity is conceived personally instead of impersonally (§§810-1). This is particularly common with negative expressions, such as *akīr jaghāna* (*dadarśa*) *kam* (*kīm*) *cana*, 'the serpent has slain (seen) no one (nothing).'

§122. We regard the common use of neuter forms in adverbs as belonging to the indefinite neuter. Such adverbs are often found in variation with adjectives of any gender, and also—more rarely—with adverbs of other genders (usually feminine); in the latter we assume that originally some definite noun must have been understood with the adjectival adverb (see §§813-24).

§123. The agreement of pronouns shows some interesting variations as to gender. Thus when a pronoun refers to a series of nouns of different genders, it may agree with the nearest noun in gender, or with the gender of the greater number of the nouns; or else it may be masculine (really 'common') gender if the series includes both masculines and feminines (§825). Also, when the antecedent and the predicate of an anaphoric pronoun are of different genders, the pronoun may agree with either (§826),—aside from the possibility of the use of the indefinite neuter in a substantive pronoun, to which we have alluded above.

§124. Gender variations are related to the peculiarities of compound nouns: first, in the case of dvandvas, which may appear either as neuter singular or as dual (or plural) with the gender of the final member (§751), and further, in the case of karmadhārayas varying with bahuvrhis based upon them. The karmadhāraya, naturally, keeps the gender of its final member, while the bahuvrhi takes the gender of the noun it agrees with (§829).

§125. There remain a considerable number of cases in which variation in gender is due to the application of the variant word to different nouns. Either one noun may be substituted for another of different gender, resulting in change of the gender of its epithets (§§831-3), or without such change in actual language, epithets may be understood to apply to different entities which are not expressed, with the same result (§§834-9). In some such cases the mantra is taken from its original context and adapted to a new one, resulting in what we call 'phrase inflection' (see §§846-51). Or again, without change of con-



text, an epithet may be 'transferred' from one entity to another; these 'transfers of epithet' are of exactly the same sort as the numerous similar ones involving change of case, and call for no special comment (§§840-5).

*Dedicatory expressions*

§126. Expressions of dedication of some offering or homage to some deity or power are, of course, very common in the ritual language of the Veda, and the great variety of their syntax deserves special mention. The deity addressed may be expressed by a nominative, subject of a verb meaning 'be gratified' or the like, which verb may be expressed or understood, or by the nominative of a secondary adjective meaning 'belonging to' such and such a deity; by the accusative, object or goal of a verb expressed or understood; or by a dative or genitive. The thing offered may be expressed by the nom., acc., instr., or (after verbs of offering) gen. A few examples may be quoted here:

(om) *agnim tarpayāmi: agnis tṛpyatu*, §373.

*himavate* ('veto) *hasti* (*hastinam*), §§376, 618.

*svāhā devā ājyapāh* (*devān ājyapān*): *agnim svāhā: svāhāgnim: agnaye svāhā*, etc., §§377, 485.

*pūṣanam vaniṣṭhunā: pūṣno vaniṣṭhuḥ*, §§414, 508.

*kapota ulūkah śaśas te nirṛtyai* (*nairṛtāh*), §424.

*digbhyah krotam* (sc. *alabhate*): *dīśah krotam* (sc. *anvatasṛjāt*), §485.

*tasmā indrāya sutam ā* (*haviṣā, haviṣ ā, indrāyāndhavo*) *juhota* (*juhomi*), §§466, 502, 582.

*aryamno* ('*ṛc*) *lopāśah*, §618.





FIRST PART: FORMAL VARIANTS

CHAPTERS II-X





## CHAPTER II

### DUALS IN *au* AND *ā*, OF ALL DECLENSIONS

§127. We do not include here, of course, variations in which *āu* varies with *ā* followed by hiatus before a vowel, since these are variant sandhi forms, both standing for *au*; on them see VV 2 §§885 ff. We treat here as *ā* forms before vowels only those in which *ā* is fused with the following vowel.

§128. In the RV. in general, and especially in its oldest parts, *ā* is found before consonants and in pause, *au* before vowels. Contrast §221 below; in the locative of *i* stems *au*, not *ā*, is regular in pause. Before *u* vowels this *au* is represented in the RV. by *ā*, before other vowels by *āu* (for the usage of other schools see VV 2 l. c.). We divide our materials into the two classes of (1) *au* : *ā* before consonants and in pause, (2) before vowels. See most recently Wackernagel 3 p. 45 ff., and for the primary materials Lanman *NI.* 340 ff., 574 ff.; also Sommer, *Festschrift Streitherg*, 253 ff., where ingenious attempts are made to explain the cases of 'irregular' *ā* before vowels.

§129. In a couple of cases the following word varies, so that *ā* is followed by a consonant, *au* (*āu*) by a vowel, in accordance with the original distinction:

*tasyām suparnāu adhi yau nirīṣṭau* TB. ApŚ.: *tasyām suparnā vṛṣṇā nī ṣedatuḥ* RV.

*abhayaṁ mitrāvaruṇāu ihāstu naḥ* (AG. \**varuṇā mahyam astu*) AV. AG.

§130. Flagrantly at variance with the rule is the double case in the next variant, which also changes the word after *āsvinā* (\**ṇau*); but this time *āsvināu* occurs before a consonant, and that in RV. itself (to be sure in a late hymn, 10. 184, 2c); while AV. has the *ā* form before a vowel—both contrary to the rule. Furthermore RV. ends the pāda with *devau*, instead of regular *devī*, and is followed by all later texts (two substituting *ubhau*) except AV., which introduces the regular *ubhā*. (Hence, possibly, the assimilatory change in the ending of the preceding word in AV., whose meter suggests a pronunciation with hiatus, *āsvinā ubhā*.)

*garbham te āsvināu devau* (AV. *āsvinobhā*, PG. HG. *āsvindv ubhau*) RV. AV. ŚB. BṛhU. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. PG.: *garbham yonyām āsvināsyām* AVPpp. 13. 2. 4c (Barret, *JAOS.* 48. 38).

§131. The remaining cases require little individual comment. Almost all show the ending before consonants or in pause. Final position in the pāda is always treated as 'pause'; *ā* is here regular even when the next pāda begins with a vowel, with which the final *ā* is fused in the *sarīhitā* writing. The *ā* form characterizes the RV. and its school texts; KS. also shows it in most of the variants, but there are exceptions. The cases before consonants and in pause which concern RV., besides those above mentioned, are:

*caturakṣau pathirakṣā* (AV. *pathirakṣā*) *nṛcakṣasau* (AV. TA. °*sā*) RV.

AV. TA. This is the only exception, except that noted in §130, to the rule among the RV. variants. It is noted by Lanman 576. The hymn (10. 14) containing it is Atharvāmic (rather than 'late'); yet, curiously, the AV. itself (supported by TA.) has the 'regular' form. Note that all three texts are irregular in the preceding *caturakṣau*. Dissimilation or assimilation of ending *as* between these two words? Even tho the hymn belongs by its subject matter to AV. rather than to RV., the RV. form is, a priori, more apt to be original; Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, 124.

*ubhobhayaṁvinn upa dhehī danṣṣrā* (AV. °*rau*) RV. AV.

*yo akṣṇeva cakriyā* (SV. °*yau*) *śacībhiḥ* RV. SV. TB.

*dame-dame sapta ratnā dadhānā* (AV. °*nau*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.

*zomaṁ pibataṁ madyam dhṛtavaratā* (AV. GB. °*tau*) RV. AV. GB.

*ūta te vṛṣaṇā* (ArŚ. *haritau*) *hari* RV. ArŚ.

*yajñasya hī stha riviṣā* (TS. ApŚ. *riviyau*) RV. SV. KS. PB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*ubhā rājānā* (AV. °*nau*) *svadhayā madantā* (AV. °*tau*) RV. AV. MS.

*prātaryujā vi bodhaya* RV. TB. AŚ. N.: *prātaryujau vi mucyethām* TS.

*a dhātām* (RVKh. Scheft. °*am*) *puṣkarasrajau* (RV. RVKh. Scheft.

AV. ApMB. MG. °*jā*) RV. RVKh. AV. ŚB. TA. MahānU. BṛhU.

AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG.: *kṛtām puṣkarasrajā* AVPpp. 3. 18. 5 (Barret, *JAOS.* 32. 364). Add to VV I §332.

*dyauḥ ca naḥ* (KS. TB. *tvā*) *prthivī ca pracetasā* RV. KS. TB.: *dyauḥ ca ma idam prthivī ca pracetasau* AV.

*māduṣkṛtau vyenasā* (AV. °*sau*) RV. AV. AVPpp. Note preceding °*kṛtau* in all!

*aśvinā* (ApMB. °*nau*) *tvā pra-vahatām rathena* RV. AV. ApMB.

*yam nirmanthato aśvinā* RV. ApMB. HG. MG.: *yabhyām nirmanthatām aśvinau devau* ŚB. BṛhU.

§132. Next some cases before consonants or in pause which concern AV. In the first group AV., either alone or with others, has the *au*



form; we just saw that in several cases where RV. has *ā*, AV. has *au*:  
*tā no muñcatam āgasah* TS. MS.: *tau no muñcatam anhasah* (TS. KS.  
*āgasah*) AV. TS. KS.

*ubhā hi hastā vasunā prṇasva* VS. TS. ŚB.: *hastau prṇasva bahubhīr*  
*vasavyaish* AV. TS. MS. KS.

*vītho ghrtasya guhyā juṣāṇā* (AV. °*ṇau*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*dame-dame susṭutir* (AV. KS. *susṭutyā*, TS. *susṭutir*, MS. °*ti*) *vdm iyānā*  
 (TS. MS. KS. *vārdhānā*, AV. *vārdhānau*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ.  
 ŚŚ. On *vdm iyānā* see VV 2 §236.

*yā* (AV. *yau*) *patyete apratitā* (AV. °*tau*) *sahobhīh* AV. VS. MS. SB.  
 ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§133. Yet, contrariwise, AV. occasionally shows *ā*:  
*chandasaṭi* (AV. *chandaḥpakṣe*) *uṣasā* (MS. KS. °*sau*) *pepiṣāne* AV. TS.  
 MS. KS. ApMB.

And, in the same verse:

*ketumatī* (TS. ApMB. *ketum* *kṛtvāne*) *ajare bhūrīretasā* (MS. °*sau*) AV.  
 TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

*ya indrāgnī asanam sakhāyau* KS.: *yo agnīsomān ajūṣe sakhāyā* AV.

§134. In the rest neither RV. nor AV. figures. KS. and the RV.  
 school texts seem to favor *ā*:

*ukhyasya ketum* *prathamam juṣāṇau* (KS.† KapŚ. °*ṇā*) VS. MS. KS.  
 KapŚ. 25. 1, ŚB. Oertel 83.

*imān me* (ApŚ. *nō*) *mitrāvaruṇau* (ApŚ. °*ṇā*) MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG.  
*nirastā śaṇḍāmarkau saha tena yam dviṣmaḥ* KS.: *nirastau śaṇḍāmarkau*  
*sahāmuna* ApŚ.

*apanuttau* (KS. °*tā*) *śaṇḍāmarkau* (MS. *ṣaṇḍ°*) *saha* . . . MS. KS.: *apa-*  
*nuttau śaṇḍāmarkau sahāmuna* TS. TB. ApŚ.

*devā* (VS. *devau*) *devam avardhatām* VS. TB.

*śubhan gamiṣṭhau* (KS. °*thā*) *suyamebhir asvaish* (KS.† *āsubhīh*) TS. MS.  
 KS. TB.

*aṅkau nyanākā* (PB. LŚ. *aṅkā nyanākū*, MŚ. MG. *aṅkū nyanākā*) *abhito*  
*rutham yau* (MG. *ye*) TS. TB. PB. MŚ. HG. PG. MG. ApMB.  
 LŚ. ApŚ.

*saṃjagmānau* (KS. °*nā*) *divā* (TB. ApŚ. *diva ā*) *prthivyā* MS. KS. TB.  
 ApŚ. MŚ.

*yathāyatham nau tanau* (AŚ. *tanvā*, MŚ. *tan nau*) *jātaredaḥ* MS. AŚ. MŚ.

In MŚ. phonetic corruption; see VV 2 §410.

*sulughe mātarā* (TB. °*rau*) *māhī* VS. TB.

*indravanā* (TB. °*tau*) *havir idam juṣethām* TB. ŚŚ.

*sam vasāthām* (MS. *vasethām*) *svarvidā* (TS. *svar°*; KS. °*vidau*) VS. TS.  
 MS. KS. ŚB.

*hotā yakṣad āsvinā* (VS. KŚ. °nau) *chāgasya haviṣa*. . VS. KŚ. KS.

*hotā yakṣad āsvinau* (KS. °nā) *chāgasya nṛpāyā*. . VS. KS.

*hotā yakṣad āsvinau* (TB. °nā) *sarasvatīm*. . VS. MS. TB.

*hotā yakṣad āsvinā* (MS. °nau) *sarasvatīm*. . MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§135. The following do not properly belong here:

[*gomad ā ṣu nāsatyā* (VS. *nāsatyā*, followed without fusion by *āsvedad*)

RV. VS. AŚ. The VS. comm. understands *nāsatyā*, not °yau; if *au* were intended, *ā* should stand by the VS. rule, see VV 2 §885. There is no real variant here; VS. writes more accurately what RV. also intends, namely final *ā*.]

[*imā* (ApŚ. *imau*) *prānāpānau* TB. ApŚ. But Poona ed. of TB. *imau*, which is proved correct by ApŚ. which quotes TB.]

[*urvaśi ca pūrvacittik cāpsarasau* (VSK. MS. KS. °śā) VS. VSK. TB. MS. KS. ŚB.

Followed by a vowel; all texts *ā* or *ā* intending *au*. Add to VV 2 §888.]

[*kurī devau pracetasau* (VSK. °śā) VS. VSK. TB. As preceding; add to l. c.]

§136. We come now to the few sporadic cases in which *ā* (for *ā*) before a vowel, which is the rule in RV., varies with *ā* which fuses with the following vowel. They add nothing to our knowledge and permit no general conclusions:

*śundāśvīrha sma me juṣethām* AV. (pratika Vait.): *śundāśvīrha śmā sma me juṣethām* (TA. om. *ju*°) RV. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. The AV. seems to be 'hifalutin', misapplying the hieratic *ā* where it does not belong.

*uśāsānaktāgnā* (KS. AŚ. °gna, ŚŚ. °naktā *agna*) *ājyaṇya vītām* MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. And in the same passage, *daivya hotārāgnā* (°gna, °hotārā *agna*), etc. The ŚŚ. form (RV. school) should be *ā*, not *ā* (VV 2 §885). No v. l. is quoted. If the text is correct, possibly ŚŚ. quoted from a different school (note that the mantra is found neither in RV. nor in its Brāhmaṇas). The other alternative would be to hold that ŚŚ. intends the ending *ā*, not *au*, and shows anomalous lack of sandhi.

*daivya hotārū ūrdhvaṃ* (VS. *hotārā ūrdhvaṃ*, KS. *hotārōrdhvaṃ imam*, MS. *hotārā ūrdhvaṃ imam*) *adhvaram naḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.: *daivā hotārā ūrdhvaṃ* (Ppp. *hotārā imam*) *adhvaram naḥ* AV. Ppp. The AV. form is plural. Ppp. m. (9. 1. 8) reads *hotārā* but intends °rā since a dual verb follows. All texts but KS. have sandhi forms of °rau.

*āsvinūdhvayū* MS. TA.: *āsvinā dhvayū* ŚŚ. (Also quoted in Conc. under *agnir hotāśvina*°.)



[*añkāñkam* (KS. *añkañkam*, MS. *añkāvañkam*) *chandaḥ* TS, VS, MS, KS. ŚB. Only MS. seems to understand a dual *añkau* here; if *añkāñkam* is also intended to contain a dual in the first part, the form *añkā* must be understood. Even MS. has only one accent, *añkāvañkāṁ*; tho one ms. has *dākār dākam*, and p.p. analyzes *añkau*, *añkāṁ*. These forms are however probably mere corruptions; the presumption is that the unknown (and perhaps artificial) name of a meter here found is meant for a single word. The variant therefore hardly belongs here.]

### CHAPTER III

#### FEM. ENDINGS *ai* AND *ās* AS DAT. OR GEN. (ABL.) SING.

§137. On this phenomenon see Wackernagel 3 §15d. According to him it originates exclusively, or almost so, from the coincidence of sandhi in final *ai* and *ās* before vowels, both appearing then as *ā*, or perhaps more properly as *dy* with 'Hiatusstilger' *y*. Wackernagel refuses to admit any important relation to the increasing blend between dat. and gen. cases as a whole, which becomes especially marked in later Sanskrit and in Pāli-Prakrit. This blend, in general, is signaled by the genitive's absorption of the functions of the dative, while our phenomenon regularly shows the reverse. The limitation of its occurrence, on a large scale, to one particular ending (e.g. fem. datives in *eye* show no such general use as genitives) speaks for the peculiar nature of the confusion, as contrasted with any general tendency to fusion of the two cases. It should also be noted that the *ai* forms clearly, tho less commonly, may be used as ablatives no less than as genitives. We therefore feel with Wackernagel that a formal confusion, probably that suggested by him, must have been concerned in this matter.

§138. Yet we greatly doubt whether it is right to exclude the syntactic relations of the genitive and dative cases so largely from consideration. We shall show below (§§151-2) that *ās* forms are used as datives, as well as *ai* forms as genitives; this has not heretofore received due attention. And we shall show later (§§614 ff.) that the blend of dative and genitive, especially the use of gen. forms in dat. function (but also to some extent the reverse), appears quite clearly in our syntactic variants, and without limitation to any particular forms. Some of the *ai* : *ās* variations seem precisely parallel to variations between other dat.-gen. forms. To separate them rigidly and regard one group as purely formal, the other as syntactic, seems subjective and unjustifiable. Cf. our remarks in §615.

§139. We shall therefore follow tradition to the extent of classifying here, as purely formal variants, shifts between *ai* and *ās* endings where the most reasonable interpretation seems to require taking them in the same syntactic function. That is, in the major group, the form in *ai* is apparently to be taken as a gen. or an abl. And in the rest, we



find it hard to avoid assuming the reverse substitution, *ās* with dative function. These are listed §152; we believe that they have not been specifically noted before. In connection with them particularly, however, the possibility of syntactic rather than formal confusion must be borne in mind; quite similar instances of other gen. forms with dat. functions will be found below in the section on variations between dative and genitive. Inevitably there are some borderline cases which are especially doubtful; in the last analysis all the variants found here and in the syntactic section on dative varying with genitive must be considered together.

§140. We include here pronominal as well as nominal forms, since they are obviously identical in nature and cannot be separated.

§141. The substitution occurs in no RV., SV., or AV. passage. It shows a varying frequency in the YV. texts. VS. shows it in about 20 variants, more than any other texts; very often VSK. disagrees with VS. TS. has about 15 cases; KS. only one, and MS. perhaps no entirely certain case. The school texts of VS. and TS. follow their *samhitās*. In general, then, it is the Vāj. and Tait. schools where the change is common. They also show the reverse change (*ās* in dative function), which is rare, almost unknown, in MS. and KS. Our results confirm the approximate correctness of Caland's view, *AO*. 5. 49-51, notably his statement that MS. KS. do not use *ai* for *ās*; but KSA. has at least one case, *adītyai pājasyam*, §143. That VSK. regularly prefers *ās* accords with Caland's findings for ŚBK. It is perhaps noteworthy that it is the relatively late and secondary YV. schools which show this interchange in both directions, whereas the more conservative MS. and KS. do not favor it.

§142. We begin with forms used in genitive function. The following are noun forms from *ā* stems, and seem reasonably certain:

*indrāgnibhyām chāgasya vapāyā* (KŚ. °*yai*) *medaso 'nubrūhi* KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Assign to Indra and Agni (part) of the goat's omentum and fat.' Also, *agniṣomābhyām chāgasya vapāyāni medaso 'nubrūhi* ŚB. *ukhāyāh* (TS. °*yai*, MS. KS. °*yām*) *sadane ave* VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *antar agne rucā tvam*. 'Within the firepan, in thine own seat.' The parallels point to a genitive with *antar*, not a genitive of 'equivalence' as Keith takes it. There is no sound evidence for a gen. of 'equivalence' in Sanskrit, while the use of a gen. with *antar* is proved by BR. s. v.; a very clear case is VS. 40, 5. *agnes tvā mātṛayā jagatyai vartanyāgrayanasya vīryeṇa* (KS. *jagatyā vartanyā*) *devas tvā savitōsrjatu* (etc.)... TS. KS.: *agnes tvā mātṛayā jagatyā vartanyā devas tvā savitonnayatu*... MS.

*idāyās* (ApŚ. °yāh) *padam ghṛtavac carācaram* AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *idāyās padam ghṛtavat sarīśrpam* AV. SMB.: *idāyai śrptam ghṛtavac carācaram* TA. HG. Comm. on TA. takes *idāyai* as dat. of purpose, *gosañpādanārtham*; but this seems fanciful.

*priyo dātur dakṣiṇāyā iha syām* AV.: *priyo devānām dakṣiṇāyai dātur iha bhūyāsam* VS. The AV. reading is masked by sandhi, but p.p. *dakṣiṇāyāh*.

§143. Genitives of *i* or *ī* stem nouns. The first seven occur all in the same context; they are used in dedicating various ribs of the horse to various deities at the *aśvamedha*. All the unambiguous forms are genitives (e.g. *yamyai*, *yamyāh* are paralleled by *yamasya*), so that it seems best to count the forms in *ai* as genitives also.

*yamyai pātārah* TS.: *yamyāh pātorah* KSA.

*sarasvatyai* (MS. KSA. °yā) *nīpakṣatīh* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*indrāyai* (MS. °yāh) *ṣaṣṭīh* VS. MS.

*nīrtiyai* (MS. °yāh) *pañcamī* VS. MS.

*adityāh* (VS. °yai) *pañcamī* VS. MS.

*adityai* (KSA. °yā) *deddaśi* TS. KSA.

*yamyai* (MS. °yās) *trayodaśi* VS. MS.

*adityā* (VS. °yai) *bhasat* VS. MS. This and the next also occur in the *aśvamedha*, in the general context of the preceding.

*adityai* (MS. °yāh) *pājasyam* VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*devasya tvā savituh prasave . . . sarasvatyā vāc yantur yantreṇ\** (VS. TS.

ŚB. *sarasvatyai vāc yantur yantreṇ\**) . . . °bhīṣiṇcāmī VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB.—P.p. of MS. *sarasvatyāh*.

(*devasya tvā savituh prasave* 'tvīnor bāhuhhyām . . .) *sarasvatyai* (KS. °yā)

*bhaiṣajyena . . .* VS. KS. TB.: *sarasvatyās tvā vīryeṇa yabate* 'nnādyā-

*yābhi ṣiṇcāmī* MS.

*yatra bhūmer juṣase* (TA. *bhūmyai vṛjase*) *tatra gacha* AV. TA. (*bhūmyai*

for *bhūmyās* = *bhūmes*; cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 136, and §182 below).

§144. Genitives of *a* stem nouns:

*putir yad vadhvo* (ApMB. *vadhvai*) *vāsasā* RV. AV. ApMB. The variant (gen.) ending here and in the next two is *(v)as*, not *(v)ās*.

*yatrāśprkṣat tanvo yac cā vāsasāh* (ApMB. *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV.

ApMB.: *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG. The latter has a

stupid corruption in *vṛkṣas* for *śprkṣat* (VV 2 p. 105). Its *tanuvai*

can only be defended as for *taneās* = *tanvas*, a partitive gen.

(cf. §517).

*na hi te agne tanvaḥ* (JB. *tanvai*, TA. ApŚ. *tanuam*) AV. KS. JB. TA.

ApŚ. Kauś. Followed by *krūram ānāśa* (KS. ApŚ. *ānāśa*, JB



*krūraṁ viveda*, TA. *kr\* cakāra*) *martyah* (KS. *martah*). 'No mortal has attained (comprehended; TA. accomplished) the savagery of thy self, O Agni.' So Caland on ApŚ. Whitney (note on AV.) suggests that it may mean 'succeeded in inflicting a wound on thee,' which would make it possible to interpret *tanusai* as a true dative (of interest); but this seems less likely to be the sense.

§145. Genitives of pronouns:

*na hy asyā* (ApMB. *asyai*) *nāma grbhāmi* AV. ApMB. 'I do not mention her name.'

*imam amum amuṣyāyaṁ amuṣyāḥ putram*... KS.: *imam amuṣya* (VSK. *imam amum amuṣyā*) *putram amuṣyai* (VSK. *\*yāḥ*) *putram*... VS. VSK. ŚB. In one of the two occurrences in ŚB. *amuṣyai* is printed for *amuṣya*, doubtless by a misprint.

*tasyai* (MS. KS. *taṣyā*) *vān mātṛā* (TS. *mātrī*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Its, the mind's, daughter, speech.'

§146. Less certain are the following cases of genitives. First, from nominal ā stems:

*asyā janatāyāḥ kṛaiṣṭhyāya sākā* MS.: *asyai janatāyai kṛaiṣṭhyāya* ApŚ. 'For preeminence over this folk.' But this may be the 'assimilated' dative with following dative of purpose; cf. Speyer, *Skt. Synt.* 66 supra, Delbrück, *ATS.* 149. (Quoted in Cone. also under *agne balāda*...)

§147. From i and ī stems; in the following the alternative to genitive construction would be a dative of possession or interest; see next section: *adityā* (VS. TB. ŚB. *adityai*, VSK. *aditer*) *bhāgo 'ai* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

*adityai* (MS. KS. MŚ. *adityā*) *†rāmāsi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. KŚ.

*indrānyai* (MS. MŚ. MG. *\*yāḥ*, KS. *\*yās*) *samnahauam* VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. MG.

*prthivyai* (MS. *\*yā*) *varmāsi* VSK. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*adityāḥ* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *\*yai*) *sada āsida* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. KŚ.: *adityās sadane sīda* KS.

§148. From pronouns. These, like the preceding group, might perhaps be construed as datives of possession or interest. The dative of possession is however not common in the oldest language and seems to disappear later. For this and other reasons, particularly in view of the established use of *ai* forms as genitives, we consider these also very probable cases of genitive forms. It must be confessed that at times the decision is delicate:

*yasyai* (VSK. *yasyā*) *te yajñāyo garbhaḥ* VS. VSK. ŚB. KŚ. PG.

*yasyai* (VSK. *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayī* VS. VSK. ŚB.

*yasyai bahū* (MS. *yasyā bahūyas*) *tanuso* (MS. *tanso*) *citapṛṣṭhāḥ* MS.

TB. And others, §671. Comm. on TB.: *yasyai yasyā devyā* *tanuṣaḥ*.

*yāsyā apāśasyā tanūḥ tām asyā apajahi* ŚG. SMB. (also with *yāsyā* *aputryā*, *yāsyāḥ patighnī*): *yāsyāḥ pāpī lakṣmīr yā patighnī*... *tā asyā apahata* SMB.: *yāsyāḥ pāpī lakṣmīs tām asyā apajahi* SMB.: *yāsyai gṛhaghñī tanūḥ tām asyai nāśaya svāhā* PG. (also with *patighnī*, *patughnī*, *prajāghñī*, *yāśoghñī*): *yāsyai ghorā tanūḥ tām ito nāśaya svāhā* HG. (also with *ninditā*, *patighnī*). The first *asyai* is clearly gen. On the second see §612.

§149. We now come to variants used in ablative, rather than genitive, function. First, from pronominal *ā* stems:

*yo maitasyā diśo abhidāsād agniṁ sā ṛchatu* MS. (also with *īndraṁ*, *marutaḥ*, *mītrāvaruṇau*, *somaṁ*): *agniṁ sa ṛchatu yo maitasyai* (KS.† *°syā*) *diśo 'bhidāsati* KS. ApŚ. (also with *īndram*, *aditiṁ* etc.): *agniṁ sa diśūṁ devaṁ devatānām ṛchatu yo maitasyai diśo 'bhidāsati* TB. (also with *īndraṁ* etc.): *iyam diḥ*... *yo maitasyai* (KS. *°syā*) etc. KS. TB. ApŚ.

§150. From *i* and *ī* stem nouns:

*gāyatrīyai* (MS. KS. *°yā*) *gāyatrām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*sūryas teā* (MS. *teā raśmibhiḥ*) *purastāt pātu kasyāś cid abhiśastyai* (TS.

MS. KS. *°astyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Striking because the modifying pronoun *kasyāś(cid)* has *ā* even in VS. ŚB. Cf. next.

*āśanyān mā mantrāt pāhi* (MŚ. *pāhi purā*) *kasyāś cid abhiśastyāḥ* (AŚ. *°tyai svāhā*) TS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. prec.

*prthivīyai* (MS. KS. *°yā*) *mā pāhi* TS. MS. KS.

*pañktyai* (MS. KS. *°yā*) *nidhanavat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*apahato 'raruḥ prthivīyai* TS. ApŚ.: *apahato 'raruḥ prthivīyai devayajanyai* TS. ApŚ.: *apahato 'raruḥ prthivīyā adevayajanaḥ* TS. ApŚ. (p.p. of TS. *prthivīyāḥ*): *apāraram adevayajanaṁ prthivīyā devayajanāḥ* (ApŚ. *†adevayajano*) *jahi* KS. ApŚ. (the latter ambiguous): *apāraram prthivīyā* (p.p. *°vyāḥ*) *adevayajanaṁ* MS. MŚ.: *apāraram adevayajanaṁ prthivīyā* [iti; ambiguous] ApŚ.: *apāraram prthivīyai devayajanād bādhyāsam* VS. ŚB.

*pāpāt* (KŚ. *pāpāḥ*) *svapnyād* (KŚ. *°nād*) *ubhātṛyāḥ* (KŚ. *°yai*) AV. KŚ. *agne 'dabdhāyo*... *pāhi prasītyai pāhi durīṣṭyai pāhi duradmanyai* (TS. TB. add *pāhi duścaritāt*) TS. VS. ŚB. TB.† (in VS. text has *duradmanyā iti*): *agne 'dabdhāyo*... *pāhi prasītyāḥ pāhi durīṣṭyāḥ pāhi*



*duradmanyāḥ* KS. (text °*mangā* *ib*).—Also listed in Conc. under *pāhi*...

*adbhyaḥ sambhūtaḥ prthivyai rasāc ca* TA. ApŚ.; *adbhyaḥ sambhūtaḥ prthivyai* (MS. KS.† °*yā*) *rasāc ca* (KS. *rasaḥ*) VS. MS. KS.

*kṣetriyāt te nīrtiyā jāmiśānsāt* AV.; *kṣetriyāi te nīrtiyai te* TB. ApMB.

HG. (*kṣetrī* = *kṣetriya* occurs only in this passage.)

[*amoci* (AV. *amukthā*) *yakmād duritād avartiyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB. ApMB. No *ās* form here.]

§151. Genitives in *ās* as datives. We have referred above to the few but interesting cases in which fem. *ai* : *ās* forms vary in dative construction. These, to be sure, might be taken merely as cases of the growing tendency for the gen. to absorb the functions of the dative, to be signalized below (§§614 ff.). Yet the parallel cases just discussed make it obviously likely that the identity of the two endings in sandhi before vowels and their consequent confusion in abl.-gen. function has something to do with these cases. At least they deserve separate grouping, apart from other dative-genitive variants. They are either dependent syntactically upon *namah*, *svāhā*, or the root *vidh*, none of which seem to be regularly construable with the genitive; or else are used as datives of purpose. It is particularly to be noted that the *ās* forms are found chiefly in Vājasaneyin and Taittiriya school texts, which are also those in which *ai* in genitive function is favored. Evidently this confusion of endings, in both its aspects, is characteristic of these schools. But one or two cases, textually doubtful, occur in MS. too.

§152. The variants are:

*yā te agne rudriyā tanūs tayā nah pāhi tasyās* (MS. KS. *tasyai*) *te svāhā* TS. MS. KS.

*yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma tayā no mṛḍa* (MS. *tayā vidhema*) *tasyās* (MS. *tasyai*) *te namas* TS. MS.

*tasyai* (TS. *tasyās*) *te devī haviṣā vidhema* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N.

Keith's note takes *tasyās* with *haviṣā*, rendering 'oblation for you.'

But *tasyās* can mean 'you' only by virtue of going with *te*, from which this interpretation most implausibly separates it. Keith ought to render: 'To thee, goddess, let us offer with her oblation', a monstrosity which his translation avoids by simply omitting *tasyās*. It is better frankly to recognize that *tasyās* is used as dative, or else to consider that the gen. here replaces a more usual dat. (cf. §634).

*tasyās* (MS. *tasyai*, KS.† *tasmāi*, read *tasyai*) *te devīṣṭake vidhema haviṣā vayam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Keith makes the same suggestion as in *prece.*, q. v.

*isāyai* (MS. *°yā*, but p.p. *°yai*) *manyuṁ rājānam* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *barhiṣḍ dadhur indriyam*. 'They have bestowed (upon thee) King Wrath and power along with (or, by) the barhis, unto authority.' It seems impossible to construe *isāyā(h)* as gen.; note the p.p. of MS.

*kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmaṇas tanvaṁ pāhi* VS. ŚB.: *brahmaṇas tvā paraspāyāḥ* (MS. *°pāya*, p.p. *°pāyāḥ*) *kṣatrasya tanvaṁ pāhi* MS. TA.: *pratīkas, brahmaṇas tvā paraspāyā [iti]* ApŚ. MŚ. (could stand for *°pāyai* or *°pāyāḥ*). In the same passage the next two:

*dīvas tvā paraspāyāḥ* (MS. *°pāya*, not repeated in p.p.), *antarikṣasya...* MS. TA. (and ApŚ. *pratīka*, with *°pāyā [iti]*): and

*prānasya tvā paraspāyai* (MS. *°pāya*, v. l. *°pāyāḥ*, p.p. *°pāyāḥ*) *cakṣuṣas...* MS. TA. (and ApŚ. *pratīka* as before). In these three adjoining formulas only a dative of purpose can be intended: 'for the protection of...' Note that TA. has *°pāyāḥ* twice and *°pāyai* once—all in the same passage. VS. has only one of the formulas, in which it uses the dat. of a neuter stem *°pa-* (§801), equivalent to *°pā-*. This same neuter form is read thrice in MS. s. p., but once the v. l. *°pāyāḥ* occurs (curiously, in the one case in which TA. has the regular dative form *°pāyai*!), and its p.p. reads *°pāyāḥ* in the two cases which it repeats at all.



## CHAPTER IV

### STEMS IN A

#### 1. Nominative and vocative plural in *ās* : *āsas*

§153. Among the variants occur only forms of *a* stems, to which *āsas* was originally restricted. In general *āsas* is more ancient, or hieratic and archaizing; *ās* is younger or more popular. Since the variation involves a difference of a syllable in the length of the word, the meter is often concerned in it. But other changes may result in making both forms metrical, and it may be difficult to say in such cases whether these other changes were responsible for the change between *ās* and *āsas*, or vice versa. At times the familiar *ās* is allowed to replace *āsas* in defiance of the meter, without compensatory change. But conversely a later text, in its passion for 'hifalutin' language, sometimes puts in an unmetrical *āsas* for original *ās*.

§154. We begin with variants both forms of which are metrically more or less defensible, and first with those in which we take *āsas* to be the original reading, secondarily altered to *ās*:

*yena devāso amṛtatvam ānakuh* RV.: *yena devī amṛtam ane avindan* AV. *dhruvāsah* (TB. ApŚ. *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV. KA. TB. ApŚ.

SMB. MG. Here TB. ApŚ. compensate for the lost syllable by the patch-word *ha*.

*devāso* (and, *devās tvā*) *dadhire purah* RV. (both). The RV. itself uses a patch-word; the older form was certainly *āsas*.

*vīśve devāso adhi vocalā nah* (TS. *me*) RV. TS.: *vīśve devā abhi rakṣantu* (Ppp.\* *\*ti*, KS. *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* (AV.\* also *tveha*, and *pakṣam*; Ppp. *mām iha*; SMB. ApMB. HG. *pāścāl*) AV. (ter) Ppp. KS.† SMB. ApMB. HG. Add to VV 1 §116.

*ā yāta pitarah somyāsah* (HG. *somyāh*) AV. HG.: *eta pitarah somyāsah* SMB. GG. ViDh.: *parā yāta pitarah somyāsah* (HG. *somyāh*) AV. HG.: *paretana* (TS. KS. ApŚ. *pareta*) *pitarah somyāsah* (TS. ApŚ. *somyāh*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Cf. VV 1 §256.

*ye devānām rtriṇo yajñīyāsah* (and, *rtriṇo ye ca yajñīyāh*) AV. (both).

As between these two, it seems clear that *yajñīyāsah* is older, the other showing evidences of patch-work. But even it is certainly

secondary to: *ye devānām yajñīyā yajñīyānām* RV. The AV. introduces *rtviḥ*, exalting the priests at the expense of the gods.

§155. Next a group in which the *ās* forms seem older, *āsas* being as a rule due to conscious archaizing:

*tubhyam sūtāsah somāḥ* SV.: *tubhyam somāḥ sūtā ime* RV. The SV. in its eagerness for archaism has crowded out *ime*, and left a *pāda* which is metrically bad.

*asmān* (MS. KS. TS.† *asmān*) *u devā avatā haveṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣu ā*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS.: *asmān devāso 'vata haveṣu* AV.†

*mā tvā dabhan yātudhānā durevāḥ* (Ppp. *durevā yātudhānāḥ*) RV. AV. Ppp.: *mā tvā dabhan durevāsah kasokāḥ* AV.

*punar agnayo dhiṣṇyā* (ŚŚ. °*yāso*) [*yathāsthānam kalpantām* (AV. *yathāsthāna kalpayantām ihaiva*, ŚŚ. *yathāsthānam dhārayantām ihaiva*)] AV. ŚB. BṛhU. ŚŚ.: *athaita dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpantām ihaiva svāhā* HG.: *atho yatheme dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpayantām ihaiva* MG.: *ime ye dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam iha kalpatām* (read °*ntām*) AG. The ŚŚ. reading is archaizing and metrically harsh, tho possible. HG. MG. AG. all treat the formula as prose, but all have the archaizing ending.

*ete pūtā vipaścītaḥ* RV.: *te pūtāso vip°* SV.

*ye antarikṣa uta ye* (Kauś. °*kṣe ye ca*) *divi śritāḥ* (Kauś. °*tāsah*) Kauś. MG. In different contexts. Pronouncing the *a* of *antarikṣe*, MG. makes a good *jagati*; eliding it, Kauś. makes a good *tristubh*. Kauś. wins a hieratic ending only by allowing a rather unhieratic elision (cf. VV 2 p. 420 ff.), and is forced to make a further change of *uta* to *ca*.

§156. In the following variant two adjoining adjectives vary in both readings, the longer and shorter endings interchanging in the two forms: *harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣṭā* (TB. *dhṛṣṭā*) *maruteaḥ* RV. TB. N.: *harṣamāṇā hṛṣṭāso marutvan* AV. The ms. of Ppp. has *ṛṣamāṇāso ṛṣadā marutvan*, emended by Barret, JAOS. 35. 60, to *hṛṣamāṇāso dhṛṣṭā* (for which *dhṛṣṭā* or *hṛṣṭā* would seem at least equally possible) *marutvan*.

§157. We now come to cases in which one or the other reading makes distinctly bad meter. In most of them *āsas* is metrically better, and as a rule certainly original:

*yatra devāso* (KS. *devā*) *ajūṣanta viśve* VS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.: *viśve devā yad ajūṣanta pūrve* TS. The latter patches the meter while using the shorter ending. If KS. were original (tho metrically poor), the hieratic *devāso* of VS. etc. would also be an attempt to patch the meter; but on the whole this seems unlikely.



*trayo gharṁāso anu jyotiṣāguḥ* (MS. KS. *retāsāguḥ*) TS. MS. KS. ApMB.:  
*trayo gharṁā anu reta āguḥ* AV.

*viśve devāso* (AV. *devā*) *aditiḥ sajoṣāḥ* AV. Ppp. TS. MS. ApMB. Cf. also  
*viśve devāḥ sajoṣanaḥ* AV. MS. TA.

*ye devā* (RV. VS. AB. AŚ. ŚB. *devāso*) *divy ekādaśa stha* RV. AV. VS.  
 TS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. MŚ. AŚ. Sāyana at AV. 19. 27. 11 appar-  
 ently read *ye devā divyā divy ekādaśa stha*.

*yena devāso* (AV. *devā*) *asahanta dasyūn* RV. AV.

*vaśā meṣā avasṛṣṭāsa* (KS. *avasṛṣṭā*) *dhutāḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.  
*devāso barhīr āsadan* RV.: *devā barhīr āsata* PB.

*te devāso* (TS. *devā*) *yajñam imam* (Ppp. *havir idam*) *juṣadhvam* (AV.  
*juṣantām*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *te devāso havir idam*  
*juṣadhvam* AV.

*viśve devā iha mādayantām* (KS. *virayadhvam*) TS. KS. TB.: *viśve devāsa*  
*iha virayadhvam* (AV. *mādayadhvam*, VS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. *mādayan-*  
*tām*) RV. AV. VS. TS. ŚB. Vait. LŚ. ApMB.

§158. Much more rarely the original form has *ās*, and the archaizing  
 change to *āsa* spoils the meter:

*ye stha trayo ekādaśāḥ* (ŚŚ. *ekādaśāsaḥ*) KS. ŚŚ. This is really prose  
 and so should not strictly be counted here; but its cadence simulates  
 an anuṣṭubh pāda in KS., the presumably original form.

*buddhā bhavata yajñīyāḥ* AV.: *buddhā bhavantaḥ śucayāḥ* (N. *bhavanto*  
*yajñīyāsaḥ*) *pāvakāḥ* AV. N. Cf. also *abhūma yajñīyāḥ buddhāḥ*  
 AV. Since *pāvakāḥ* must be read metrically *parakāḥ*, the line is  
 triṣṭubh and the AV. reading is correct. Very likely N. intended  
 it as jagatī, reading *parakāḥ*, and altered the preceding case ending  
 to fit its conception of metrical requirements.

§159. The following variant is prose, as is also the first quoted in the  
 preceding paragraph:

*āmanasya devā* (MS. *deva*) *ye putrāḥ* (KS. *putrāso*) . . . MS. KS.

## 2. Neuter plural in *ā* or *āni*

§160. The ending *āni* is, of course, originally borrowed from *n* stems  
 (Wackernagel 3 p. 105), where both *ā* and *āni* are prehistoric (Indo-  
 Iranian, *ibid.* p. 277), and are equally familiar in the Veda. It is a  
 curious fact that, nevertheless, the variants reveal practically no shift  
 between *ā* and *āni* in *n* stems; the only possible instance noted is  
*janimā(nī)*, in *viśvā devānām* etc., §164; and cf. §269.

§161. Of our variants nearly all are metrical, and in general the meter  
 is reasonably good in both forms, despite the difference in number of

syllables in the two variant forms; the shorter ending is generally accompanied by a patch-word or other difference of reading. Altho *ā* is certainly older and more hieratic than *āni* (half again as common as *āni* in RV.), the variants show no clear preponderance of originality in either. The alteration may be in either direction; indeed not infrequently both endings are found in both forms of the variant, but in different words, as in:

*brahmarjyēṣṭhā sambhṛtā vīryāni* AV.: *bra<sup>a</sup> vīryā sambhṛtāni* TB.  
*samhōpayanto duritāni viśvā* RV. MG.: *samlobhayanto duritā padāni* AV.  
*atīkrāmantō duritā padāni* (N. *duritāni viśvā*) AV. N.

§162. Sometimes the different ending goes with a different meter; and there is no clear reason for attributing greater originality to either: *indrasya vocam pra kṛtāni vīryā* RV.: *indrasya nu vīryāni pra vocam* RV. Ppp. ArS. MS. AB. KB. TB. AA. N.: *indrasya nu prā* (so read, see Whitney) *vocam vīryāni* AV. Jagati and triṣṭubh.

*nakī āsya pra minanti vratāni* RV. AV.: *nakīṣ ṭa etā vratā minanti* RV. Triṣṭubh and dvipadā virāj.

*sa no nediṣṭhā havanāni joṣate* (MS. *havanā jujoṣa*) TS. MS. Jagati and triṣṭubh. Cf. also: *sa no nediṣṭhām havandny āgamat* (and, *havanāni joṣat*) KS. (both).

*duritāni yāni kāni ca cakṛma* MS.: *duritā yāni cakṛma* TS. TB. TA. Jagati and anuṣṭubh.

§163. But elsewhere the same meter is used with both forms; the shorter form is accompanied by a patch-word or other change, and there is no clear evidence of priority:

*sa hi viśvati* (RV. *\*viśvāni*) *pārthivā* RV. (both) KS.

*kṛtāni kartvāni ca* RV.: *kṛtāni yā ca kartvā* RV.

*atī* (RV. *\*agne*) *viśvāni duritā tarema* (RV. *\*rājānah*, *\*svastaye*, *\*pipar-tana*, *\*lāni parṣau*) RV. (5 times) PB.

*skannemā viśvā bhuvanā* TB. TA. ApS.: *askannemā* (so text, for *skan-nemā* or *āsk<sup>a</sup>?*) *viśvā bhūtāni* KŚ. Different words, *bhuvana* and *bhūta*, the latter being shorter and so requiring the longer ending.

*āṇḍa śuṣṇasya bhedati* RV.: *śuṣṇasyāṇḍāni bhedati* RV.

*dadhad ratnāni dāśuṣe* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.: *dadhad ratnā vi dāśuṣe* RV.: *dadhad ratnā dāśuṣe vīryāni* RV. VS. The first and third variants in relation to each other might be classed in the preceding, as anuṣṭubh and triṣṭubh.

*agnīr havyāni siṣṭadat* RV.: *agnīr havyā suṣūdati* RV.

§164. Next a group which is exactly like the preceding except that for one reason or another there seems reason for supposing that the *ā* form is older; yet the *āni* form is metrically good:



*abhi yo víśvā* (and, *abhi víśvāni*) *bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV. (both). See *RVR*ep. 117.

*tato vi tiṣṭhe bhuvanānu* (AV. °*nāni*) *viśvā* RV. AV.

*viśvā rūpābhi* (MS. *rūpāny abhi*) *caṣṭe śacibhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

The MS. tries to improve the meter, which in the original is read with hiatus, *rūpā abhi*.

*aṅgā parūṅṣi tava vardhayanti* Vait. and AVPpp., *JAOS.* 30. 221; *priyāny aṅgāni tava vardhayantiḥ* TB. (probably secondary).

*tatrāhatās trīni śatāni śaṅkavaḥ* AV.: *tasmīn śakam trīśatā na śaṅka-*  
*vaḥ* RV. N.

*apa cakrā avṛtsata* KB. ŚŚ.: *mā cakrā avṛtsata* MS.†; *apa cakraṇi vartaya* TB. ApŚ. The last clearly secondary.

*viśvā devānām* (TS. *viśvāni devo*) *janimā vivakti* AV. TS. KS. Cf. *sarvā devānām janimāni videān* Kauś., which, if a true variant of the other, would show the only *āni* : *ā* variation noted for an *n* stem, cf. §§160, 269. Of the others, AV. KS. are more apt to be original than TS.

*ata inoṣi karvarā purūṅi* RV. AV. Ppp.; *ata invata karvarāṇi bhūri* AV.

*sugā vo devāḥ sadanā* (N. °*nam*) *akarma* (Ppp. MS. *kṛṇomī*, KŚ. Kauś. *sadanāni santu*) AV. Ppp. VS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. N.: *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*) TS. ApŚ.: *sugā vo devāḥ sadanedam astu* KS.

*vratā nu* (AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. *vratāni*) *bibhrad vratapā adābhyaḥ* (MS. AB. AŚ. *adabdhyaḥ*) MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. Only RV. school texts have *vratāni*, two other schools *vratā nu*. But this is, of course, not conclusive evidence of priority.

*yatremā viśvā bhuvanādhi tasthuh* RV. AV. N.: *yenemā viśvā bhuvanāni tasthuh* TA.

*yas tā vijānāt sa pītuh* (TA. *savituh*) *pītāsāt* RV. AV. TA. N.: *yas tāni veda sa pītuh* (VS. *pītuh*) *pītāsāt* AV. VS.

[*achidrā uśijah padānu takṣuh* TS.: *achidrośijah kavayah padānutakṣi-*  
*ṣuh*, em. from ms. *padāni takṣiṣvat*, KS.]

§165. The converse of the preceding is shown in a group where *āni* seems to be the older reading. Presumably *ā* is here due to conscious archaizing in a secondary text. With *ā* often goes a patchword which preserves the meter:

*kṣāmad devo 'ti duritāny* (TA. MahānU. *devo atiduritāny*) *agnih* AV. TA. MahānU.

*priyāny aṅgāni svadhītā parūṅṣi* (Vait. *aṅgā sukṛtā purūṅṣi*) TB. Vait.

*punantu viśvā bhūtāni* (MS. *bhūtā mā*, TB. *viśva āyavaḥ*) AV. VS. MS. KS. TB.

*śataṁ paritrā vitatā hy* (MS. *vitatāny*) āsu MS. ApŚ. ApMB.  
*ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan* (TS. MS. *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV. VS. TS.  
 MS.

*ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni cākṣe* AV. ŚirasU.: *yo rudro viśvā bhuvanāvireśa*  
 TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Probably not a real variant.  
*prajāpate na tead etāny anyah* (MS. \**nā hi teat tāny anyah*, KS. *nahī*  
*tead anya teta*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. (bis) KS. SB. ŚB. TB. TAA.  
 BṛhU. AŚ. Vait. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. N.

§166. We come now to variants in which one form is metrically poor. It happens, a little surprisingly, that the metrically superior form seems always to be historically older; there is no apparent case of secondary correction of the meter. We begin with a few cases in which the original has *ā*, and *āni* is metrically bad:

*hinvā* (Vait. *hinvā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ. *gātrāṇi*) *harivah* TS. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.  
 Vait.

*aśtau śatā yān mitam tad vadanti* ŚB.: *aśtau ca śatāni* [samvatsarasya, inserted in Gastra with all but two mss.] *muhūrtān yān vadanti* GB.

§167. In the rest the *āni* ending is original and metrically superior. The form in *ā* is in several instances clearly due to haplology; these (the first two) are treated in VV 2 §808.

*viśvāny anyo* (AV. *viśvānyo*) *bhuvanābhicaṣṭe* (AV. MS. *bhuvanā vicaṣṭe*)  
 RV. AV. MS. TB.

*trīṇi padāni* (TA. MahānU. *padā*) *nihitā guhāsyā* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsyā*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU.—Ppp. ms. *padānihatā* which Barret, JAOS. 30. 195, emends to the AV. reading; but it may equally well go with TA. MahānU.

*yasmīn viśvāni bhuvanāni* (MS. *viśvā bhuvanādhi*) *tasthuḥ* RV. VS. MS. Cf. pree. but one; the unmetrical *viśvā* may have been influenced by *bhuvanā*, the first alteration (?).

*tirāś cittāni* (KS. ms. *cittā*) *vasavo jighāṁsāt* RV. AV. MS. KS.: *tirāḥ satyāni maruto jighāṁsāt* TS. Von Schroeder emends KS. to *cittāni*, which seems rather arbitrary.

*sa cittāni* (Ppp. ms. *cittān*) *mohayatu pareṣām* AV. Ppp. Barret, JAOS. 32. 351, reads Ppp. as *cittā*. It may, however, have intended *cittāni*.

*agnir vṛtrāṇi jaṅghanat* RV. SV. etc. In Svidh. occurs the pratika: *agnir vṛtreti*, i.e. apparently, *vṛtrā-iti*. Perhaps a corruption.

§168. Finally, a few variants in which one or both versions are prose. The first is particularly interesting; in it TS. and PB. are prose, and



substitute the prosaic *āni* for the *ā* of the other texts. Or else, was the prose version older, and to make it metrical was *ā* substituted for *āni*? *etā* (TS. PB. *etāni*) *te aghnye* (TS. *aghniye*, PB. *ghnye*) *nāmāni* VS. TS. PB. ŚB. MŚ.

*abhi saranāni* (TS. *savanā*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Prose in both. *ariṣṭāni me sarvātmanibhṛṣaḥ* AV.: *ariṣṭāni me sarvāṅgāni santu* (PG. *me 'ṅgāni*) Vait. PG.: *ariṣṭā vīravāny aṅgāni* TS. TAA. MŚ. Prose in both.

### 3. Instrumental plural in *ais* : *ebhis*

§169. The variants are not very numerous nor particularly interesting. In most of them *ais* is substituted for an original *ebhis*. Thus most clearly in the following group, where *ais* is unmetrical:

*sam vājebhiḥ* (MS. *vājaiḥ*) *puruścandrair abhidyaubhiḥ* RV. AV. MS.† 2. 2. 6b: 20. 4. KS.

*samjñānam naḥ* (KS. *naḥ*, TB. *na*, Poona ed. *naḥ*) *svebhyah* (AV. *svebhiḥ*, TB. *svaiḥ*) RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB. Followed by:

*samjñānam arañebhyah* (AV. *arañebhiḥ*, TB. *arañaiḥ*), same texts. The AV. forms in both these variants are not good metrically, but TB. is much worse.

*tvaṣṭar devēbhiḥ sāhasāma indra* ApMB.: *tvaṣṭā devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ* MG.

*somo rudrair* (TS. *rudrebhir*) *abhi rakṣatu tmanā* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

It is strange that only TS. (usually secondary in relation to MS. KS.) has the metrically correct form (against three different schools!). Is it possible, after all, that the others have the original reading (tho poor metrically), and that TS. has corrected the meter secondarily?

*gambhīrebhiḥ pathibhiḥ pūrvēbhiḥ* (MS. *pūrvēbhiḥ*) MS. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *gambhīraiḥ pathibhiḥ pūrvyaiḥ* (AV. *pūrvāṇaiḥ*) AV. TS. HG. The meter requires *gambhīrebhiḥ* thruout. Whitney on AV. 18. 4. 63 suggests emendation of MS. to *pūrvyebhiḥ*, which was evidently the original on which TS. HG. *pūrvyaiḥ* is based.

§170. In another little group AV. seems secondary in substituting *ais* for *ebhis*, tho it preserves the meter by patch-words or other changes: *aṅgirobhir ā gahi yajñīyebhiḥ* RV. TS. MS.: *aṅgirobhir yajñīyair ā gahiha* AV.

*prehi-prehi pathibhiḥ pūrvyebhiḥ* (AV. *pūrvāṇaiḥ*) RV. AV. MS. AŚ. AG.

*vīryebhir* (MS. *vīrobhir*, AV. *yan vīryair*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB. *śaci*°, Poona ed. *śavi*°) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§171. In other cases, on the contrary, it seems a fair guess that the older version is that with *ais*, the archaizing *ebhis* being secondary, tho the meter is not necessarily decisive:

*jambh̥yais* (KS. <sup>o</sup>*bh̥yebhis*) *tuskarān* (KS.† <sup>o</sup>*rān*) *uta* VS. TS. KS. In KS. the suffixal *y* is metrically inferior, being consonantal in pronunciation; perhaps KS. archaizes secondarily.  
*saṣoṣā devair* (VS. ŚB. *saṣūr devabhīr*) *avaraiḥ paraiś ca* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*tebh̥iḥ tvam putram janaya* ŚG.: *taiś tvam putram* (ApMB. *putrān*) *vindasva* AV. ApMB.: *taiś tvam garbhini bhava* HG. Note that ŚG. is forced to read *tram* as a monosyllable.

*satyaṁ pūrvair* (KS. *pūrvabhīr*) *ṛṣibhiḥ sanvidānaḥ* (KS.† <sup>o</sup>*bhiḥ cākṣpānaḥ*, ApŚ. <sup>o</sup>*bhiḥ cākupānaḥ*) MS. KS. ApŚ. Here KS. spoils the meter.

§172. In the following neither metrical nor other considerations clearly decide the original form:

*mitrāvaruṇau dhiṣṇyāiḥ* (KS. <sup>o</sup>*yebhīr agnibhiḥ*) MS. KS.: *anḡiraso dhiṣṇyair agnibhiḥ* TA. (prose in the latter).

*mṛdam baravaiḥ* (TS. *baravebhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Prose. The majority are more apt to be original.

*maṇḍūkāṁ jambh̥yebhiḥ* (KSA. *jambhaiḥ*) TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. Prose.

#### 4. Ablative singular in *āt* and *tas*

§173. The few variants under this head all concern pronouns or pronominal adjectives, and hence belong, perhaps, more properly in our chapter on Pronouns. The forms are, moreover, adverbial or quasi-adverbial in function. Two concern *uttarāt* or *uttaratas*, one *tasmāt* and *tatas*. The last variant, whose right to be placed here is highly questionable, presents three rare forms in *tāl* from *nūc* stems, dubious in character and solely Rigvedic, for which AV. substitutes more usual forms in *tas*:

*viśvakarmā teādityair uttarataḥ* (MS. KS. *uttarāt*) *pātu* VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB.: *viśvakarmā va ādityair uttarata upadadhatām* TA.

*jāgrviś ca mārundhatī cottarād* (MG. *collarato*) *gopāyatām* KS.† MG.† *tasmād* (ArS. VS. VSK. *tato*) *vīrōḥ ajāyata* RV. ArS. VS. VSK. TA. *prāktād apāktād* (AV. *prākto apākto*) *aiharād udaktāt* (AV. *udaktah*) RV. AV.

#### 5. Instrumental singular of *ā* stems in *ā* and *ayā*

§174. Only one or two dubious cases:

*agner jīhvām abhi* (MS. *jīhvābhi*, p.p. *jīhvām, abhi*; AV. KS. *jīhvayābhi*)



[*gr̥nītam* (AV. *gr̥nata*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Cf. VV 2 §309. The AV. KS. parallel suggests taking MS. as an instr., in spite of p.p. *ayā pavā pavasvainā vasūnī* RV. SV. PB.: *uta na enā parayā pavasva* RV. SV. The accent of *parayā* is on the ultima, which gives pause. Oldenberg (Noten on 9. 97. 53) suggests, among other solutions, that we have either mistaken accentuation caused by that of *ayā* in the preceding (the first variant just quoted), or adverbial shift of accent.

*avāreṣayā* (VS. ŠB. °*veṣā*) *tanvā samvīkasya* VS. MS. KS. ŠB. Wackernagel 3 p. 118 supra takes *avāreṣā* as instr., as the parallel suggests. But below, §415, we have suggested taking it as nom.

[*āśīrdāyā dampatī vāmam aśnutām* TS.: *yad āśīrdā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* VS.: *yam āśīrā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* TS.: *yayāśīṣā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* AV. Keith takes *āśīrdāyā* as dual nōj. with *dampatī*; we prefer to take it for *āśīrdāyayā* with Wackernagel 3 p. 116 infra. In any case there is no variation between case-forms *ā* and *ayā*; rather *-dāyā* and *-dā* are from the different stems *-dāyā* and *-dā*.]

## CHAPTER V

### SHORT AND LONG *i* STEMS

§175. Out of a mass of miscellaneous variants concerning *i* and *ī* declensions, there stands forth with overwhelming force a large group showing confusion between forms proper to the four declensions which are primarily and regularly feminine, viz. the short *i* feminines (type *gati*), the monosyllabic 'radical' *ī* stems (type *īri*), and the two derivative *ī* declensions (types *devī* and *vrkī*). We shall begin with these, in §§176-213. Their treatment in Wackernagel 3 pp. 134 ff., 163 ff., which see for the extensive earlier bibliography, is in general excellent. While our materials do not perhaps reveal much that is new in principle, they nevertheless supplement Wackernagel on many points; and they emphasize rather more than his treatment the interchanges in various directions. Occasionally they suggest that forms in which Wackernagel sees other influences may well be due to simple confusion between the declensions (cf. notably §189).

§175a. No very distinct school tendencies seem to us to be shown by the variants. Yet we would call attention to the behavior of the Taittiriya school, which in certain groups of variants seems to show a sort of perverse desire to differ from the regular usage. Thus, the endings *ībhī*, *ībhya*, and *ībhyaṃ* from short *i* stems (similarly *ūbhyaṃ* from short *u* stems, §230) seem to be characteristic of this school (§§188-9), while conversely it shows some tendency to prefer short *i* forms from *ī* stems (see notably §§198-9). Nor are these sections the only ones which contain examples of such perverseness in the Tai. school. We have noticed like conditions in this school on other points; cf. VV 2 passim, notably §§767, 946.

#### 1. *i* forms from *i* stems

§176. We shall begin with variations between short and long *i* forms and first those in which apparently original *i* stems present *ī* (*devī* or *vrkī*) forms. From the phonetic standpoint these cases have been treated in VV 2 §§526 ff.

§177. Nom. sg. in *īs* from *i* stems. Here a striking group of cases concerns lengthening of the *i* in the nom. sg. of *i* stems, resulting in forms like *vrkīs*. While some of them are more or less dubious, they



are too numerous and on the whole too well attested to permit doubt of the reality of the phenomenon, which so far as we can see happens not to be recorded by Wackernagel (cf. his p. 135). In every variant the *ī* is secondary historically:

*ayās cāgne* 'sy anabhiśastiś (AŚ. ApMB. HG. °āś) ca MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.

*abhiśīr* (HG. °śīr) yā ca me dhruvā (HG. ca no grhe) RVKh. HG.

*plāśīr* (TB. °īr) vyaktah śatadhāra utsah VS. MS. KS. TB.

*viśā abhiśīh* pṛtanā jayati MS.: *viśā hī bhūyāh pṛtanā abhiśīh* TS.

'In all conflicts he shall become a protector,' Keith, who would read *abhiśīh*. The accent, on the ultima (so also MS.), supports this interpretation; the fem. 'protection' is *abhiśī*. But we see no reason to refuse to admit, even in a masculine, confusion with the *vīkī* declension; we should not emend TS. Add to VV 2 §529.

*sam arīr* (MS. KS. *arīr*) *vidām* (KS. *vidah*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. The meaning is obscure, and the interpretation of *arīr* doubly so. Eggeling on ŚB. 3. 9. 4. 21 takes it as acc. pl.; BR. as nom. sg.; the author of ŚB. understood it as nom. pl., see Eggeling's note; Wackernagel 3 §§70, 78 considers the passage corrupt and would emend to *vidrām*, implying *arīr* as nom. pl.; a nom. sg. *arīr* is to him 'unglaublich'. Had he known the other forms in this section he might have been less emphatic. We think that they prove *arīr* as nom. sg. not at all impossible in itself.

[*vañkrīr* *aśvasya svadhitiḥ sam eti* RV. VS. TS. KSA. Cone. quotes *vañkrīr* for all texts but KSA.; actually *vañkrīr* is found in all, and is an acc. pl.]

§178. Nom. sg. in *ī* from *i* stems. The forms in which *ī* of the *devī* type is substituted for *i* are on the whole more dubious than the preceding group, but the first, at least, seems to be a clear and a well attested case:

*ātīr* (TA. KSA. *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāh*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Stem *ātī* is Rigvedic.

*śam te methī bhavatu śam yugasya tṛdma* ApMB.: *śam methir bhavatu śam yugasya tṛdma* AV. There is much variation in the form of this word (see BR.), but *i* forms are older and at all periods more usual.

*kārṣīr* (MS. KS. MŚ. *kārṣy*) *asi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. BṛhPDh. Boehtlingk in pw. assumes a stem *kārṣīn* for the form *kārṣy*, but in so doing falsifies the accent, which in MS. is written *kā'ṣy*. MS. p.p. reads *kārṣīh*, *asī*. Knauer (on MŚ. 2. 3. 17)

suggests irregular sandhi for *kārṣi*. On the whole, the variant seems to differ in no wise from the preceding two, except that the original form (*i* or *ī* stem?) is uncertain.

*rantīr asi* TS.: *rantī ranatīḥ sūnuḥ sūnari* ApŚ.: *vasēḥ rantīḥ sumandh* MS.: *sumanmā vaseḥ rantī sūnari* SV. JB. But the SV. is very uncertain; it may be taken with the comm. as a dual; see Benfey, Glossar, s. v. *ram*. The form *rantī* of ApŚ. is for *rantis* by the usual sandhi.

*athā jivir* (RV. *athā jivri*, ApMB. *athā jivri*) *vidatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthah*) RV. AV. ApMB. See VV 2 §529. In RV. dual; in ApMB. sing. but possibly influenced by recollection of the RV. form. *kīraḥ-kīraḥ prati sūri vi caṣṭe* TS. ApŚ.: *śiro devī prati sūri vi caṣṭe* KS. A peculiar case; *sūri* is a fem. nonce-formation to the usual *sūri*, which is used without change in KS. as a fem. It reminds us of the tendency noted below (§225) towards a repartition of short *a* stems and *ā* stems as masc. and fem. respectively; but this is the only case noted of such a tendency among *i* stems.

§179. Acc. sg. in *im* from *i* stems. Only a couple of cases, each involving, perhaps, extraneous considerations:

*ākūtim devīm subhagām* (TB. *manasaḥ*) *puro dadhe* AV. TB.: *skūtim devīm manasaḥ prapadye* SMB. Perhaps *i* in SMB. by form-attraction to *devīm*.

*kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta* RV. AV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV. Here the meter favors *i*, and is perhaps responsible for the SV. form.

§180. Voc. sg. in *i* from *i* stems. We find a number of cases in which the regular voc. *e* in *i* stems is replaced by *i*, from the *i* declension: *pūrṇā darvi* (AV. MS. *darve*) *parā patā* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ. In RV. only stem *darvi*.

*yāś ca bhūmy adharāḥ yāś ca paścā* MS.: *yāś te bhūme adharād yāś ca paścāt* AV. The stem *bhūmi* has *devi* forms even in RV., probably influenced by its synonym *prthivī* (cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 136).

*abhy enaṁ bhāma ūrṇuḥi* (TA. *bhūmi ūrṇu*) RV. AV. TA. Cf. prec. *iḍe rante* 'dīte *sarasvatī priye preyaś mahi vīrute* TS.: *iḍe rante* (MŚ. *rante juṣṭe*) *sarasvatī mahi vīrute* PB. MŚ. The form *vīrute* may be formally assimilated to *mahi* (and *sarasvatī*?).

§181. Dat. sg. in *yai* from *i* stems. The extension of *devi* forms to the *i* declension in the dat., abl., gen., and loc. sg. was so common and persistent that it is familiar even in classical Sanskrit, where it also applies to the monosyllabic *i* stems (type *krī*); cf. §209 for Vedic variants



of this declension. We shall also find, in §209, a case of a *ṛkī* noun showing a dative of the *devī* type. It is worth noting that no *devī* nouns occur among the variants with dative forms borrowed from the rival *ī* and *ī* declensions; but there is one isolated instance of an abl. sg. of *ṛkī* type from a *devī* stem, §210.

§182. Among the dative forms here collected, there is little clear indication of relative age, but if anything the older texts seem unexpectedly to prefer the *yai* ending. (To be included here is also the variant *yatra bhūmer [bhūmyai]*, §143 above, where *bhūmyai* has gen. function.) Most of the variants are prose; once *yai* (monosyllabic) seems intended to make meter out of what is a prose formula in the other texts:

*devavīṭaye* (MS. *\*vīṭyai*) *tvā* (KS. *vo*) *grhṇāmi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

ApŚ.: *devatābhyaḥ tvā devavīṭaye grhṇāmi* KS. Only MS. is intended to be metrical.

*ṛīṭaye* (TB. *ṛīyai*) *stenahṛdayam* VS. TB.

*anusṭup* (TB. *\*ṭuk*) *pañktyai* (MŚ. *pañktaye*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*bhūtyai* (AŚ. *bhūṭaye*) *namah* MS. ApŚ. MŚ. AŚ.

*adītyai* (ŚG. *\*ṭaye*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ŚG.

*samveśāyopaveśāya gāyatrīyā* (etc.) *chandase* (TS. ApŚ. omit) *\*bhībhūṭaye* (TS. ApŚ. *abhībhūtyai*, ŚŚ. *\*bhībhrītyai*, KŚ. *\*bhībhūtyai*) *svāhā* TS. PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ.

*vasyaṣṭaye* (misprinted *vaspa\**) *tvā* IŚ.: *vasyaṣṭyai tvā* Vait.

*cīṭaye svāhā* HG.: *cīṭyai svāhā* ApŚ.

*gopīhāya vo nārātaye* MS.: *bhātāya tvā nārātaye* VS. ŚB.: *raṣṭāyāi tvā nārātīyai* KS.: *sphātīyai tvā nārātīyai* TS. TB. ApŚ.

*anumataye* (TB. *\*ṭyai*) *svāhā* ŚB. TB. BṛhU. AG. ŚG. Kauś.: *asūyantyai cānumatyai ca svāhā* AŚ.

*svargayāya* (VSK. *svaṛ\**) *śaktyai* (VSK. ŚvetU. *śaktyā*) VSK. TS.

ŚvetU.: *svargyāya śaktyā* (MS. *śakṭaye*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Metrical; *śaktyai* three syllables.

§183. A couple of infinitive variants in *e* : *ai* may be added here, altho they are probably not really comparable. The origin of the *ai* of certain infinitive forms is really unexplained; that *-dhyai* is formed by affixing the dative ending (IE. *\*ai* or *\*ei* =) Skt. *e* to a stem final *\*dhya* or *\*dhyā*, as commonly assumed, is hardly more than a placebo, and still less likely is it that the frequent ending *-tavi* (with double accent, on stem and ending both) is from a stem *\*tara* or *\*tard*, since the parallel and similar *-tave* obviously belongs to stem *ta* (see below, §238). But whatever be the history of these forms, the important

point for our purposes is that from RV. on the infinitive of this type is always *dhyai*, never *dhye* except in the isolated TS. occurrence of our first variant; and this is likely to be a mere phonetic simplification of *ai* to *e* (VV 2 §705). The other variant which follows is even more dubious:

*te te dhāmāny uimasi gamadhye* TS.: *tā* (VS. ŚB. *yā*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vān*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS. N. *vāstūny*) *uimasi gamadhyai* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Two mss. of KS. also have *gamadhye*.

*paridhāsyai yāsodhāsyai* PG.: *paridhāsyē yāso dhāsyē* MG. The MG. forms, at least, are best taken as verbs (fut. ind.). Stenzer (questioningly) and Oldenberg follow the comm. in taking *-dhāsyai* as an infinitive form and *yāsodhāsyai* as a opd. Cf. VV 1 §177, 2 §705.

§184. Abl.-gen. sg. in *yās* from *i* stems. What has been said on the datives in *yai* applies equally here. It only needs to be noted, further, that in the first group of variants the form for which *yā* is secondarily substituted in SV. is not the usual *es*, but the older *yas*, which is the only form known in RV. from the stem *avi*, cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 138: *avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV. *\*vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* RV. SV. (ter): *avyo vāre* (SV. *avyā vāraiḥ*) *pari priyam* RV. SV.: *avyo* (SV. *†avyā*) *vārebhīḥ pavate madintamah* RV. SV.: *avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vārebhīr arṣati* (SV. *avyata*) RV. SV.: *avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vāre mahiyate* RV. SV.: *avyo vāreṣu* (SV. *avyā vārebhīr*) *asmayuh* RV. SV.: *avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vāraiḥ paripūtaḥ* RV. SV.

*yonyā* (TA. *yoner*) *iva pracyuto garbhaḥ* AV. TA.

*egā teā pātu nīrtīr upasthāt* (TA. *nīrtiyā upasthe*, AV. *prapatho purastāt*) RV. AV. TA.

*vāryāyā ādho 'dityā* (VSK.† KS.† *adityā*, MŚ. *ādhar aditer*, KS. *ādho aditer*) *upasthe* VSK. TS. KS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

*adityā* (VS. TS. ŚB. *adityai*, VSK. *aditer*) *bhāgo 'si* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

§185. Nom.-acc. dual in *yau* from *i* stems. A single variant shows this form in three YV. texts of different schools, while only one (VS.) has the 'proper' ending *i*, clearly as a secondary substitution (note that the meter requires *śronyau*, as three syllables). The ending *yau* belongs originally to the *ṛkī* declension, whence it was taken over first into the *devī* nouns (§212, below), and then sporadically into *i* stems:

*āśvaḥ grīdāś ca śronyau* (VS. *śronī*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

§186. Instr.-dat.-abl. dual: see §189 below.

§187. Nom. pl. *īs* from *i* stems. In one variant TS. has *rahīs*, an



isolated form of *vahnī*, which seems never to have been noticed previously, for the regular *vahnayas* of other texts, perhaps under the influence of the preceding and parallel *daivā*:

*upā* (TS. MS. *upo*) *devān daivīr viśaḥ prāgur vahnaya* (TS. *vahnīr*) *uśijah* (VS. ŚB. *prāgur uśijo vahnitamān*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§188. Instr., dat.-abl. pl. *i-bhīs*, *-bhyas*, from *i* stems. Regarding *ī* in these forms, it is to be noted that the p.p. of TS. reads short *i* where the s.p. has *ī*, suggesting that *ī* was interpreted as (originally rhythmic) lengthening of quasi-final *i* (this lengthening is regularly abolished in the pada-pāṭhas, VV 2 §428). This lengthening seems specially common before labial consonants (VV 2 §§464 ff., 515 f., etc.). It may be noted, however, that the other conditions favorable to such lengthening, which include the vowel's being followed by a single consonant, exist only in the instr. plur. (*-bhīs*). The general influence of the *i* stems, so common in other case forms, seems to us an amply sufficient explanation of these forms also; other pada-pāṭhas do not seem to support that of TS.; and we are not inclined to see influence of the law of rhythmic lengthening here.—The variants in this and the next section seem to suggest a preference for *ī* in the Tait. school; so also with *u*, §230; cf. §175a.

*riūn prṣṭibhiḥ* (KSA. *prṣṭibhiḥ*, ms. *bhīḥ*?) TS. KSA. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2. 359, take *prṣṭi* for an *i* stem, but the usual theory (e.g. Wackernagel 3 p. 136) that makes it an *i* stem is more plausible.

*prṣṭibhyah* (KSA. *prṣṭiḥ*?) *svāhā* TS. KSA. See prec.

*svāhākṛtibhyah* (TS. ApŚ. *°tibhyah*) *preṣya* TS. ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

Most MŚ. mss. *°tibhyah*.

*hrāduṇibhyah* (KSA. *°mī*?) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA. Originally *i* stem; Wackernagel 3 p. 138.

§189. Instr.-dat.-abl. dual in *ibhyām* from *i* stems. The forms *akṣibhyām* and *śronibhyām* are in our opinion in no wise different from the plural forms of the preceding section. We cannot agree with Wackernagel 3 pp. 54 f., 303, who regards them as directly based upon the nom. dual *akṣi*, *śronī*. If other *ī* forms from short *i* stems were unknown, or even rare, this suggestion might be considered. But since just the opposite is the case, we see no reason to look for any more specific motivation of these dual forms. Note that the stem *śronī* even has a nom. dual *śronyau*, following the (*vyki*, or later) *devī* declension (§185).

*aucakṣā aham akṣibhyām* (MG. *akṣiḥ*?) *bhūyāsam* AG. PG. MG. N. In the older language the form with *ī* is commoner than that with *i*.

*mitrāvaruṇau śronibhyām* (KSA. °ṇi°) TS. KSA.

*śronibhyām* (TS. °ṇi°) *svāhā* TS. KSA.

*yakṣmaṇ śronibhyām* (ApMB. °ṇi°, v. l. °ṇi°) *bhāsadat* RV. AV. ApMB.:  
*yā° bhasadyaṇ śronibhyām bhāsadam* AV.

## 2. *i* stems of uncertain quantity

§190. So far we have dealt only with what we believe to have been originally short *i* stems, attracted towards *i* declensions. The reverse process is at least equally common, especially with *devī* nouns, but also with *ṛkī* and monosyllabic (*śrī*) types. The confusion is in a few cases so old and profound that we really do not know which is original. Thus the question of *takarī* or °*ri* is left doubtful by Wackernagel (3 p. 186), and we can add nothing to his statement except that in the following variant AVPPP., according to Roth, has *tagarim*:

*vi te bhīnadmi takarim* (KS. °*rim*, AV. *mehanam*, PPP. *tagarim* [Roth])  
 AV. TS. KS. ApŚ.

§191. The most familiar case of this sort is the notorious *oṣadhī* or °*dhī*. Lanman (NI. 371) classified it doubtfully as a *devī* noun. Wackernagel (3 p. 186) contents himself with stating the broad facts, as follows: the sing. (lacking in RV. family books) has only *i* forms in the Veda (to W's single exception from AV. we can add another from ApMB., §192). In the plural RV. and AV. have *i* forms except in the nom. (voc.), where *ayas* and *is* interchange. Both types are found later, but *i* forms predominate in classical Sanskrit.

§192. Our variants from this stem are few except for the nom. pl. We have noted only one acc. sg. and one dat. pl.:

*īmāṇ kṣanāmy oṣadhīm* (ApMB. °*dhīm*) RV. AV. ApMB.  
*oṣadhibhyaḥ* (ŚG. °*dhī°*; sc. *namah*) MG. ŚG.

§193. As to the nom. pl., the forms *ayas* and *is* are not metrically equivalent and in metrical variants (which include all but one of those here noted) this needs to be borne in mind. In nearly all of them *is* is the older form, historically, and in most it is also favored by the meter. As a rule later texts substitute *ayas*, often without any attempt to patch the meter:

*yā oṣadhīḥ* (AV. TS. TB. Kauś. PrāñgU. °*dhayaḥ*) *somarājñīḥ* RV. AV.  
 VS. TS. AB. TB. PrāñgU. Kauś. SMB. GG. KhG.

*yatrauṣadhīḥ samagmata* RV. VS.: *yad oṣadhayaḥ samgachante* (KS. *samagmata*) TS. MS. KS.

*yā oṣadhīḥ pūrvā jātaḥ* RV. VS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. N.: *yā oṣadhayaḥ prathamajāḥ* MS. KS. MŚ. MG.: *yā jāta oṣadhayaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ.

Note that MS. etc. by a further change make passable meter.



*kalpantām āpa oṣadhayaḥ* (TS. TB. °dhīḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

Here probably *ayas* is original, tho poor metrically, and the secondary *is* is introduced to improve the meter.

*śam no bhavantu āpa oṣadhayaḥ* (AV.\* °dhīḥ) śivāḥ AV. (bis). (Read *āpa* at 2, 3, 6; see Whitney's note.) The meter is certainly better with *is*.

*oṣadhīḥ prati modadhvam* RV. VS.: *oṣadhayaḥ prati modadhvam enam* (KS. om. *enam*, VS. ŚB. °dhvam agnim etam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *oṣadhayaḥ prati grbhñīta* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *oṣadhayaḥ prati grbhñītāgnim* (MS. *grbhñī*°) etam TS. MS. KS. The RV. is clearly old and sound with *oṣadhīḥ*. Most other texts, if really based on it, substitute *oṣadhayaḥ*, which spoils the meter; some try to patch it with generally poor success.

*śam oṣadhayo rasena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.: *śam oṣadhībhir oṣadhīḥ* VS. ŚB. Probably not real variants; both metrically passable.

*oṣadhayaḥ* (RV. VS. °dhīḥ) *prācucyavuh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The RV. original is here rather poor metrically (Oldenberg suggests *prācu*°), and the change to *-ayaḥ* was doubtless meant to improve it. *indrāgnī dyāvāprthivī āpa oṣadhīḥ* (KS. °dhayaḥ) TS. KS.: *sūryāgnī dyāvāprthivī uro antarikṣāpa oṣadhayaḥ* MS. Vocatives. This is the only prose variant; the isolated TS. is apt to be secondary.

### 3. *i* forms from *i* stems

§194. The stem *rātri*. There is no doubt that *rātri* 'night' (Wackernagel 3 p. 185) was originally a *devī* noun, as it still is exclusively in RV. According to Wackernagel, KS. also has only *i* forms except *rātrayaḥ* which it uses exclusively for *rātrīḥ* in the nom. pl., and a single case of nom. sg. *rātrīḥ*. In the variants, as we should expect, older texts in general show *i* forms, later ones *ī* forms. We find:

§195. Nom. sg. in *is*:

*tato rātry* (TA. *rātrīr*) *ajāyata* RV. TA. ManānU. Two mss. of MahānU. *rātrīr*.

*rātri* (TB. *rātrī*, KS. v. 1. *rātrīḥ*) *stomash na jigyuṣe* (KS.† TB. °ḡi) RV. KS. TB. Voc. in RV.

*śam rātri* (VS. *rātrīḥ*, VSK. TA. *rātrīḥ*) *prati dhīyatām* AV. VS. VSK. MS. TA. On VS. see §206.

§196. Acc. sg. in *im* (note preference of KS. for *im*, cf. Wackernagel l. c.):

*rātrim-rātrim* (MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MG. *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvan bharantaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MG.

*anurāṣi* (etc., see VV 2 §255). . . *rātrīm* (VS. MS. KS.† *rātrīm*) *jinva* VS. TS. MS. KS. GB. Vait.

*rātrīm* (KSA. *rātrīm*) *pīvasā* TS. KSA.

*rātrīm dhenum indrayasim* (AV. *upāyāsim*) AV. HG. ApMB.: *rātrīm dhe*<sup>o</sup> *ivā*<sup>o</sup> SMB. PG. MG.

*rātrīm* (KS. *rātrīm*) *jinva* TS. KS. PB. Vait.

*ye rātrīm* (KS. *rātrīm*) *anutiṣṭhanti* (KS.† <sup>o</sup>*ṣṭhatha*) AV. KS.

§197. Nom. pl. in *ayas*:

*yās te rātrīḥ* (MS. KS. *rātrayah*) *suṣitar devayānīḥ* TS. MS. KS. Here *rātrīḥ* certainly makes better meter, but is found only in TS., while MS. KS. (generally older than TS.) agree on *rātrayah*. The latter is the usual Vedic form (but no nom. pl. occurs in RV. or AV.), and is prescribed for the Veda by Pāṇ. 4. 1. 31.

§198. The stem *varātrī* (or *varu*<sup>o</sup>, VV 2 §562). Like *rātrī* this is originally a *devī* noun but shows *i* forms (Wackernagel 3 p. 184), tho only in texts of the Tait. school among the variants (cf. §175a):

Acc. sg. in *im*:

*varātrīm* (KS.† *varutrim*) *ivaṣṭur varuṇasya nābhīm* TS. KS.: *varātrīm* *ivaṣṭur varuṇasya nābhīm* VS. ŚB.: *ivaṣṭur varutrim varuṇasya nābhīm* MS.

Nom. pl. in *ayas*:

*varātrayo janayas tvā devīr*. . . TS.: *varātrīḥ tvā* (KS. <sup>o</sup>*trīs tvā*) *devīr viśva-devyāvatīḥ*. . . VS. KS. ŚB. Wackernagel l. c. suggests that *varātrayas* is influenced by the adjoining *janayas*. But this will not explain the other variants here.

*varātrīr awayan* KS.: *varātrayas* *†tvācayan* ApŚ.

§199. Root *i* stems, type *īrī*. Cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 187. Here forms of the *i* type are rare. We find two involving the nom. sg. (one of them, however, doubtful), and two the dative plural. Again, as in the prec., Tait. texts seem to favor short *i*:

*veṣāśrīr* (TS. <sup>o</sup>*śrīr*) *asi* TS. KS. GB. PB. Vait. LŚ. Wackernagel l. c. suggests influence of the neighboring *vasyaṣṭīr asi* in TS.

*aśrivayas* (TS. ApŚ. <sup>o</sup>*viś*, MS. <sup>o</sup>*viś*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The word is obscure and probably artificial. VS. comm. takes <sup>o</sup>*vayas* as a cpd. containing stem *vayas*. It must certainly be felt as nom. sg., and so the other forms of the variant. If they are felt as containing the stem *vī* (in *pada-vī* etc.), the variation between MS. and TS. would belong here.

*namaḥ senābhyah* *senānībhyas* (VS. TS. <sup>o</sup>*nībhyas*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. See VV 2 §527 and (for the same shortening of the stem in composition) §523.



*namah śvanibhyo* (MS. *śvanī*<sup>o</sup>)...VS. MS. KS.: *namo mṛgayubhyaḥ śvanibhyaś ca vo namah* TS. See VV 2 §528. Boehtlingk's postulation of a stem *śvanin* 'having dogs' is most implausible, particularly in view of *śenānibhyaś* above.

§200. Other *i* stems (mostly of the *devī* type) show only sporadically variant forms of the *i* declension among the variants. We shall classify them by case forms; first, nom. sg. in *ih* for *i*:

*prati tvā parvatī* (TS. TB. <sup>o</sup>*tir*, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārvatī*) *vettu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. One ms. of KS. *parvatī*.

*nārīr asi* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA. MŚ.; *nāry asi* VS. KS. ŚB. The stem *abhrīr* or *babhrīr* almost always found in the context may have caused form assimilation (Wackernagel 3 p. 184).

*ambā ca bulā ca nītatnī ca*...MS.: *ambā dūlā nītatnīr*...TS. In AV. 6. 136. 1 *nītatnī* is the epithet of a plant, here of a brick. The chances are that the *i* stem is original.

§201. The original type of the stem *skambhānī* (<sup>o</sup>*nī*) is variously given. Macdonell, *VGr.* §375A3, implausibly thinks that it is a cpd. of *skambha* and the root-noun *nī*. We prefer to hold (with BR. and Wackernagel 3 p. 183) that it is fem. to RV. *skāmbhāna*. If the accent of VS. VSK. (*skambhānī*<sup>o</sup>, TS. <sup>o</sup>*nī*) is correct, the rule would require *ṛkī* declension, so that in our variant VS. would be regular, VSK. irregular. KS. has no accents in this mantra but in 2.7 accents *skāmbhānī*, which would suggest that the fem. stem is a *devī* form. In either case Tait. texts have a shortening of the *i*, as seems to be their tendency:

*diva* (*divas*, *divah*) *skambhānīr* (VS. ŚB. <sup>o</sup>*nīr*, VSK.† KS.† <sup>o</sup>*ny*) *asi* VS. VSK. KS. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. In KS. 1. 6 read *skambhāny asi dhānyam asi*, acc. to note on KS. 31. 5.

§202. Nom. pl. in *ayas* for *īs* or *yas*. (On the endings *īs* and *yas* in the *devī* declension see §213.)

*aṅgulayaḥ śakvarayo dīkṣā ca me yajñena kalpantām* VS.; *śakvarīr aṅgulayo dīkṣā*...TS. MS. KS. The form *śakvarayo* is likely to have been influenced by the neighboring *aṅgulayaḥ* (Wackernagel 3 p. 184).

*devānām patnīr* (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *dīkṣā* (MS. KSA.† *viśāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The meter requires three syllables; *patnayaḥ* is otherwise familiar (Wackernagel 3 p. 183 f.).

*nārīs* (VS. *nāryas*) *te patnayo* (VS. *patnyo*) *loma* VS. TS. KSA. *mahānāmni revatayaḥ* TS. MS. KSA.: *mahānāmnyo revatyāḥ* VS. See Wackernagel 3 p. 184.

§203. Instr. pl. in *ibhis* for *ibhīs*:

*śamībhīḥ śamyantu tvā* VS.: *śimībhīḥ* (KSA.† *śimī*<sup>o</sup>) *śamyantu tvā* TS. KSA.

§204. Voc. sg. in *e* for *i*; among the variants only by apparent assimilation to neighboring forms in *e*, as suggested for our first variant by Boehtlingk *ZDMG.* 52. 81, Wackernagel 3 p. 185 top:

*sarasvate 'nu* (GG. *sarasvaty anu*) *manyasva* GG. KhG, ApG, HG. In preceding *pāda* occur *adīte* and *anumate*, to which *sarasvate* seems assimilated.

*ad tubhyam adīte mahi* (TS. *mahe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Again doubtless assimilation of *mahe* to *adīte*.

#### 4. Interchanges between different *i* declensions

§205. So much for variants between long and short *i* declensions. We now come to variations between forms proper to different *i* declensions, that is to the three types *devī*, *vrkī*, and *śrī*. We begin with

§206. Nom. sg. in *ī* (of *devī* type) from *vrkī* nouns. In most of these variants the *ī* form is older, as we should expect. *Vrkī* nouns begin to appear with noms. of *devī* type, lacking *e*, as early as RV. itself (Wackernagel 3 p. 172).

*adurmanāgalīḥ* (AV. <sup>o</sup>li, Ppp. <sup>o</sup>liḥ) *patilokam ā viśa* (AV. *viśemam*) RV. AV. Ppp. SMB. ApMB.

*gaurīr* (AV. *gaur in*, TB. TA. *gaurī*) *mināya salilānī takṣati* RV. AV. TB. AA. TA. N.

*vīkvarūpā śabalīr* (KS. *śavalī*) *agniketuh* TS. KS. PG.

*śīkhīr aśī* TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *śīṅhy aśī* VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.: *śīkhīr* (KS. *śīṅhy*) *aśī rāyaspoṣavaniḥ* TS. MS. KS.: *śīkhīr* (VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. *śīṅhy*) *aśī sapātnasāhī* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. KŚ.: *śīkhīr* (KS. *śīṅhy*) *aśī suprajāvanīḥ svāhā* TS. MS. KS.: *śīṅhy aśī suprajāvanīḥ rāyaspoṣavaniḥ svāhā* VS. ŚB.: *śīkhīr* (VS. KS. ŚB. *śīṅhy*) *aśī adityavaniḥ* (MS. adds *sajātavaniḥ*) *svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*māhiṣīr* (KS. <sup>o</sup>ḥy) *aśī* TS. MS. KS. MŚ. On this see Lanman, *NI.* 368.

In RV. the word is *māhiṣī*, with accent and inflection of *devī* type; in TS. MS. *māhiṣī'r*, of *vrkī* type. KS. accents *māhiṣy aśī*, as if of *vrkī* type, but yet has the *devī* ending. Wackernagel 3 p. 179 distinguishes two words, *māhiṣī* 'Büffelkuh', and *māhiṣī* 'Fürstin'; the latter he separates entirely from *māhiṣā* and regards as fem. to compv. *māhiyas*. This however seems forced. In RV. 5. 25. 7d (repeated elsewhere) *māhiṣī* is commonly taken to mean 'she-buffalo'.



*sañihītāsi viśvarūpī* (TS. ApŚ. °pīh) VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. As in the KS. form of the preceding, VS. accents the word on the ending, as if it were a *vr̥kī* form.

*phalgūr* (KSA. °gur) *lohitorāṇī balakṣī* (VS. pal°, KSA. ms. *valakṣīs*) *tāh* †*sārasvatyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Von Schroeder emends KSA. to °kṣī; but since MS. VS. TS. make the word oxytone (KSA. has no accents here), while the masc. is paroxytone, it should belong to the *vr̥kī* declension. KSA. therefore has the correct form, which should be kept.

*śam rātrī* (VS. *rātrih*, VSK. TA. *rātrih*) *prati dhīyatām* AV. VS. VSK. MS. TA. Mahidhara and Griffith take *rātrih* as plural, blithely undisturbed by the singular verb with which it goes. It is indeed true that the preceding parallel pāda has *akāni* 'days' as subject (but with properly plural verb). The *vr̥kī* nom. sg. of *rātrī* is heretofore unrecorded (even in Wackernagel 3 p. 185). On *rātrih* see §195.

§207. Nom. sg. in *is* (of *vr̥kī* type) from *devī* nouns. Such forms are much rarer, and generally dubious. The first is the clearest variant, and in it Whitney calls *sarasvatīh* in AV. a 'blunder'. This however seems too drastic, especially since TB. has the same form. But it may be partly due to form assimilation to *tisro devīr* preceding (subject of *sadantām*; *sarasvatīh* is included in the subject):

*sarasvatī* (AV. TB.† °āh) *svapasah sadantu* (AV. °tām) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N. Both edd. of TB. °āh.

*sapatnīr abhibhūvāri* (ApMB. °rīh) RV.† ApMB.† The ending may be influenced by the preceding (acc. pl. †) *sapatnīr*; so Winternitz, p. xxii.

*vāmī* (KapS. *vāmyā*) *te sañdṛśī viśvaṁ reto dheṣṭiya* (KS. KapS. *dheṣṭiya*) *tava vāmīr* (KS. KapS. *vāmy*) *anu sañdṛśī* MS. KS. KapS.: *viśva-sya te viśvāvalo vṛṇniyāvataḥ tavāgne vāmīr anu sañdṛśī viśvā retānsi dheṣṭiya* TS.† Keith's translation of TS. is scarcely possible. We must apparently take *vāmī* : *vāmīr* as nom. sg. fem., and *anu* as adverbial; *dhā* middle with *retas*, as commonly with *garbham*. 'Lovely in thy sight, may I receive all seed, lovely furthermore (or, again) in thy sight', MS. KS.: 'lovely in the sight of thee, O Agni; that art all, possessest all, hast virile power, furthermore may I receive all seeds', TS.

*bajābojopakāśinī* HG.: *khajāpo 'jopakāśinīh* ApMB. In VV 2 §381 it is suggested that ApMB. may have a *vr̥kī* form. But two good mss. read °nī, which may well be intended. A plural would also be conceivable.

§208. The nouns *śrī* and *lakṣmī*, nom. sg. Two variants in the same passage concern these two words, the one a monosyllabic *ī* stem, the other originally a *ṛkī* noun, so that both should have nom. in *s*, and do so in Classical Sanskrit, where *lakṣmī* is the only *ṛkī* noun which regularly retains the old *s* ending. This is undoubtedly due to the influence of the synonym *śrī* (Wackernagel 3 p. 171 f.). Nevertheless the *devī* form, without *s*, of *lakṣmī* is known in the Veda (ibid. p. 175). In the MahānU. form of the following variant not only is *alakṣmī* read without *s*, but it has even caused the neighboring *śrī(s)* to lose its *s*, producing a *devī* nom. sg. from a monosyllabic stem, which is nowhere recognized in our grammars (cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 172). All mss. of MahānU. seem to agree, and the comm. supports the form:

*śrīr me bhajatu* TA.: *śrī me bhajata* MahānU. Followed by: *ṭalakṣmīr me naśyatu* TA.: *alakṣmī me naśyata* MahānU.

§209. Dat. sg. in *ai* (of *devī* type) from *ṛkī* and *śrī* nouns. The *devī* ending in this and other oblique cases is well known as an alternative form in Classical Sanskrit with monosyllabic *ī* stems. So in the Vedic *ṛkī* nouns, *ai* may replace *e*, cf. Wackernagel 3 §88c. The shift has its phonetic aspect, on which see VV 2 §705. We find one or two variants of each class:

*sukhaṁ meṣāya meṣyai* VS. ŚB.: *sugam meṣāya meṣyai* (RV. *meṣye*) RV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. LŚ. One ms. of KS. *meṣye*. It may be noted that TS. MS. KS. read *meṣyai*, retaining the accent of *meṣye*, while VS. VSK. ŚB. accent *meṣyai*, as is proper for a *devī* form.

*negāśriyai* (LŚ. °*ye*) twā Vait. LŚ. Add to VV 2 §705.

*śriyai* (MG. *śriye*) *putrāya vellavai* (MG. *vedhava*) MG. ApMB.

§210. Abl. sg. in *as* (of *ṛkī* type) from *devī* noun. Contrariwise, a *devī* stem shows a *ṛkī* form in the abl. sg. in the following. Strange to say, the irregularity occurs only in late sūtra texts (to be sure, of the RV. school; perhaps a hyper-archaism?):

*āyugmatyā* (AŚ. ŚŚ. °*tya*) *ṛco mā gāta* (Vait. *māpagāyā*, Kauś. *mā satsi*) *tanūpāt* (ŚŚ. °*pāh*) *sāmnah* (AŚ. *sāmna om*) TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. Kauś.: *āyugmatyā ṛco mā chaitsi* etc. JB.

§211. Loc. sg. in *yām* and *ī*. We find one stray variant in which AV. shows *ī* against RV. *yām*. Wackernagel 3 pp. 168, 170, admits only *yām* for *devī* nouns and only *ī* for *ṛkī* nouns. He does not allude to this variant case; the stem occurs only here, so that there is no evidence for its original declension. On it cf. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-veda* p. 49.



*āṣṭryām* (AV. *āṣṭrī*) *paṭam kṛṇote agnidhāne* RV. AV. MG. The accent is on the final in both RV. AV.

§212. Nom.-acc. dual in *yau* (of *vrkī* type) from *devī* nouns. In this case the original *vrkī* ending began to displace the old *ī* of *devī* stems as early as AV., and became universal in classical Sanskrit (Wackernagel 3 p. 175). As we saw above (§185), it even affected sporadically short *i* stems.

*ghṛtācī stho dhuryau pātam* VS. ŚB.: *ghṛtācyau stho yajamānasya dhuryau pātam* MŚ.

*pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau* (TB. ApŚ. °*vi*) VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. GG. KLG.: *oṣadhā* (!) *vaiṣṇave* [from *ā* stem] *sthaḥ* MŚ.

*yadārāghaṭi* (read *yadā rā*²) *varadaḥ* Vait.: *yadā rākhāṭiyau vadataḥ* ApŚ.

An obscure n. pr.

§213. Nom. (voc.) pl. *yas* (of *vrkī* type) from *devī* nouns. This ending is exactly analogous to the dual ending just mentioned; originally peculiar to the *vrkī* type, *yas* appears in *devī* nouns in AV. and becomes regular later. Wackernagel 3 p. 177 has noted many of our variants. After two consonants *yas* is often spelled *iyas*, cf. VV 2 §791. *tās tvā devīr* (SMB. MG. *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB. BG. °*ā*) *saṁ vyayantu* (PG. *vyayasya*) SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. (In PG. *devīr* is to be taken as acc.: VV 1 §70.)

*tisro rohinīr* (KSA. *rohiṇyo*, ms. *rau*°) *vaśā maitriyaḥ* (KSA. °*tryaḥ*) TS. KSA. To be added to VV 2 §§728, 791.

*tisro rohiṇīs* (KSA. °*nyas*) *tryanyas tū vasūnām* TS. KSA.

*rohiṇīs* (VS. °*nyas*) *tryavayo vāce* VS. MS.

*pañcāvir* (KSA. °*vyas*) *tisra ādityānām* TS. KSA.

*anyatazenyo maitriyaḥ* (MS. °*nīr maitriḥ*) VS. MS.

*pāvamānīḥ* (RVKh. TB. YDh. °*nyah*) *punantu naḥ* (*tvā, mā, te*) SV. RVKh. TB. MG. YDh.

*nāris* (VS. *nāryas*) *te patnayo* (VS. *patnyo*) *loma* VS. TS. KSA.

*devīr vāmīr asya bhuvanasya* (TS.† *bhūtasya*) *prathamajā ṛtāvarīḥ* MS.

TA.: *devyo vāmryo* (VSK. *vāmryo*) *bhūtasya prathamajā makhasya vo 'dya kīro rādhyāsaṁ* . . VS. VSK. ŚB. Voc.

*tisraḥ kīlpā vaśā vaiśvadevyah* TS. KSA.: *kīlpā vaiśvadevīḥ* (VS. °*devyah*) VS. MS.†

*mahānāmni revatayah* TS. MS. KSA.: *mahānāmnyo revatyah* VS.

*tāḥ prācyā* (Vait. °*yah*, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhīre* (KŚ.† °*hīre*, Vait. *saṁji-gāire*) Vait. KŚ. MŚ.: *prācīḥ vajjagāhīre* ApŚ.

*phalanatyō* (MS. KSA. °*valīr*) *na oṣadhayah pacyantām* VS. MS. KSA. ŚB.: *phalīnyo na* . . TS. TB.

*yasyā* (RVKb. VS. *yasyām imā*) *bahvyas tanvo vitapṛṣṭhāḥ* RVKb. VS. MS.: *yasyai bahvīs tanuro vitapṛṣṭhāḥ* TB.

*devānām patnīr* (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *dīśaḥ* (MS. KSA.† *viśaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*yā devīr antān abhīto 'dadanta* AV.: *yāś ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhīto*. . . MG.: *yāś ca devīr antān*. . . ApMB. HG.: *yāś ca devīs tantūn* (SMB. *devyo antān*) . . . PG. SMB. See VV 2 §63.

### 5. Other variants concerning *i* and *ī* stems

§214. Stems in *i* and *in*. Leaving now the interchanges between the feminine *i* and *ī* declensions, we take up next a few cases of apparent confusion between *i* and *in* stems. In the first two cases clear *in* stems are provided in secondary texts with nominatives in *is*, as if from *i* stems (cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 279 *infra*). In the other two cases here quoted, contrariwise, the SV. substitutes nominatives in *i* for RV. *is*; the SV. forms are taken by Benfey as from *in* stems:

*dūrchetiḥ palatrī vājīnīdān* MŚ. MG.: *dūrchetīr indriyāvān* (PB.† *°yavān*) *palatrī* (PG. *°trīḥ*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.

*tan no danti* (TA. *dantiḥ*) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Stem *danti* otherwise unrecorded.

*vyānakiḥ* (SV. *°śi*) *pavase soma dharmabhiḥ* (SV. *dharmānā*) RV. SV. *suparṇo avyathīr* (SV. *°thī*) *bharat* RV. SV. Pāṇ. 3. 2. 157 records *avyathīn*.

§215. Highly anomalous is the following gen. pl. *mahinām* of VSK. If textually sound it must apparently be due to the influence of *in* stems; even a short *i* stem of any gender should have *ī* in this case. But since it seems necessary to take it as a feminine, its anomaly is increased; for *mahinām* could not pass for a gen. pl. fem. even from an *in* stem:

*mahinām* (VSK. *mahinām*) *payo 'si* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG.

### 6. Alternative case endings within the same declension

§216. Instr. sg. *i* and *yā*. We come now to variants which show different case endings within one and the same declensional type, that is, cases in which no 'foreign' influence from a different *i* or *ī* declension is to be assumed. And first interchange between the old instr. ending *i* and the later *yā*. The first concerns a *devī* noun, the rest short *i* stems: *akūbhyām dūgdham bhiṣajā sarasvatyā* (MS. *°vati*) VS. MS. KS. TB. *acittī yat* (AV. *acittiyā cet*) *tava dharmā yuyopima* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.



*yaḥ samidhā ya dhutī* (KS. °*tyā*) RV. KS. AŚ. AG.

*drābhyaṃ iṣṭaye viśatya* (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. °*śati*) ca AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*dame-dame suṣṭur* (AV. KS. °*tyā*, TS. °*tīr*, MS. °*tī*) vām iyānā (TS. MS. KS. vārdhānā, AV. vārdhānau) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.  
The AŚ. ŚŚ. reading is corrupt. TS. *suṣṭur* is acc. pl.; MS. *suṣṭu* may be a dual adj., but may equally well be taken as instr. sg.

§217. Instr. sg. *i* and *yā*. See Lanman NI. 380 for the conditions under which *i* normally appears, namely at or near the end of a *pāda*. We find variants only of *svasti* with °*tyā*. The former is original in the first, and probably in the second; in the latter, however, it is adverbial and need not be felt as instr. Cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 123, III p. 146 supra.

*saṃ sūribhīr maghavan* (RV. MS. KS. *harivah*, AV.† *harivan*) *saṃ svastyā* (RV. *svasti*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*tena yantu yajamānāḥ svasti* MS.: *tenaitu yajamānaḥ svasti* (KS.° ApŚ. °*tyā*) TS. KS. (both) ApŚ.

§218. Instr. sg. *inā* from fem. nouns, and *yā* from masc. nouns. Here we find two cases (the first in the list) in which nouns which are regularly fem. have the masc. ending *inā*, and conversely two nouns usually masc. have the fem. ending *yā*. To be sure *yā* was not originally restricted to the fem., and Wackernagel 3 p. 147 regards MS. *kikidīyā* in our third variant as older than the RV. °*vinā*. To us this seems most unlikely; it is rather a late and secondary confusion, either of form or of gender (on change of gender see §§783-802):

*pretinā dharmānā* (MS. *pretyā dharmānā*) *dharmān jinva* VS. MS. ŚB.

*vṛkṣam ivāśanyā* (HG. °*ninā*) *jahi* AV. HG.

*cāṣeṇa kikidivina* (MS. °*divyā*) RV. VS. MS. KS.

*maṇinā* (KS. *maṇyā*) *rūpāni* TS. KS. KSA.

§219. The stem *pati* shows *patinā*, *pateḥ*, and *patyā*, *patyuh*, the latter two under the influence of nouns of relationship, cf. Whitney Gr. §343d; Wackernagel 3 p. 142.

*upa preta marutaḥ sudānava* (KS. *svatavasa*) *enā viśpatinābhy amuṃ rājānam* TS. KS.: *preta marutaḥ svatavasa enā viśpatyāmūṃ rājānam abhi* MS. MŚ.

*agne grhapate sugrhapatīr ahaṃ teayā* (with varr.) *grhapatinā* (VSK. °*patyā*) *bhūyāsam* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś.

*sugrhapatīr mayā tvam* (with varr.) *grhapatinā* (VSK. °*tyā*) *bhūyāḥ*, same texts.

*juṣṭo vācaspataye* (MS. °patih, KB. ŚŚ. °pateh, TB. °patyuh) TS. MS. KB. GB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ.

*ito mukṣiṣya mā pateh* ApŚ.: *mṛtyor mukṣiṣya mā patyuh* MŚ.: *preto muñcatu mā pateh* PG.†

§220. Loc. sg. in *i* : *ī*. Despite Wackernagel's scepticism (3 p. 155), which admittedly has much justification, we are inclined to hold that *upaśruti* in the following is a loc.; and probably *upaśruti* also, tho we have suggested the possibility of taking it as an adverbial (quasi-neuter) accus. (VV 2 §525):

*agne tam sūktandḥ asy upaśruti* (MS. °ti, TB. *upaśrito*) *divas* (TB. *divah*) *prthivyah* MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

§221. Loc. sg. in *ā* : *au*. On the original distinction see Wackernagel 3 p. 152 f.; *au* belongs to the position before a pause (contrary to the usage in the nom.-acc. dual, §128), and internally before a vowel (being then represented by *ā* before *u* vowels, *āe* before others, in RV. SV. VS.; for other schools see VV 2 p. 414), while *ā* occurred before a following consonant. Among the variants we find the shift only internally before a consonant. Generally speaking late and secondary texts substitute *au* for original *ā*.

*ṛtasya yonā mahiṣā ahoṣata* RV.: *ṛtasya yonau mahiṣā agrbhnan* (TS. KS. ApMB. *ahinvan*) TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

*aya(h)ethūnam* (TS. °ndv) *uditan* (RV. °tā) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. *śidan yonā* (SV. *yonau*) *vaneṣv ā* RV. SV.

*utoditā* (AV. °tau) *maghavan sūryasya* RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB.

*śatā nī yonā* (SV. *yonau*) *kalāṣeṣu śidatī* RV. SV.

*devo nardānso 'gnau* (ŚŚ.† 'gnā) *vasuwanī*... AŚ. ŚŚ.

*śatā* (SV. VS. *śitau*) *vijasya kāravaḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

[*mā tvī nī kran pūrvacito* (AV. °cittā, MS. °cittau) *nikāriṇah* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The accent of AV. *pūrvacittā* corresponds neither with *pūrvacito* nor with *pūrvacittau*. Following p.p. it is usually taken as nom. pl., for °cittāḥ, a poor substitute for °cito. But the MS. reading suggests that the p.p. may be wrong and a loc. intended.]

§222. Nom.-acc. sg. neut. in *in*. No grammar recognizes the neuter ending *in* from *i* stems except for the pronoun *kin* (see e.g. Lanman NI, 377, Wackernagel 3 §72). But TS. TA. agree on *śānasin* in the following, which can be nothing else. It is of course due to the analogy of *a* stems, and perhaps to the direct suggestion in the following and parallel adjectives *dyumnah* (TS. KS. *sūtyam*) *citraśravastanam*:



*aso* (TS. MS. KS. TA. *śravo*) *devasya sāsni* (TS. TA. <sup>°</sup>*sim*) RV. VS.  
TS. MS. KS. TA.

[*mā me hārdi* (MŚ. *hārdim*) *triṣā* (MŚ. *triṣā*) *vudhiḥ* TS. MŚ. But here the different, masculine stem *hārdi* would be meant, if MŚ. really intended *hārdim* (three mss. *hārdi*).]

§223. Alternative writing of *iy* and *y* in stem final of *i* and *j* stems. This purely phonetic matter has been treated in VV 2 §§788-792 and need not be discussed here, as it does not really concern inflection.

## CHAPTER VI

### LONG AND SHORT *U* STEMS

§224. The conditions here are different from those of the *i* and *ī* stems in several respects. In the first place, there seems to have been no *ū* declension originally corresponding to the *devī* type. Stems in *ū* were either declined like *vykī* (polysyllabic stems, type *tanū*) or like *śrī* (monosyllabic stems, type *bhū*). Forms analogous to *devī* begin to occur quite early, to be sure; in the case of *tanū* nouns, as early as the RV. itself. But these are rare in RV. and are to be regarded as secondary. This analogical influence, incidentally, never extended to the nom. sg., which in *ū* stems always ends in *s*, even in later Sanskrit. In oblique cases of the sing. it is extended also to *ū* feminines, as in the *i* declension.

§225. As in the case of *i* and *ī* stems, there is considerable inter-influence between long and short *u* stems. But here the matter is complicated by a tendency which manifests itself quite early (already in RV.) to develop a parallelism between masc. and neut. stems in short *u* and corresponding fems. in *ū*. (See Wackernagel 3 §§66b, 68b, 101.) This appears both with *u* and *ū* stems. The former are originally of common gender, and remain optionally so thruout the history of the language; the fem. stem may be like the masc. But *ū* nouns are mostly fem. to begin with. Hence at an early time adjectives in *u* (a very common type) tend to develop fems. in *ū*, by the side of those in *u*, or also in *vī* (following the *devī* type; see below, §297). Conversely root stems in *ū* when used in composition, and even derivative (fem.) nouns of the *tanū* type when so used, begin very early to develop masc. and neut. forms in short *u*. We have noted above (§178, end) a single variant which seems to show a like tendency in *i* stems, which has heretofore not been noticed. But adjectives in *i* were always relatively rare, and probably for this reason such a tendency never acquired much scope; whereas the very frequent *u*-stem adjectives afforded a wide field for its development. Hence, in distinction from the interchange between *i* and *ī* stems, that between *u* and *ū* stems is usually found to be connected with this distinction of gender. More concretely, it most commonly means that an original *u* stem shows fem. forms alternatively



with *ū* for *u*, or an original *ū* stem shows masc. or neut. forms alternatively with *u* for *ū*. To be sure, there are cases which go beyond these limitations. For instance, even uncompounded *ū* fems. show forms of the *u* declension (Wackernagel 3 §101a, and §232 below). And root-nouns, and even other nouns, in short *u* sometimes follow the *ū* declension even in the masc., or otherwise avoid the short *u* inflection (§227 ff.); these *ū* forms are however regularly secondary in the variants containing them.

1. *ū* forms (normally fem.) from original *u* stems

§226. We shall begin with interchanges between long and short *u* forms, and first with stems which (at least as masculines or neuters) are originally short *u* stems. The *ū* forms which occur are normally fem.; but occasionally secondary texts show them in masc. forms.

§227. Nom. sg. in *ūs* from *u* stems. The first variant concerns a fem. adjective, so that *ū* is as normal as short *u*. The others, however, are masc.; the *ū* is here clearly secondary, the older form being *u*.

*phaigūr* (KSA. <sup>9</sup>*gur*) *lohitornī balakṣī* (with varr., §206) *tāḥ śārasvatyaḥ*  
VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*śundhyur* (VS. TS. <sup>9</sup>*yūr*) *asī mārjālīyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ.

*avasyur* (VS. ŚB. <sup>9</sup>*yūr*) *asī duvasvān* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. ŚŚ. MS.  
v. 1. <sup>9</sup>*yūr*.

§228. Nom. sg. in *ūs* varying with *ut*. As stated by Whitney, Gr. §345, roots in *u* when used as root-nouns generally take a root-determinative *t*. Forms declined as simple *u* stems occur, indeed, in the oldest language (Wackernagel 3 §66b), but are rare. However, instead of adding *t*, sometimes root-nouns of this type show forms of the *ū* declension. Given the rarity of root-nouns in *u*, without added *t*, it is not unnatural that the very familiar root-nouns in *ū* should affect forms from *u* roots. We thus have a few variants in which a nom. in *ut* varies with one in *ūs*. In every case it seems that the variant originally had *ut*, and that *ūs* is secondary. All are masculine. The first two variants should be added to VV 2 §554:

*devāśrut imān pravape* MS. MŚ.: *devāśrūr etāni pravape* TS. HG.

*devāśrut tvam deva gharma devo devān pāhi* (MS. *gharma devān pāhi*  
*lapojān*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *devāśrūs tvam deva gharma devān pāhi* TA.  
ApŚ.

*havanāśrun* (TB. *hāvaṇāśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhī* RV. TB.

§229. Nom. pl. in (*u*)*vas* from *u* stems. (The ending is doubtless always to be pronounced *uvas*; on the writing *vas* : *uvas* cf. VV 2

§§788-93.) The first three variants concern feminine adjectives, where the *ū* form causes no difficulty. In the others the proper masc. form *vīpaṇyarah* of RV, is changed to *\*yuvas* in SV. The latter form occurs in RV, but only as a fem. This change has a phonetic aspect, cf. VV 2 §§601-4, and below §231. It is shown in VV 2 l. c. that SV. prefers *u* for *a* before *v*.

*vīradhaḥ pṛayīṣṇaḥ* (TS. MS. KS. *\*navah*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. *lasya prajā apsarasā bhīruvāḥ* (MS. *bhīravo nāma*) TS. MS.

*sumnāyuvāḥ* (KS. *\*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnām* (KS. *\*nyam*) *dhatta* MS. KS. *tad viprāso vīpaṇyarah* (SV. *\*yuvah*) RV. SV. VS. NṛpU. VāsuU. SkandaU. ĀruṇU. MuktiU.

*tā vām gīrbhīr vīpaṇyarah* (SV. *\*yuvah*) RV. SV.

§229a. Once, in a fem. voc. pl. of a cpd. of *kratu*, the RV. has *-kratras* (Wackernagel III §78), for which KS. has the more regular *-kratavas*, while MS. KapS. substitute a sing. *-krato* (still fem., not masc., cf. Oertel 74):

*adhā* (TS. MS. *athā*) *śatakratavo* (KS.† *\*kratavo*, MS.† KapS. *\*krato*) *yāyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ŚB.

§230. Instr.-dat.-abl. dual in *abhyām* from *u* stem. The variants concern the stem *hanu*. Wackernagel 3 p. 54 f. explains the *ū* as derived from the nom. dual *hanū*; but cf. §189 above, where similar forms from *i* stems are mentioned. We prefer to regard these cases as of the same sort as other long-vowel forms in short-vowel declensions. Only TS. has *ū*, cf. §175a:

*hanūbhyām* (KSA. *hanu\**) *svāhā* TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

*hanubhyām* (TS. *hanū\**) *stenān bhagavāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

## 2. *u*-forms (normally masc.-neut.) from original *ū* stems

§231. Among the variants occur chiefly compounds of monosyllabic ('radical') nouns in original *ū*; in addition there is one case of *tanuḥ* varying with *tanūḥ*, in which the former is clearly secondary (cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 194), and one of a compound of this stem, a masc. adjective in which *uḥ* (two texts) varies with *ūḥ* (one text; cf. *ibid.*). Nearly all the forms are of masculine or neuter gender, as is to be expected. Only three cases are represented: nom. sg., dat. sg., and nom. pl. In the two latter the phonetic moment of *a* : *u* before *v* plays a rôle; see VV 2 §§601, 604, and above §229.

§232. Nom. sg. in *us* from *ū* stems. Besides the two cases of *tanū* just mentioned, the variants chiefly concern compounds of *bhū*, and are of masc. gender:



*iyam te yajñīyā tanūh* (VSK. *tanuh*) VS. VSK. ŚB. ApŚ.; *iyam* (VS. ŚB. *eyā*) *te kukra tanūr*... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*agne sadakṣaḥ satanur* (KS.† °*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.; *agnih sudakṣaḥ sultanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ. Masc. adjectives.

*ābhūr* (MS. KS. *ābhūr*) *asya niṣaṅgathih* (VS. °*dkih*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Masc.

*śambhūr* (KS. °*bhur*) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Masc.; note retention of *ū* in *mayobhūr* in KS.

*vibhūr* (PB. *vibhur*) *asī pravāhaṇaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. MŚ.† HG. Masc.

*vibhūr* (KSA. *vibhur*) *mātrā prabhūh* (KSA. *prabhuḥ*) *pitṛā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Masc.

*sumnahūr* (KS.† °*hur*) *yajña* (TS. *yajño devān*) *ā ca vakṣat* VS. TS. MS. KS. KapŚ. ŚB. MŚ. Oertel 139. Add to VV 2 §554.

*śitipāc chityoṣṭhaḥ śitibhrus* (KSA.† °*bhrūs*)... TS. KSA. Masc. Add to VV 2 §554.

§233. Dat. sg. in *ase* from *ū* stems. Only in masc. and neut. compounds of *bhū*. The writing *ase* for *se* concerns phonetics; see VV 2 §789.

*abhibhūve* (MS. *abhibhve*, KS. *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*vibhūve* (KS.† *vibhave*, MS. *vibhve*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*sanireśāyopareśāya*... 'bhibhūve (MŚ. 'bhibhave...) *svāhā* KS. MŚ.: *aristya avyathya*... 'bhibhūve *svāhā* KS. Add to VV 2 §604.

§234. Nom. pl. in *avas* from *ū* stems. In compounds of monosyllabic stems:

*śitibhravo* (MS. °*bhravo*) *vasānām* VS. MS. Cf. last variant in pre. § but one.

*samudraṁ na subhraḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ* RV.: *samudraṁ na suhavam* (AV. *suhavas*, TB. Poona ed. *suhavam*) *tasthivāṁsam* AV. TB. ApŚ.: *mūhigam naḥ subhvaṁ tasthivāṁsam* MS. Ppp. reads as MS. except *suhavas*, for which Barret emends *suhavas*, suggesting also *suhavam* (JAOS. 35. 46); *suhavas* would do perhaps as well as *suhavam*, altho the AV. comm. understands the word as fem. (if the nom. is to be retained it is not clear what it refers to, so that the gender is uncertain; in RV., perhaps not a real variant of this passage, *subhvaḥ* is fem.; the acc. form must be masc.).

### 3. Influence of *devī* declension on *u* and *ū* stems

§235. This has been discussed above in §225. The variants are mostly *ū* stems of the *tanū* type, to which are added one or two short *u* stems. (On fem. adjectives in *vī* see §297.)

§236. Acc. sg. *tanūm* : *tanvam*. Only this stem varies in the acc. sg.; *tanūm* is not Rigvedic.

*savitṛā prasūtā daivā dpa unīdantu te tanūm* (VSK. *tanvaḥ*; the *jaṭā-pāṭha* has *tanūm*) *dirghāyutaṛā varcase* VSK. KŚ. PG.

*svayā tanvā tanvam airayat* AV.: *svān yat tanūm tanvām airayata* MS.

AA. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS. KSA.: *svayām yat tanvām* (TS. *tanuam*) *tanūm airayata* TS. KŚ.

*na te tanūm tanvā saṁ papreyām* AV.: *na vā u te tanvā tanvaḥ* (AV. *te tanūm tanvā*) *saṁ papreyām* RV. AV.

§237. Dat. sg. in *vai* from *ū* stems (*tanū* type); cf. VV 2 §705. To these cases are to be added those in which the form in *vai* is used in the sense of a genitive and varies with *vas*. They are grouped in §144.

*saṁ vāstu tanvai tava* VS.: *saṁ u te tanve* (TS. *tanuve*) *bhuvai* TS. KSA.:

*saṁ astu tanve mama* AV. In VS. the svarita accent is retained in *tanvāi*.

*saṁ lokāya tanuve* (SMB. *tanvai*) *syonah* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG.

*saṁveśanas tanuvai* (SV. KS. MŚ. *tanve*) *cāruṣ edhi* SV. KS. TB. TA.

ApŚ. MŚ. In the accented texts (TB. TA.) the svarita accent of *tanve* is retained in *tanvāi*.

*kuhvai* (KSA. *kuhve*) *trayo 'runaitāḥ* TS. KSA. Von Schroeder emends

KSA. to *kuhvai*. TS. accents *kuhvāi*, i.e. with the svarita of *kuhvē*.

§238. Dat. sg. in *vai* from short *u* stems. One variant from the fem. noun *jīvātu*. The others are infinitives in *tavai* : *tave*. See above, §183. We do not think it likely that the infinitive ending *tavai* is really due to the direct influence of the *devī* declension; it is hardly likely to be a feminine form at all. But as it is externally similar to these forms, it seems that such variants must be included here. (NB. By an incomprehensible and most deplorable slip, VV 2 §705 records the variant *sunavai* : °*ve* in *śakrāya su° tvā* RV. JB. as a dative form. [Also *indrāya su° tvā* in the same passage should have been quoted.] The form is of course a 1st sg. subj., and might have been noticed in VV I §26; but *sunave* is doubtless a bad reading, if not a phonetic simplification; Oertel JAOS. 18. 28 reads as RV.)

*agneḥ tvā mātrayā... jīvātave* TS. KŚ.: *agneḥ tvā mātrayā... jīvātvai* ...MS.

*daśamāsyāya sūlave* (HG. °*vai*) ApMB. HG. Also *daśame māsi sūlave* RV. etc.

*havydyāsmāi voḍhave* (KS. °*vai*) *jātavedaḥ* TS. MS. KS. Kauś.

*puṣe putrāya vettavai* (ŚB. BṛhU. *vittaye*, KS.† *kartave*, MG. *kartavai*, v. l. °*ve*) KS. ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. MG.



§239. Abl. sg. in *eds* from *ū* stem (*tanū*).

*agne yan me tanēd* (TS, *tanūēd*) *ūnam* (ŚŚ, *yan me ūnam tanēas*) *tan*...

VS, TS, ŚB, ŚŚ, PG.: *yan me agne ūnam tanēas tan*... MS, KS.

The accented texts (VS, TS, ŚB.) retain the svarita accent of the older *tanēds* (TS, *tanūēd*).

§240. Loc. sg. in *vām* from *ū* stem (*tanū*).

*svān yāt tanūn tanēdm airayata* MS, AA, AŚ, ŚŚ.: *svayā tanvā tanvām*

*airayat* AV.: *svā yāt tanū tanvām airayata* KS, KSA.: *svayān yāt*

*tanvām* (TS, *tanuvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS, KŚ. As above, the

svarita accent is retained in accented texts (TS, *tanūvām*).

[*svayān tanūn* (RV, *tanū*)... RV, ApMB, MG. Knauer mistakenly regards *tanūn* as a 'shortening' of *tanvām*; but see VV 2 §308.]

§241. Nom. pl. in *ās* from (fem. of an) *u* stem.

*mānda vādh kundhyār* (KS, *kundhyuo*) *ajirāh* TS, KS. Nom. pl. fem.

adjective; the ending *ās* is anomalous in either *u* or *ū* stems, and is clearly due to the analogy of *devī* forms; more specifically, to the parallel *is* (and *ās*?) forms in the context.

#### 4. Alternative case endings within the same declension

§242. We come now to forms which can hardly be said to be due to any known 'foreign' influence, at least within historic times; that is, variant forms both of which may be called proper to one declension, so far as the usage of our texts goes. Cf. the similar *i* and *ī* forms, §§216 ff.

§243. Instr. sg. *uś* and *vś*. One variant of *madhu*; see Lanman NI. 409, Wackernagel 3 p. 146, and next section.

*kratuḥ rihanti madhuvābhy* (SV, *madhvābhy*) *añjate* RV, AV, SV.

§244. Abl. sg. *os* and *vas*. The variants concern *madhu* and *rasu*, for both of which the regular forms in RV. are *madhvaḥ*, *rasvaḥ* (Wackernagel 3 §75a note, cf. §69a). In all the variants RV. shows these forms, while later texts substitute *madhoḥ*, *rasoḥ*, which are rare in RV. but regular later.

*madhvaḥ* (SV, *madhoḥ*) *pavanta ūrmayaḥ* RV, SV.

*madhvaḥ* (SV, *madhoḥ*) *pavusva dhārayā* RV, SV.

*madhvaḥ* (SV, *madhoḥ*) *pibanti gauryaḥ* RV, SV, AV, MS.

*madhvaḥ* (VS,\* MS, ŚB, TA, LŚ, *madhoḥ*) *pibatam asvina* RV, VS.  
(both) MS, ŚB, TA, AŚ, ŚŚ, LŚ.

*madhvaḥ* (AV, SV, *madhoḥ*) *cakānai cārur madāya* AV, SV, AŚ, ŚŚ.

*madhvo* (SV, *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* RV, SV.

*ed u madhvo* (SV, PB, *madhor*) *madintaram* RV, AV, SV, PB, AŚ, ŚŚ.

*vasvah* (TB. TA. MahānU. *vasoh*) *kavid vandti nah* RV. KS. TB. TA. MahānU.

*vasor vaso puruṣpṛhah* SV.; *vaso vasvah puruṣpṛhah* RV.

§245. Loc. sg. in *ā* : *vī* (*uvi*), and in *vi* : *vī*.

*śruciṣva ghytaṁ camēiva* (TB. ApŚ. *camū iva*) *somah* RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The loc. of this word is otherwise *camū* in RV. The isolated *camēiva* is parallel to and perhaps influenced by *śruciṣva*, cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 188. Yet the similar *tanvi* is regular.

*na dhvasmānas tanvī* (TS. *tanuvi*) *repa ā dhuḥ* RV. TS.

§246. Loc. sg. in *ā* : *au*. Wackernagel 3 p. 153 says that *ā* for *au* in *u* stems is not proved, despite the frequent occurrence of it in the parallel form of *i* stems; he denies various cases which have been suggested. He says nothing about the form *sumnayā*, which seems to us a more likely instance than any other. This isolated form is commonly considered an instrumental, from an otherwise unknown stem *sumnayā*. It occurs only once in RV. (in the variant here quoted, 10. 101. 4), and the AV. variant has *sumnayau*. AV. 7. 55. 1 has *sumnayā* (the only occurrence in AV. and apparently the only other one anywhere), and Whitney notes that there a locative seems required. To us it seems almost certain that *sumnayā* is loc. to the familiar stem *sumnaya*. Render: 'the wise (*kavis* span the yokes etc.) before the gods, before (presumably = for the benefit of) the pious man.'

*dhīrā deveṣu* (KS.\* *indrāyu*) *sumnayā* (AV. *°yau*, VS. *sūmnayā*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB.

§247. Nom. acc. sg. neuter in *u* : *ū*. This is regarded by Wackernagel 3 §72 as a matter of rhythmic lengthening; the *padapāṭha*s have in fact *u* for *ū*. Only one variant has been found (cf. VV 2 §555). *sa hi purū* (SV. *puru*) *cid ojaṣā virukmatā* RV. SV.

§248. Nom. acc. pl. neuter in *u* : *ūni* (: *ū*).

*vīcā vasu* (TS. ApMB. *vasūni*) *dadhīre vāryāni* RV. VS. TS. KS. ApMB. (KS. v. l. *vasū*.) The meter is better in the original form; *vasūni*, the later and secondary reading, makes the cadence difficult.

[*saṁ gṛbhāya purū* (TB. *puru*, Poona ed. *purū*) *kalā* RV. AV. MS. KS. TB.]

§249. Loc. sg. in *vam* (?): *vām*. One variant contains a form which can only be intended as a locative of *tanū*, and which appears according to well-established tradition as *tanvam* in two sūtra texts, while a third has the regular *tanvīm*. Caland in his translation of ApŚ. adopts *tanvīm* from MŚ.; we should probably follow him but for the fact that AŚ. certainly read *tanvam*, as well as ApŚ. (the AŚ. comm. repeats the form);



this seems to us to make it certain that the form *tanvam* is no mere scribal error. The preceding adjective *vīśvabhṛti*, which can only modify *tanvam*, makes it equally certain that the form is meant as a locative. No such form, with short *a* before *m*, is recognized in any grammatical authority. We know of only one other place at which it might with some plausibility be assumed; this is AV. 19. 37. 2, *varca ā dīhī me tanvām*; here SPP. reads *tanvām* with the comm. and one ms.; cf. Lanman, *Nīfl.* 412. Another way out in this case would be to take *tanvām* as acc. (cf. §380, and on two accusatives with verbs of placing §535). (Lanman l. c. mentions also AV. 19. 55. 3 *tanvām*, suggesting that *tanvām* be read, but here the acc. is quite possible as object of *puṣema*.) While we have no explanation for the form, we find it impossible to deny that at least in the ApŚ. AŚ. form of the following variant, and perhaps also in AV. 19. 37. 2, *tanvam* is used as loc. sg. of *tanū*:

*prajāpater vīśvabhṛti tanvam* (MŚ. °*vām*) *hutam asi svāhā* (AŚ. omits *svāhā*) AŚ. 3. 11. 11 (omitted in Conc.) ApŚ. MŚ. 'Thou art offered in the all-sustaining body of Prajāpati.'

§249a. On *tanūn*, loc. sg., for *tanū*, see VV 2 §308.

§250. Voc. sg. neuter *u* : *o*. In one variant this shift occurs; cf. Wackernagel 3 §77, Whitney §336h, where VSK. *uru* should be added to the small stock of voc. neut. forms of the *u* declension. We may note that AV. TS. have this pāda in nominative form (. . . *urv antarikṣam*), and VSK. may possibly have been influenced thereby (a sort of blend of the two readings). But VV 2 §912 is wrong in calling VSK. 'illogical'.

*dyāvāpṛthivī uro* (VSK † *urv*) *antarikṣa* VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB.

§251. Alternative writing of *uv* and *e* in stem final of *u* and *ū* declensions. As in the similar case of *iy* : *y* (§223), we refer to VV 2 §§788–93 for this phonetic or orthographic question.

## CHAPTER VII

### R STEMS AND CONSONANT STEMS

#### 1. Stems in *r*

§252. Most of the few variants concerning this declension are cases of genitive plurals. In this case-form TS. has only short *r* (Keith, *HOS.* 18, cxli, cxlviii); the variants show the same form sporadically in TA. and MS. It should be noted that ApŚ. according to Garbe's text (which reports no variants) fails to follow TS. in this respect in its two variants. Is this due to editorial carelessness?

*svāveśo 'sy agregā netṛnām* (TS. *netṛ<sup>o</sup>*) TS. MS. KS.: *agrenīr asi svāveśa unnnetṛnām* VS. ŚB. Three mss. of MS. also *netṛ<sup>o</sup>*.

*ākhuḥ kaśo...te pītṛnām* VS. VSK. MS.: *pāṅktrah* (but see VV 2 §418) *kaśo...te pītṛnām* (KSA.† *pītṛ<sup>o</sup>*) TS. KSA.

*pītṛnām* (TS.† MS. *pītṛ<sup>o</sup>*) *ca manmabhiḥ* RS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ. Kauś. N.

*pītṛnām* (TS. *pītṛ<sup>o</sup>*) *sadanam asi* TS. ApŚ.

*devānām teḍ pītṛnām* (ApŚ. *pītṛ<sup>o</sup>*) *anumato bhartuṃ śakeyam* TA. ApŚ. *yā no dadāti bravaṇam pītṛnām* KS.: *sā no dadātu bravaṇam pītṛnām* (TS. *pītṛ<sup>o</sup>*) TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N.

*dhātā dhātṛnām* (TS.† *dhātṛ<sup>o</sup>*) *bhuvanasya yas patih* RV. TS. KS.

*prajananam vai pratizṛthā...pītṛnām* (TA. Poona ed. *pītṛ<sup>o</sup>*, v. 1. *pītṛ<sup>o</sup>*)... TA. MahānU.

*astāv agnir narām* (MS. *nṛnām*) *sūsevah* RV. VS. MS. Both these genitives of *nṛ* are Rigvedic.

§253. In strong case forms of nouns of relationship, Tait. texts twice present the vridhī instead of the guṇa grade in compounds (cf. Wackernagel 2. 1 §43a):

*sudakṣā dakṣapitarā* (TB. *\*pitārā*) RV. TB.

*ye devā manoḥātā* (MS. KS. MŚ. *manu<sup>o</sup>*)... *sudakṣā dakṣapitaras* (TS.† *\*tāras*)... TS. MS. KS. BDh. ViDh.

§254. The gen.-loc. dual ending *ros* is regularly pronounced dissyllabically (as *uros* or *ros*? Wackernagel 3 §113). The TB. reading of the



following seems to be an attempt to do justice to this pronunciation; see VV 2 §368:

*asammṛṣṣo jāyase mātroph* (TB. *mātrvoh*) *śuciḥ* RV. TB.

## 2. Consonant stems: variant ablaut forms

§255. We find first a group of cases concerning real or apparent variation in ablaut grade of consonantal stems. Most often the vowel *a*, of normal (*guṇa*) grade, varies with *ā* which on its face is *vṛiddhi* grade, tho it may be actually due to secondary analogy of one sort or another. The same *guṇa* form in *a* may also vary in weak cases with zero grade. We begin with a case of nom. sg. masc. of a stem in *-sad*, lengthened to *-sād* in two texts. It has been noted in VV 2 §499 that the grammars do not recognize ablaut in this stem:

*viśvā āsā dakṣiṇasat* (AB. AŚ. <sup>°</sup>*śāt*, ŚŚ. *dakṣiṇataḥ*, LŚ. *dakṣiṇadhak*) VS. MS. AB. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.

§256. And once we find what appears to be lengthening of the *a* in the nom. of a participial stem in *ant*. If correct, this would doubtless be caused by the analogy of *mant* and *vant* stems. But it occurs in an unpublished part of MŚ, and is suspicious (VV 2 §503):

*anadvāns tapyate vahan* (MŚ. *talpate vahān*) ApŚ. MŚ. Note *anadvāns* in the same *pāda*.

§257. Nom.-acc. neuter forms are normally made from the weak stem, but occasionally strong forms are found by analogy with the masc. The variants contain two compounds of *pad* appearing in RV. regularly as *pad*, but in later texts as *pād*; and one case of an *s* stem. See Wackernagel 3 pp. 235, 288:

*dvīpac catuṣpad* (AV. Ppp. VS. Kauś. *dvīpāc catuṣpād*) *asmākam* RV. AV. Ppp. VS. VSK. TS. Kauś.

*dvīpac catuṣpad* (SV. *dvīpāc catuṣpād*) *arjuni* RV. SV.

*yachā naḥ śarma saprathāḥ* (VS. KS. TA. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. <sup>°</sup>*thāḥ*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. SMB. HG. ApMB. N.: *yachāsmāi śarma saprathāḥ* AV. TS. That *s* stems occasionally show nom. acc. neut. forms in *ās* is certain (Lanman 560; Wackernagel l. c., 228, and cf. next variant). Since *saprathās* is a standard epithet of *śarma*, it seems best to take it so here in all texts, tho it would be possible to understand *saprathās* as a fem., agreeing with the subject of *yachā*, the earth (so apparently Keith on TS.). Cf. VV 2 §502.

[*śarmā* (TA. <sup>°</sup>*nu*) *saprathā āvṛṇe* KS. TA.: *śarma yachātha saprathāḥ* AV. But all mss. of AV. <sup>°</sup>*thāḥ*, which should be read; VV 2 §502.]

§258. The acc. sg. of masc. *s* stems normally has short *a*. But in

one variant the KS. ms. reading shows *ā*. Wackernagel 3 p. 182 denies this lengthening to other *s* stems than *uṣas*, and von Schroeder emends the KS. to short *a*; but cf. Whitney §415b, 2, 3. We see no reason for refusing to recognize the KS. form with *ā*, tho we do not doubt that it is analogical and secondary; it may be metri gratia, see VV 2 §502: *viśām agnim atithīm suprayasam* (KS. \**yāsam*) RV. KS.

§259. The stem *ayā* normally shows no ablaut, the *ā* being always long. In some secondary texts, however, weak case forms are made with short *a*, on the analogy of *as* stems. So Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.* s. v., convincingly. Geldner, *VSt.* 3, 122, n. 5, and Wackernagel 3 p. 282, derive the form *ayāsā* from the different stem *ayas*, 'iron', which in some occurrences seems to us clearly impossible:

*ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ* ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ. *vayasā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś. Cf. also *ayasā havyam ūhiṣe*, with variants, below §416, and VV 2 §502.

§260. The stem *vṛṣan* regularly has no vridhhi in its strong cases. But occasionally, by analogy with other *n* stems, such forms as *vṛṣāṇas* occur (Wackernagel 3 p. 267):

*vṛṣāṇaḥ* (TB. *vṛṣāṇaḥ*) *samidhīmahi* RV. AV. SV. TB. ŚB. Both nom. pl.

§261. The stem *ap*, *ap*, 'water', regularly has *āpas* in the nom. and *apas* in the acc., but the two are occasionally interchanged. The variants show one such interchange in the acc.; the only recorded variant for the nom. is due to an editorial error:

*apo* (RV. AŚ. *āpo*) *adyāne acāriyam* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ. MŚ. MG. ApMB. Note that RV. itself has *āpo* as acc.

[*śam no bhavante āpa oṣadhayāḥ* (*apa oṣadhīḥ*) *śivāḥ* AV. (both). So RWh.; but *āpa* is an emendation, withdrawn by Whitney in his translation. The word is *apā* both times, tho nom.; VV 2 §498 suggests metrical shortening.]

§262. In compounds of *han*, we find the strong stem *-han* instead of the weak *-ghn* in the acc. pl.: cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 328:

*rakṣoghno* (MŚ. MŚ. add *vo*) *valagaghnaḥ prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān* MS. KS.

ApŚ. MŚ.: *rakṣoḥaṇo* (VS. ŚB. add *vo*) *valagahanaḥ prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān* (ApŚ.\*† *vaiṣṇavam*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. (his).

*rakṣoghno valagaghno* 'vasiñcāmi' (and, 'vāstrñāmi') *vaiṣṇavān* KS. (his): *rakṣoḥaṇo* (VS. ŚB. add *vo*) *valagahano* 'vāstrñāmi' *vaiṣṇavān* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.

§263. In a single variant ApMB. may possibly show a nom. pl. masc. form of a participle with weak instead of strong stem, a kind of con-



fusion which is more extensively found in Prakrit. That a nom. is intended seems to us virtually certain (cf. the following *ukṣamāṇāḥ* which is perfectly parallel). To be sure the state of the text of ApMB. is such that almost anything is conceivable; cf. Winternitz xvii. And, as W. suggests, the true reading might be *vahato* . . . *ukṣamāṇāḥ*, with both epithets acc., going with *gṛhān* in the first pāda.

*irāṁ vahanto* (ApMB. *vahato*, MG. *vahantī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇāḥ* AŚ. ApŚ.

AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG.: *irāṁ vahantaḥ sumanasyamāṇāḥ* HG.

§264. Finally, from *vant* and *vant* stems are occasionally formed nom.-acc. pl. neuter forms with lengthened *a*. Among the variants they occur only in RV., and are replaced in SV. by the 'regular' forms with short *a*. Cf. Whitney §454c (the statistics are incomplete), and Wackernagel 3 p. 258 f.:

*ava droṇāni ghṛtarāntī sūda* (SV. °*vantī roḥa*) RV. SV.

*mīteva sadma paśumāntī* (SV. °*manti*) *hotā* RV. SV.: *pari sadmeva paśumāntī hotā* RV.

### 3. Interinfluence of stems in *vant*, *vāns*, (*v*)*as*, *van*

§265. The similarity in form and meaning between formations of this sort has led to various confusions, some of which established themselves as regular elements in Vedic declension. This is most strikingly true of the vocative forms of *vant* and *vāns* stems (Wackernagel 3 pp. 258, 301). It must be assumed that the original voc. endings were *van* and *vas* respectively. But in the Rīgveda *vas* is used almost exclusively from *vant* stems, by analogy with the *vāns* stems. Conversely, in later Sanskrit, beginning with the AV., *van* is used in the voc. of *vāns* stems, by analogy with the *vant* stems which in post-RV. times had this ending; the analogy was assisted by the nom. sg. masc. *vān*, which coincided with the ending of *vant* stems. We find a considerable number of variants between vocatives in *vas* and *van* from *vant* stems, and one (the first) from a *vāns* stem. In all cases where the chronology is clear, *vas* is the older reading:

*holak cikītro* (AV. °*vann*) *avṛṇimahiha* RV. AV.

*harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣitā* (TB. °*atā*) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB. N.: *harṣamāṇā dhṛṣitāso marutvan* AV. (Ppp. also °*van*.)

*namas te astu bhagavaḥ* (GB. MG. °*van*) VS. TS. MS. KS. GB. TA. MG.: *namas te bhagavann astu* VS.

*agnāṣi patnīvan* (VSK.† *agne vākpātni*, MS. KS. MŚ. *patnīvāṣṇ*, TS. *patnīvāṣṇ*) *sajūr devena* (MS. KS. *sajūs*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*ye te sarasva* (KS. °vann) *ārmayah* RV. TS. MS. KS. N.  
*viśvā hi māyā avasī svadhāvah* (SV. °van) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. TA. N.  
*sam xūribhir maghavant* (RV. MS. KS. *harivah*, AV. *harivant*) *sam*  
*svastyā* (RV. *svastī*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.  
*vivasva ādityaiṣa te somapīthas*... TS. KS.: *vivasvann* (VSK. °vā) *ādi-*  
*tyaiṣa te somapīthah* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. MŚ.  
*divo jyote* (and, *jyotir*) *vivasva āditya*... KS. (bis): *devajūte vivasvann*  
*āditya*... MS.

§266. Otherwise the variants here all concern nom. sg. masc. forms. Twice *vant* forms (in *vān*) are substituted for the older *vān* form (in *vā*) from *maghavan*, which quite commonly appears as *-vant* even in later Sanskrit (Wackernagel 3 p. 264 f.):

*svastī na indro maghavān kṛṇotu* AV.: *svastī no maghavā dhāte indrah*  
 RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. MahānU.: *svastī no maghavā karotu* TS. TA.  
 MahānU.: *idam havir maghavā vete indrah* SV.

*satrācyā maghavā* (SV. *maghavānt*) *somapīthaye* RV. AV. SV.

§267. The others are purely sporadic. The stem *sr-avas*, an *s* stem in which the preceding *r* is radical, not suffixal, is once, in RV. itself, drawn into the *vant* (or *vāns*?) declension, showing a nom. in *vān* (Wackernagel 3 p. 287). In the other variant a perf. pple. in *vāns* shows in a secondary reading a nom. in *vā*, as if from a *vān* stem (perhaps aided also by *as* stems? followed by *y*, so that *-ās* would appear as *-ā*). Wackernagel 1 p. 332, 3 p. 300 supra, has noted this variant; he seems to think that external sandhi (before *y*) may be concerned in the form in *-vā*, but he recognizes the unquestionable occurrence of *vān* forms from *vāns* stems elsewhere, and we see no reason to doubt that *-vā* is such a form.

*sumrḍikah* (VSK. °likah) *svavān* (VS. VSK. *svavā*) *yāte arvān* RV. VS. VSK.

*dadhavān* (VS. ŚB. TB. °vā, MS. KS. °vān) *yo naryo apse antar ā*  
 RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

#### 4. Stems in *n*

§268. Aside from one or two *vān* forms, mentioned in the preceding sections, and one case of different ablaut grades noted in §260, most of the variants concerning *n* stems fall into four groups: neuter plurals in *a*, *ā*, and *āni*; oblique cases of the singular with and without the vowel *a* in the stem; instrumentals singular of *man* stems with *nā* for *mnā*; and locatives singular in *an* and *anī*.

§269. Neuter plurals. We should expect to find here a number of



variations between *āni* and *ā* (or *a*), both being common endings of *n* stems in the nom.-acc. neuter pl., and this variation being common in *a* stems, which took over the ending *āni* from *n* stems (§160 ff.). Strange to say, we have found hardly a single clear case. The best is *sarvā devānām janīmāni vidvān* Kauś., which seems rather a vague parallel to, than a genuine variant of, *viśvā devānām* (TS. *viśvāni devo*) *janimā vivakti* AV. TS. KS. (§164). Otherwise we find only variants in which the shorter form is probably intended as singular, varying with a plural in *āni*, such as:

*vocad brahmāni* (SV. *brahmets*) *ver u tat* RV. SV. TS. MS. The SV. *brahma* (so p.p.) is no doubt to be taken as sg. with Benfey (who connects it with *tat*).

*ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyusṭiḥ* AV.: *kati dhāmāni kati ye rivāsāḥ* MS. The AV. is undoubtedly sg.

§270. Among neuter plural forms of *n* stems we find, therefore, chiefly variations between *ā* and *a*, where the long vowel cannot be regarded as rhythmically lengthened (VV 2 §459 f., Wackernagel 3 p. 276). In each of our variants short *a* of RV. is replaced in AV. by *ā*; the variations are all noted in Lanman NI. 540:

*yatra gavām nihitā sapta nāma* (AV. *nāmā*) RV. AV.

*varma* (AV. *varmā*) *śreyadhvaṁ bahulā prthūni* RV. AV. KS. ApŚ.

*triṇśad dhāma* (AV. *dhāmā*, MS. *triṇśaddhāmā*) *vi rājati* RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (The AV. variant is not recorded in VV 2 §460.) *Pratika* in MŚ. The compound of MS. MŚ. is to be taken as masc. nom. sg.; but AV. has a neut. pl.

§271. In one variant all MS. KS. mss. have the form *dhāman*, for *dhāma* of the other texts. The preceding adjective *divyāni* proves that only an acc. pl. can be intended. The form is best understood as a sort of blend with the loc. sg. (of goal; the word is dependent on a verb of motion):

*upa pra yāhi* (TS.† *yāta*) *divyāni dhāma* (MS. KS. °*man*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The KapŚ. has *dhāma*.

§272. Oblique cases of the singular with alternative presence or absence of *a* in the stem. The *a* was regular after a long syllable. It was standard in all periods of the language after two consonants; and in the oldest language it is often written after one consonant when the preceding syllable has a long vowel (furthermore, when not so written, it is often shown by the meter to have been pronounced). Cf. Lanman, NI. 524; Wackernagel 1 p. 11, 3 p. 288; Edgerton, *Language* 10.260 *somah kalaśe śatayāmnā* (SV. AV. °*yāmanā*) *pathā* RV. SV. AV. Here,

as just stated, the meter proves that RV. pronounced °*yāmanā*; in SV. AV. it is written so.

*ṛtasya tvā vyomane* (MŚ. *vyomne grhṇāmi*) TS. MŚ.

*ojase balāya tvodyache vṛṣṇe kuṣmāyāyṣe varcase* (MŚ. KS. *vṛṣṇe kuṣmāya*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Here the *a* (in TB. ApŚ.) is uncalled-for, after a short syllable, and clearly secondary.

§273. Instrumentals in *nā* for *mnā* from *man* stems, type *mahinā*. On these forms see Wackernagel 3 p. 268 f., and literature there cited, especially Bloomfield JAOS. 16, clvi.

*vaiśvānaro mahimnā* (TS. *mahinā*, KŚ. *mahīnm*) *viśvakṛṣṭih* (TS. KŚ. *viśvatambhūh*) RV. TS. KŚ. This is the only occurrence in RV. of the metrically bad *mahimnā* after the cesura; see Oldenberg, *Noten* on I.50.7.

*etāvati mahinā* (AV. *mahimnā*) *sam babhūva* RV. AV. Cf. *prec.*

*antarikṣāparṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā prathantu* TS.: *ṛṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā* (VS. *varimnā*) *prathantu* VS. MS. KS.: *divo mātrayā varinā* (VS. ŚB. *varimnā*) *prathasva* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In the last, which is metrical, *varinā* makes better meter.

*dyaur iva bhūmnā prthivīva* (VSK. *bhūmīr iva*) *varimnā* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *dyaur mahnāsi bhūmīr bhūnā* (KS. Kauś. *bhūmnā*) MS. KS. Kauś.: *bhūmīr bhūmnā dyaur varinā* TS.

§274. Loc. sg. in *an* : *anī*. On this see Wackernagel 3 p. 273. The ending *an* is characteristic of older and hieratic language. It also differs from *anī* in being a syllable shorter; the majority of our variants show the form *at* the end of triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas, so that either ending makes good meter. In these variants, where the longer ending *anī* is found in RV., the surrounding pādas are *jagatī*, so that the RV. reading matches them; in such cases the substitution of *an* is apparently due to conscious hieraticism. In other cases the ending *anī* is secondary and introduces a *jagatī* pāda in an otherwise triṣṭubh verse. It is shown by Wackernagel, following Eggeling and Caland, that the Kāṇva recension of the Vājasaneyin school prefers *anī*, against Mādhyamīdina *an*; but if such variants occur in mantras, we have not noticed them, so that our variants happen to show no trace of this.

§275. The cases in which the variant word ends its pāda (triṣṭubh or jagatī) are the following. Four times out of six the *anī* ending is secondary. In all except the first the secondary ending (whether *anī* or *an*) makes the pāda metrically inconsistent with its context, at least in certain texts.



*mā saṁsrkṣāthān parame vyoman* (AB. AŚ. *vyomani*) VS. MS. KS. AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. Here the stanza is otherwise jagati; the AB. AŚ. reading seems to be a (secondary) patching of this pāda to make it consistent,

*grīdyān* (KS. *grīdāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsani* (MS. *apīpakṣa āsan*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

*praty aṅgeṣu prati liṅhāmy ātman* (SMB. *ātmani*) VS. KS. ŚB. TB. SMB. HG.

*taṁ pratyaham arcīṣā vidhya marman* (AV. *marmani*) RV. AV. According to Roth Ppp. reads *marman*.

*satyadharmānā parame vyomani* (MS. *vyoman*) RV. MS.

*sa jāyamānaḥ parame vyomani* (RV.\* *man*) RV. (ter) MS. In RV. consistent with context as to meter.

§276. The next two variants are prose; chronological priority is not very clear:

*apān tvā bhasman* (MS. KS. *bhasmani*) *sādayāmi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

It is possible that MS. really read *bhasmant* (see v. Schr.'s note). *asmin brahmany asmin karmany...* AV.: *asmin brahmany asmin kṣatre 'smin karmany...* ŚŚ.: *asmin brahmany asmin kṣatre...* KS.: *asmin brahmann asmin kṣatre 'syām āśīṣy asyām purodhāyām asmin karman* (PG. *karmany*) *asyām devakūṭyām* TS. ApŚ. PG.: *te naḥ pānte asmin brahmany asyām purodhāyām asmin karmany...* MS. The preponderance of texts seems to point to older *anī*.

§277. Thrice the hieratic ending *an* is introduced secondarily to the detriment of the meter:

*taṁ ātmani* (TS. *ātman*) *pari grhṇīmahe vayam* (MS. *grhṇīmasiḥa*) TS. MS. KS.

*kuṇiḥ kukre ahany ojasinā* (MS. *ahann ojasīne*, KS.† *kukre ahany ojasye*, AŚ. *'hany ojasinām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Clearly *ahani* is required by the meter.

*jyēṣṭhasya dharmān dyukṣor anīke* SV.: *jyēṣṭhasya vā dharmānī kṣor anīke* RV. Benfey is certainly right in regarding *dharmān* as merely a way of writing *dharmān* (note that a dental consonant follows).

§278. Otherwise both forms may be real metrically, if final *y* in *any* (before a vowel) be pronounced as a consonant; or other changes accompany the shift and make the meter sound:

*yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi* KS.: *yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS.: *yasyās ta āsani ghore juhomi* AV.: *yasyās te asyāḥ krūra āsañ juhomi* TS. ApŚ.: *yasyās te ghora āsan juhomi* VS. ŚB.

*ātmann* (IśāU. *ātmany*) *evānupāśyati* VS. IśāU.

[*dirye dhāmann* (TB. Conc. \**dhāmany*) *upahūtaḥ* (TB. \**ta*) TS. MS. TB. (bis). Poona ed. of TB. *dhāmann* both times.]

[*ṛṭīye dhāmāny abhy* (VS. *dhāmann adhy*) *airayanta* VS. TA. † MahānU. † Conc. *dhāmany* for *dhāmāny*.]

§279. As an addendum to the *n* declension, we may mention an isolated curiosity which concerns noun formation rather than inflection: *dhāmne teḍ* KS.: *dhāmnyai teḍ* ApŚ. The latter is due to attraction to the forms which follow in the series of formulas, viz. *sanyai*, *vittiyai*, *śaktyai*, *bhūtyai*.

§280. The Concordance erroneously reports a voc. sg. variant of a neuter *n* stem:

[*vācaspatē vidhe nāman* (AŚ. Conc. *nāma*, but text *nāman*) KS. AB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ.]

Compare the next, where the forms are obscure but look like vocatives of *in* stems:

*lājīṣā chācīṣn* (MS. *lājīṣ śācīṣ*) *yarye garye* (TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ. *śācīṣn yaśo mamaṣn* . . .) VS. TS. MS. KSA. 4, 9 (add in Conc.) ŚB. TB. ApŚ. See Keith's note on TS.; but the MS. form may intend a voc. in *i* (not *in*).

##### 5. Heteroclitic stems and the like

§281. Stems in *an* and *i*, type *asthān* : *dsthī*. On these see Wackernagel 3 p. 302 ff. The variants show shifts between the two forms of the stem in the nom.-acc. pl. (strong stem), and in the weak cases, both those with *bh* endings and the 'weakest' forms. Sometimes the accent—regularly recessive in the *i* stem but on the stem final in the *an* stem—reveals the secondary character of one form.

*teṣāṁ saṁ hanmo akṣāṇi* (AV. *saṁ dadhmo akṣīṇi*, Ppp. *saṁ dadhmo akṣāṇi*) RV. AV. Ppp. Both accents regular.

*aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni* (VS. and v. l. of MS. *'sthīni*) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS.

So far as accents are written they are regular, except that MS. p.p. writes *dsthāni*.

*asthabhyah* (KSA. *asthi*°) *svāhā* VS. KSA. No accent in KSA.

*bhadraṁ paśyemākṣabhīr* (KS. † and v. l. of MG. °*ākṣībhīr*) *yajatrāḥ* RV. SV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. MG. NṛpU. NṛuU. Accent *ākṣībhīr* in KS. anomalous.

*akṣyoḥ* (MŚ. *akṣṇoḥ*) *cakṣuḥ* TS. TAA. MŚ. PG.: *cakṣur akṣṇoḥ* AV. Vait. No v. l. quoted for MŚ.; but mss. of AV. mostly *akṣyoḥ* (or *akṣoḥ*, a bad writing for the same, cf. VV 2 §335, where this might have been quoted); some mss. of Vait. also *akṣyoḥ*, which should be read in AV. Vait. (see Whitney's note).



*caṅṣur ā dhātam akṣyoḥ* (MŚ. *akṣnoḥ*) TS. MŚ.

§282. Stems in *s* : *r* (Wackernagel 3 p. 310 ff.). The single variant noted concerns *ūdhar* : *ūdhas* as a locative; cf. Wackernagel l. c. 311, Oldenberg *RVNoten* on l. 70. 8, both of whom are inclined to deny any loc. *ūdhar* (not to speak of *ūdhas*). It seems, however, impossible to construe the form in the following variant otherwise than as loc. It is very possible that *ūdho* (*ūdhas*) is the true reading of all texts, for most MŚ. mss. read *ūdho* 'di°.

*sūryāyā ūdho* 'dityā (VSK.† KŚ.† *adityā*, MŚ. *ūdhar aditer*, KS. *ūdho aditer*) *upasthe* VSK. TS. KS. ŚŚ. KŚ. MŚ.

§283. Strong cases of stem *panthā(n)*. The older forms (stem *panthā*) are replaced in secondary texts by those from stem *panthan*, sometimes (in the first quoted cases) clearly to the detriment of the meter; but usually this is patched up by other changes. Once even occurs *pathayo* as noun, pl. (from stem *pathi*).

*aṅṣarā rjaraḥ santu panthāḥ* (AV. *panthānaḥ*) RV. AV. ApMB.

*ye te panthāḥ* (TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *panthānaḥ*) *savitāḥ pūrvedaḥ* RV. VS. TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

*ye te panthā adho divaḥ* SV. Svidh.: *ye te panthāno* 'va *divaḥ* AV.

*emaṁ panthām arukṣāma* AV.: *sugam panthānam arukṣam* ApMB.

*panthānam bhrūbhyām* VS.: *panthām* (p.p. *panthānam*) *bhrū*° MS.

*taṁ panthānam* (Ppp. Roth, *panthām*) *jayamānamitram ataskaram* AV. Ppp.

*ye panthāno bahavo devayānāḥ* AV.: *ye catvāraḥ pathayo devayānāḥ* TS.

SMB. PG. BDh. Wackernagel p. 308 plausibly suggests influence of the phrase *pathibhir devayānāḥ*.

§284. Weak forms of *path(i)*. Once the instrumentals *pathā* and *pathyā* from this stem interchange. In RV. VS. ŚB. *pathyā* may indeed be taken as nom. (see §419), but in the others it is certainly instr.:

*vī śloka etu* (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. °*kā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KŚ. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (*sūriḥ*, *sūraḥ*, *sūrāḥ*, VV 2 §328) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

§285. The stem *āsan* : *āsyā*. See Wackernagel 3 p. 317. An interesting blend form *āsyān*, loc. sg., a cross between *āsan* and *āsyā*, seems to have been the true Atharvan reading (AV. GB. Kauś., and possibly Vait.?) in the following; it has not been noted by the Cone. or the grammarians. See VV 2 §328. Most AV. and Kauś. mss. have *āsyān*, and Gaastra adopts it for GB.; it is, to be sure, not noted by Garbe as found in Vait. mss.

*vān ma āsan* (MŚ. PG. *āsyā*) AV. TS. GB. TAA. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. PG. BDh.

*pari svayash cinuṣe annam āsyē* (SV. *āsani*) RV. SV. In a jagati stanza; read *āsiye* in RV., cf. Edgerton, *Language* 10.253 ff.

§286. The stem *yoṣan(ā)* : *yoṣā*. See Wackernagel 3 p. 112. The only variant noted concerns the acc. sg. *yoṣām* : *yoṣaṇām*; both forms are metrically consistent with their surroundings (both RV.), and there is no evidence of priority.

*ny ūhathuḥ purumitrasya yoṣām* (and *yoṣaṇām*) RV. (both)

§287. The stem *yūṣan* : *yūṣa*. See Wackernagel 3 p. 317. *apo yūṣā* (TS. KSA. *yūṣeṇa*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

§288. Stems *rai* : *rayi*. See Wackernagel 3 p. 214 ff., and for the phonetic aspect of this variation VV 2 §396.

*agne sāmṛāḍ iṣe rāye* (ApŚ. *rayyai*) . . . AŚ. ApŚ. : *iṣe rāye* . . . VS. MS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. (Conc. also AŚ. ApŚ. under the last, but the same passage is meant.) *rayyai* is late and secondary.



## CHAPTER VIII

### DIPHTHONGAL STEMS

§289. Compare the last section (*rai* : *rayī*). Besides this, the variants noted all concern the stem *div* (*dyu*), except one isolated case of instr. sg. *nāwayā* varying with *nāwā* from *nau*. On this latter see Wackernagel 3 p. 224. The RV. original has *nāwayā*, which has been used to posit an otherwise unknown stem *nāwā*. Wackernagel however suggests that it is a poetic nonce-formation, substituted for *nāwā* on the analogy of the instr. forms in *ā* : *ayā* from *ā* stems. The AV. *nāwā* is formally more regular, but metrically poor.

*sa naḥ sindhum iva nāwayā* (AV. *nāwā*) RV. AV. TA. For other related formulas see Debrunner, *Festschrift Winternitz*, 7.

§290. Coming to the stem *div* (*dyu*), we find a single anomalous genitive *dyaus* for *dyos*; one acc. pl. *divas* varying with *dyān*; and a considerable number of acc. sg. forms *divam* : *dyām*. The gen. *dyaus* occurs only in MS., for *dyos* of all other texts. No v. l. is quoted. This is a much clearer case than any of the other alleged instances of *dyaus* as abl.-gen., on which see Wackernagel 3 p. 224 *infra*, with references:

*sūryo rūpaṁ kṛṇute dyor* (MS. *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV. AV. VS. MS. TB.

Possibly a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism, cf. VV 2 §732.

§291. The accusative variants, both singular and plural, concern the extension of the stem *div* outside of its proper range; see Wackernagel 3 p. 220. The one case of acc. pl. is:

*atī didyān* (MS. *dyān*, TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. *divas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. TB. ApŚ. The accent in TS. TB. is *divás*, not the Rīgvedic *divas*.

§292. Otherwise only acc. sg. *dyām* varying with (secondary) *divam* is found. This shift is frequent. While *divam* is already common in the RV. itself, the only variants concerning RV. have *dyām* in that text. This form is probably dissyllabic in RV. in all the three following cases; read *dyām* in the first, *diyām* in the second and third (and *prthvīm* in RV. in the third, cf. Edgerton, *Language* 10.252).

*tad astabhñā uto divam* (RV. *uta dyām*) RV. SV. ArŚ.

*dyām* (AV. *divam*) *ca gacha prthivīm ca dharmānā* (AV. *dharmabhiḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

*sa dādāra prthivīm dyām utāmām* (AV.\* *prthivīm uta dyām*, \**prthivīm divam ca*, ApŚ. *prthivīm antarikṣam divam ca*) RV. AV. (bis) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KSA. PB. ŚB. ApŚ. N. According to Roth, Ppp. has *dyām utāmām* for AV. 11. 5. 1.

§293. In one AV. variant the reading *dyām* seems probably secondary, and intended to patch the meter in a changed form of the mantra where the meter requires a monosyllable:

*divam* (Ppp. *dyām*) *antarikṣam ād bhūmim* AV. Ppp.: *divam samudram ād bhūmim* AV. The latter is probably original. It occurs in a Rohita hymn, and is very appropriate to the context, which deals with the sun's defensive activities. The other, with *antarikṣam* for *samudram*, is magical rigmarole, describing the wearer of an amulet; after *divam*, *antarikṣam* follows so naturally! We assume that *divam samudram* was changed first to *divam antarikṣam*; and that then Ppp. tried to correct the meter by substituting *dyām* (here, if a monosyllable, contrary to Sievers' Law) for *divam*.

§294. The remaining cases concern YV. texts, and are chiefly prose; or if metrical, meter seems to play no part in the shift. Nor is there much clear indication of priority; KŚ., apparently the oldest YV. text, prefers *dyām* in a number of cases, but not unanimously:

*divam śabbhāna* KŚ.: *dyām śabbhāna* KŚ.: *divam dṛāha* VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

*divam gacha* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: *dyām gacha* MS. KS. AB. AŚ. MŚ.

*divam* (KS. ApŚ. *dyām*) *te dhūmo gachatu* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. *divam agreṇa mā lekhiḥ* (MS. MŚ. *hiṇsīḥ*) TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *dyām mā lekhiḥ* VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.

*divam agreṇāsprkṣaḥ* VSK.†: *divam agreṇāprāt* (VS. *agreṇāsprkṣat*) VS. TB.: *dyām agreṇāsprkṣaḥ* (MS. KS.\* TB. \**ṣat*) VS. KS. (ter) MS. TB. ŚB.

*ud divam* (KS. *dyām*) *śabbhāna* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. PB. ApŚ.: *divam agreṇāśabbhāna* MS. MŚ.

*sūryeṇa dyām* (KSA. *divam*) TS. KSA.

*ā yā dyām* (MS. *divam*) *bhāsy ā prthivīm orv* (KS. *urv*) *antarikṣam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*drapsas te dyām mā skān* (KS. ApŚ. *skān*, MS. *te divam mā skān*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*ararus te divam mā skān* TS. ApŚ.: *ararus te dyām* (KS. ApŚ. *ararus*



*dyām*) *mā paptat* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *araro divaṁ mā paptah* VS. ŚB. Vait.

§295. The stem *diva* for *div* (*dyu*) is according to Wackernagel (2.1 pp. 109, 113, 146, and 3 p. 220) found in the Veda only in compounds. On *dive-dive* see §678. Tho this is a matter which does not strictly concern the theme of this volume (but rather Noun Formation), we record here in passing a clear case of locative *dive* in KS.; no other interpretation is at all possible:

*divi* (KS. *dive*) *jyotir ajaram* (MS. KS. *uttaman*) *ārabhetām* (MS. KS.†  
°*thām*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

## CHAPTER IX

### ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

#### 1. Feminine adjectives

§296. We find a number of variations between *ā* and *i* stems, feminines to masculines in *a*; see (pending the appearance of Wackernagel II. 2) Thumb-Hirt, *Handbuch*, 197; Macdonell, *VGr.* 273 n. 1; and for the usage in Classical Sanskrit, Renou, *Gr. Scie.* 279 f. The variants reveal no general principles so far as we can see.

*samhitāsi viśvarūpā* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *samhitāsi viśvarūpī* (TS. ApŚ. °pīb) VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*upasthāvarābhyo dāsam* VS.: *upasthāvarābhyo baṇḍam* TB. (so Poona ed.)

*śivā rutasya* (VSK. *śiva rtasya*, TS. and v. 1. of MS. *śivā rudrasya*) *bheṣajī* (MS. °jā) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.

*śivā viśvāha bheṣajī* (TS. *viśvāhabheṣajī*, VS. *viśvāha bheṣajī*, MS. *viśvāha bheṣajā*) VS. TS. MS. KS.

*sakhā saplapadī* (ApMB. °padā) *bhava* AG. ŚG. SMB. Kauś. ApMB. MG.: *sakhe saplapadā bhava* PG.

*pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau* (TB. ApŚ. °vi) VS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. GG. KhG.: *oṣadhyā* (!) *vaiṣṇave sthaḥ* MŚ.

*annādā* (KB. °dā) *cānnapatnī ca bhadrā ca* . . . AB. KB. AŚ.

*vairājī* (KSA.† °je) *puruṣī* (so KSA.†) TS. KSA. We see no reason to emend KSA., as v. Schroeder would.

*śaṁgayī* (MS. ŚB. °gavī, TB. °gayē) *jīradānū* (ŚB. *jīvadānū*) MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

[*vaiśvadevy āmikṣā* MS. KS.† Conc. *vaiśvadevāmikṣā* for KS.]

§297. There are also a couple of cases in which the fem. suffix *ī* is alternatively added to *u* stems, varying with the stem in *u* which may be of either gender; cf. §225 above:

*achīdrām pārayiṣṇum* (SMB. °ṣṇīm) TS. SMB.

*dhiṣaṇe vīdū* (VS. VSK. ŚB. *vīdvī*, KS. *vīle*) *salī* (KS. om.) *vīḍayethām* (VSK. *vī°*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB.

§298. Otherwise we have noted in the Conc. only one erroneous quotation of fem. forms in *ālī* and *anlī* from a *vant* stem:



[*ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā riśantām* (KSA. *viśantām*) RV. TS. KSA.† Conc. *ūrjasvatīr* for KSA.]

## 2. Pronominal adjectives

§299. There are only a few cases of variation between pronominal and nominal endings in these adjectives. See Wackernagel 3 p. 579 ff. Perhaps the most interesting is the first quoted, in which, curiously, the late and secondary ApŚ. substitutes a pronominal for a nominal form of *viśva*, changing its own *Samhitā*; the pronominal forms of this stem are in general prehistoric, the nominal forms secondary, see Wackernagel 3 p. 581.

*viśvadrāḍ asi viśvānām* (ApŚ. *viśvāśām*) *nāṣṭrāṇām hantā* TS. ApŚ.

*ye kekinah prathamāḥ* (MŚ. °*me*) *satram āsata* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. This and the next are quoted from an unpublished part of MŚ.

*viśvasṛjah prathamāḥ* (PB. MŚ. °*me*) *satram āsata* (MŚ. °*te*) PB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*dakṣiṇāyām* (AŚ. °*ṇasyām*) *dikī māśāḥ pitaro mārjayantām* TS. AŚ.

[*te virājam* (KS. *saṃrājam*) *abhi saṃyantu sarve* MS.† KS. Conc. *sarvāḥ* for MS.; but the reading is *sarvā* before a vowel, and *sarve* is intended; so p.p.]

## 3. Numerals

§300. We have noted only the doubtful KSA. reading *aṣṭabhyah* (with short *a* characteristic of the later language) for *aṣṭābhyah*; cf. VV 2 §495, Wackernagel 3 p. 358:

*aṣṭabhyah svāhā* TS. KSA.† (Conc. *aṣṭa*° for KSA.; ed. with ms. *aṣṭā*° in all three occurrences; first hand once *aṣṭa*°)

*aṣṭābhyah śatebhyah svāhā* TS. KSA. Here the ms. of KSA. reads *aṣṭa*°; ed. em. to *aṣṭā*°.

## CHAPTER X

### PRONOMINAL FORMS

#### 1. Enclitic and orthotonic

§301. Almost the only formally equivalent variants in pronominal forms are those in which enclitic and orthotonic forms interchange. We find such variants in the forms of the accusative, dative, and genitive forms, singular and plural, of the first and second personal pronouns. In all three cases in the plural, and in the dative and genitive singular, the orthotonic forms are in each case at least one syllable longer than the enclitic. And even in the accusative singular, when followed by words beginning in a vowel, the orthotonic forms *mām*, *tvām* result in an extra syllable in contrast with the enclitic *mā*, *tvā*, in which the final vowel fuses with a following initial vowel. Consequently variations between these forms generally involve metrical considerations. Usually other changes in the formula result in metrical correctness for both variant forms. At other times one or the other form is metrically imperfect.

§302. Accusative singulars. The forms *mām* : *mā* and *tvām* : *tvā* are the only ones of this class which do not vary in number of syllables; and even they, as we have just seen, produce readings of different syllabic length when followed by initial vowels. In addition to such metrical considerations, certain phonetic moments may be involved. Thus, when a consonant follows, they show presence or absence of final nasal (usually anusvāra), and as such might have been included in VV 2 §§300 ff. Also some of the variants between *mām* and *mā*, when followed by a vowel, seem to involve haplogy or dittology (double or single syllables *mā* or *ma-*); in this connexion some of these variants were listed in VV 2 §812, but that list was incomplete and must be supplemented from the following materials.

§303. Variants of *mām* and *mā* before a vowel in metrical passages: *punar mām aite* (AV. Vait. Kauś. *maite*, TA.\* *mā praitē*) *indriyam* AV. ŚB. TA. (bis) BrhU. ŚŚ. Vait. AG. Kauś. SMB. GG. HG. Cf. also *punar draviṇam* (and *brāhmaṇam*) *aitu mā* (AG. MG. *mām*) TA. AG. SMB. HG. MG. The AV. Vait. Kauś. form is metrically deficient and may be haplogical.



*vrtraghna* (MS. KS. °ghnah) *stomā upa mām upāguh* (AV. *mema āguh*, KS. *mām ihāguh*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Here both forms are made metrical.

*layā mām indra saṁ srja* RVKh.: *layā mā saṁ srjāmasi* HG. ApMB. The RVKh. form would be a syllable short (reading *mendra*) but for its use of *mām* before a vowel.

*taṁ mā saṁ srja varcasā* RV. AV. etc.: *saṁ māgne varcasā srja* RV. AV. KS. ApMB.: *saṁ mām āyuṣā varcasā* (TS. adds *prajayā*) *srja* TS. MS. KS. The first two forms are both metrical, the last (prose) occurs in a different connexion.

*viśve devā abhi rakṣantu* (KS. *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* (AV. °*veha*, Ppp. 5. 4. 4d. *mām iha*) AV. Ppp. KS.†

§304. Variants of *mām* and *mā* before a vowel in prose passages; cf. VV 2 §812 (haplology or dittology):

*tāni mām avantu* SMB.: *te māvatām* AV.: *te māvantu* AV. TS. PG.: *te māvata te mā jinvata* KS. ApŚ.: *te mām avantu* KS. ApŚ.: *tau māvatām* AV.

*āyur bṛhat tad aśiya taṁ māvatu* (MŚ. *mām avatu*) ApŚ. MŚ.: *taṁ māvatu* (MŚ. AG. MG. *mām avatu*) PB. TA. TU. ApŚ. MŚ. AG. MG.: *taṁ mārit* MG.: *taṁ mām ārit* TA. TU.

*ihaiva kṛemya edhī mā prahāṣīr* (ApŚ. °*hāṣīn*) *mām amum āmuṣyāyaṇam* (AŚ. *prahāṣīr amum māmūṣyāyaṇam*, ApŚ.† *māmum āmuṣyāyaṇam*) MS. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Caland assumes for ApŚ. the same text as MS.

*yā devy asīṣṭaka* (°*ke*) . . . *sā mām upaṣeṣva* (MS. *mopaṣeṣva*) . . . MS. KS. ApŚ. (four entries in Cone.)

§305. Variations of *mām* and *mā* before a consonant or final. Here the variants are metrically equivalent, and there is no need to separate metrical from prose variants:

*ā roha mām* (AV. *ā mā roha*) *mahate saubhagāya* RV. AV.

*uddhriyamāṇa ud dhara pāpmano mā* (MŚ. *mām*) AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.

*upa mām* (TB. *mā*) *bṛhat saha divā* . . . *hvayatām* ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. The next five all occur in the same passage in the texts which contain them:

*upa mām sakhā bhakṣo* (TB. *mā bhakṣoh sakhā*) *hvayatām* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*upa mām* (TB. *mā*) *rathamāraṁ saha* . . . *hvayatām* ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.

*upa mām* (TB. *mā*) *vāmadevyaṁ* . . . *hvayatām* ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.

*upa mām* (TB. *mā*) *dhenuḥ* . . . *hvayatām* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*upa mām* (TB. *mā*) *divyāḥ* (TB. ŚŚ. omit) *sapta* . . . *hvayatām* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*evam mām brahmacāriṇaḥ* TA. TU.: *evā mā brahmacāriṇaḥ* Kauś.:  
*evam mā śrīdhātaraḥ* SMB.: *evam mā sakṭāyo brahmacāriṇaḥ* SMB.  
*gopāya mā* (VāDh. *mām*) *śevadhīs te* (with varr.) 'ham asmi SamhitopaniṣadB. VāDh. VīDh. N.

*ṛptā mā tarpayata* (MG. *mām tarpayantu*) KS. MG.

*dīvo nu mām* (HG. ApMB. *mā*) *bṛhato antarikṣāt* AV. HG. ApMB.  
 Prs.: *dīvo nu mām* GB. Vait. Kauś.

*na mām* (N. *mā*) *brūyā vīryavātī tathā syām* VīDh. VāDh. N.

*punantu mā* (RV. *mām*) *devajānāḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB.: Prs.

*punantu mā* (BṛhPDh. *mām*) Vait. Kauś. BṛhPDh.

*punar draviṇam aitu mā* (AG. MG. *mām*) TA. AG. SMB. HG. MG.

The same with *brāhmaṇam* for *draviṇam*.

*prthivī mātā mā mā hīnsīḥ* (VS. ŚB. *hīnsīr mo aham tvam*) VS. TS. ŚB.

ŚŚ.: *mā mām mātā prthivī hīnsī* TS. MS.

*mā mā* (KS. *mām*) *hīnsīḥ svām* (KS. *ṣul svām*) *yonim* . . MS. KS.:

*mā mā hīnsīḥ svām* (*svām*) *yonim* . . VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*samiddho mā* (ŚG. *mām*) *sum ardhaya* VSK. ŚG.

[*āyusmantam karota mā* (RVKh. Aufr. *karotu mām*, Scheft. *karotu me*, KS. *kṛṇota mā*) RVKh. KS. TA. BDh. A dat. or gen. is unconstructable; only *mā* or *mām* can be read in RVKh.; *me* has crept in perhaps from the end of the preceding verse, . . . *deki me*, or else by confusion with the similar *pāṇas dīrgham āyuh kṛṇotu me, sarvam āyur dadhātu me*.]

§306. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* followed by a vowel in metrical passages:

*abhi tvām indra nonumah* RV. SV.: *abhi tvā būra nonumah* RV. AV. SV. VS. etc. A significant case; the final *m* of *tvām* is a sort of 'Hiatus-tilger' (cf. VV 2 §309).

*jayantaṁ tvānu devā madantu* (TS. *tvām anu madantu devāḥ*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. The original was read *tvānu*; TS. implies the irregular or later pronunciation *tvā-* (Edgerton, *Language* 10.247f.), and tries to 'correct' the meter.

*tābhiḥ tvābhīṣiṇāmī* MG.: *tēna tvām abhi*° YDh. The MG. is 'corrected' in YDh. as in prec.

*mahe cana tvām adriṣah* (SV. *tvādrīṣah*) RV. SV. ŚŚ. Both may be read metrically, but Sievers' Law requires *tv-*.

*yam tvām ayam* (TS. KS. *tvāyam*) *svadhītis tejamānaḥ* (*īti jānaḥ*, *tigma-tejāḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS.: *ayam hi tvā svadhītis īti jānaḥ* VS. ŚB. Sievers' Law would make RV. hypermetrical.

*vīśvantu* (read *vīśantu*) *tvām āhutayaś ca sarvāḥ* . . MU.: *vīśvam tu* (read



*viśantu*) *teśhulayaś sarvā(h)*...PrāñāgU. The latter is metrically poor.

[*tēna grhṇāmi tvām aham* (AV. *grhṇāmi te hastam*) AV. VS. ApMB.: *tēna tvāham pratigrhṇāmi tvām aham* HG.]

§307. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* followed by a vowel in prose passages: *etat te tata* (*tālāsau*) *ye ca tvām anu* (KS. *tvānu*) TS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. The same with *talāmaha*, *pīlāmaha*, *pratālāmaha*, *prapīlāmaha*, for *tata* (only KS. reading *tvānu*): *ye ca* (Conc. wrongly omits *ca* for ŚŚ.) *tvām anu* (ŚŚ. *tvām utrānu*) ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. ŚŚ.: *ye cātra tvānu*...MS. GG. KhG.

*prajāś tvānu* (TS. ApŚ. *tvām anu*) *prāṇantu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MS. The TS. form simulates meter, and also makes better assonance with the preceding formula, *prajāś tvām anu prāṇihī*. It is of course secondary.

§308. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* before consonants and final:

*ajasraṁ tvām* (ApŚ. *tvā*) *sabhāpālāś* TB. ApŚ.

*atas tvā viṣṇuḥ pātu* MS.: *viṣṇus tvām indriyeṇa pātu* (TS. KS. *tvām pātu*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.

*avatām tvām* (VSK. KS. ApŚ. *tvā*) *dyāvāprthivi* VS. VSK. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*vīśvāś tvām* (KS. *tvā*) *prajā upāvarohantu* VS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*viṣṇus tvā* (SMB. v. 1. *tvām*) *nayatu* SMB. PG.: *viṣṇus tvām unnayatu* MG. Note that in MG. *tvām* is used before a vowel; 'hiatustilger'? [*tvā* (!) *manasānārtitena vācā*...KŚ. Read *tvām* or *ā tvā* (so Weber in note), or *tvāmanasā*\*.]

[*tvām* (so Poona ed.; Conc. *tvā*) *bhūlāny upaparyāvarantā* TA.]

[*deva savitar etam tvā* (VSK. Conc. *tvām*, by error) *vr̥ṇute*...VSK. TB. etc.]

§309. Variants of dat. sg. *mahyam*, *tubhyam* with *me*, *te* in metrical passages. In all cases both forms are metrically sound:

*anamitāś pradīśāś santu mahyam* ApŚ.: *asapatnāś* (Vait. text *sapa*\*) *pradiśo me bhavantu* AV. Vait.

*tad astu tubhyam id ghṛtam* TS.: *sarvaṁ tad astu te ghṛtam* (AV. *astu me śivam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*tubhyam* (and *ye ta*) *śranyāś pakavo mṛgā vane kītāś* AV. (both).

*mahyanti dhukṣva yojamānāya kāmān* TB. ApŚ.: *sā me dhukṣva yojamānāya kāmān* (KS. *dhukṣva sarvān bhūtikāmān*) KS. TB. ApŚ.

Both sound.

*śivam mahyam madhumad uste annam* AV.: *syonam annam madhumam me kṛṇomi* MS.

§310. Variants of dat. sg. forms in prose passages:

*agnir janavin mahyam jāyām imām addt Kauś. : agnir janitā sa me 'mūm jāyām dadātu svāhā ŚG.*

§311. Variants of gen. sg. *mama*, *tava* and *me*, *te*, mostly in metrical passages:

*aṅgā parūṅhi tava vardhayanti Vait. : priyāny aṅgāni tava vardhayantiḥ TB. : dhruvam aṅgam priyam yat tanūs te MŚ.* While MŚ. is metrically poor, its deficiency occurs in the first part of the pāda and seems not to be connected with the use of *te* for *tava*.

*taṭ punādhvam yavā mama VIDh. : punādhvani ca yavā mama VIDh. : sarvam punatha me yavāh BDh.* All metrically sound.

*tava syāma (TS. syām) śarmanā (TS. <sup>o</sup>man) trivārūtha-udbhau (TS. udbhif) VS. TS. : śarman (MS. <sup>o</sup>man) te syāma trivārūtha-udbhau MS. KS. TA.* The pāda is hypermetric in VS.; TS., apparently based on VS., corrects the meter by another change which introduces inconsistency in number (VV 1 p. 253). Apparently MS. KS. have the original.

*śam u te tanve (TS. tanve) bhuvāt TS. KSA. : śam v astu tanvai tava VS.* Both metrically sound.

*syāma te sumatāḥ api RV. TS. : syāma sumatai tava AV.* Both may be read metrically.

*tava-tava rāyah MS. KS. MŚ. : to-to (TS. ApŚ. to te) rāyah VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. : tava rāyah MS. MŚ. Prose.*

§312. Variants of acc. pl. *asmān*, *yusmān* and *nas*, *vas*, all in metrical passages:

*abhyaiti na (SV. abhyeti na, AV. asmān aity abhy) ojasā spardhamānā RVKh. AV. SV. VS.* The AV. is metrically poor, tho it can at a pinch be read metrically.

*arāyo ṣasmān abhiduchundāyate TB. AŚ, ApŚ. : arāro yo no abhi duchundāyate RV. TAA. Vait. MŚ.* Both metrically sound.

*asmān (SV. sā naḥ) sīte payasābhyāvaetava AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. evāsmān (KS. evā mām) indro varuṇo bṛhaspatih MS. KS. : tenāsmān indro varuṇo bṛhaspatih AV. : tena nō rājā varuṇo bṛhaspatih TS. ŚŚ. All metrically sound.*

*mā nō andhe tamasy antar ādhāt (msa. ādāt) MŚ. : mā v (Poona ed. mo v) asmāns tamasy antar ādhāt TA. : mo vātram asmān tarādhat (so, with p.p.) MS.* No metrical considerations involved in the variation.

*tebhir nō adya savitota viṣṇuḥ KŚ. : tebhyo asmān varuṇaḥ soma indraḥ Kauś. : tebhyo na indraḥ savitota viṣṇuḥ ApŚ. All sound.*

*yo nō dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām AŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. BDh. : yo 'smān dveṣṭi sa bhidyatām ŚB.† 1. 6. 20d. Both sound.*



so no *aryamā devāḥ* PG.; so *\*smān devo aryamā* MG.; so *īmāḥ devo aryamā* (ApMB, *adhvarāḥ*) AG, SMB, ApMB. Deficient meter in PG.

§313. Variants between dat. pl. *asmabhyam* (*asme*) and *nas*; all in metrical passages:

*athā naḥ* (TS, *athāsmabhyam*, AV, *adhā naḥ*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS, *\*tana*) RV, AV, VS, TS, MS, KS, N.; *tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana* RV. Hypermetric in TS.

*datto asmabhyam* (KS, *dattvādsma\**, AŚ, *dattvādsma\**, SMB, *dattādsma\**) *draviṇeha bhādrām* AV, KS, AŚ, SMB.; *dadhātha no draviṇaḥ yac ca bhādrām* MS. All sound, but MS, evidently secondary.

*śāntā naḥ śānte oṣadhīḥ* AV.; *kivā asmabhyam oṣadhīḥ* KS, TB, ApŚ, MŚ, SMB, PG. Both sound.

§314. Variants between gen. pl. *asmākam*, *yusmākam* and *nas*, *vas*; in metrical passages; both forms are metrically sound each time:

*api jāyeta so \*smākam* ViDh.; *api naḥ sa kule bhūyāt* MDh.

*aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevāḥ* MS.; *yusmākam sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV.

## 2. Sporadic pronominal form variants

§315. Besides the variations between orthotonic and enclitic forms, only a few sporadic formal variants occur among the pronouns. Among the personal pronouns, the old form *tubhya* for *tubhyam* is found once in PG., HG, reading *tubhyam*. The PG. form is noted in Wackernagel 3 p. 459:

*tubhyam* (PG, *mama tubhya*) *ca samvānanam* PG, HG.

§316. The Rigvedic locative *te* occurs in a number of secondary texts (only KS, reading *tevyi*) in the following variant, which shows that we must modify Wackernagel's statement, 3 p. 462, that there are no new occurrences of *te* after the RV.:

*śraroḥa te sacā* (KS, *tevyi api*) KS, TB, AŚ, Vait, ApŚ, MŚ.

§317. The Rigvedic dual form *yuvabhyām* persists also in TS, N. in the following variant, only KS, using the later *yuvābhyām* (if the edition is right; but the best ms. of KS, has *yuvā\**). Wackernagel 3 p. 464 says that *yuvā\** is used exclusively outside of the RV, except for one AŚ, passage (Whitney 492b). Evidently this statement is true only if we understand it to apply to new passages, not repeated from RV.: *athā* (KS, *adhā*) *somasya prayati yuvabhyām* (KS, ed. *yuvā\**, v. l. *yuvā\**) RV, TS, KS, N.

§318. An anomalous form written *yusmā* before a vowel (i.e. *yusmām?* or *yusmān?*) seems to be intended as a genitive in the following.

It is not recognized by the grammars but is textually well established: *yugme* (GB.† *yugmān*, Gaastra with all mss.; all mss. of AV. also *yugmān*, Whitney, Index) *astu dive dive* AV. AB. GB. JB. ŚŚ. No acc. can be construed; like *yugme*, the form can only be gen., dat., or loc., and of these it seems that gen. is the best choice.

§318a. The old-dative or locative *asme* varies once with *nah* (and later *asmabhyam*):

*athā nah* (TS. *athāsmabhyam*, AV. *adhā nah*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS. <sup>o</sup>*lana*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N.: *tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana* RV.

§319. The only other variants concern demonstrative stems. (For fem. *yugmās* see §803.) Once the gen.-loc. dual of *ena* varies between *enos* and *enayos*, as noted by Wackernagel 3 p. 521:

*na parā jigye kutarāś canainoh* (AV. *canainayoh*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. AB.

§320. Once TA. uses a wholly anomalous form *amī*, for AV. *amū*, as nom. dual fem. of *asau*. No other form than *amū* for this case, in any gender, has been noted elsewhere, and this form of TA. is ignored in the grammars. It is particularly strange to find it used as a fem. (the noun is *tārake*); if it were masc. we might assume a use of the plural for dual. The comm. interprets by *amū* but offers no remarks, and we can think of no explanation, unless the influence of *devī* nouns: *amī ye subhage divī* TA.: *amū ye divī subhage* AV.



**SECOND PART: SYNTACTIC AND STYLISTIC  
VARIANTS**

**CASE, NUMBER, AND GENDER**

**CHAPTERS XI-XXIX**





## CHAPTER XI

### VOCATIVE AND NOMINATIVE

§321. The vocative and nominative case forms are, in the dual and plural numbers (and sometimes also in the singular), formally distinguishable only by accent and consequently only in accented texts. We have tried to include cases where this accentual distinction is preserved, along with other cases in which a difference of stem or ending appears. It would have been clearly improper to include here instances from texts in which no accents are written, if the forms are identical, merely because our interpretation (however obvious and certain it may appear) makes a particular form vocative in one text and nominative in another. Since, however, the Concordance does not record accents, so that these variations can only be got from the original texts, it is likely that our collectanea are not complete in this regard.

#### Direct address and indirect statement

§322. As might be expected, a large proportion of the variants concerns shifts between direct address and third-person statement, of the sort treated from the point of view of verb forms (with shift between second and third persons) in VV 1 §§292, 327 ff. For example: *māte-vāsmā adite* (ŚG. *aditih*) *śarma yacha* (ŚG. *yāśant*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB., 'like a mother grant, O Aditi, (Aditi shall grant) protection unto him.' This sort of change requires no comment, unless perhaps this, that the direct-address form of the variant need not necessarily contain a second-person verb, tho it most commonly does. For instance: *vasā* (ŚG. *sakhā*, ApMB. *priyā*) *devī* (HG. ApMB. *devānām*) *subhagā mekhaleyaṃ* SMB. ApMB. PG. ŚG. HG.: *kiṃ devī subhagā mekhale mā riṣāma* MG. Here MG. changes the statement of 'fact' (really a magic formula implying a strong wish that it may be a fact) into a direct prayer, in which the personified power addressed is put in the vocative; but instead of saying 'protect us from harm!', the phrase 'may we not be harmed' is used. This of course means the same thing.

§323. In VV 1 §§293, 332 we have already seen that the case of the subject and the person of the verb in such variants are sometimes incongruous. The lists there given will be found only partly duplicated

by our lists below. The conditions are different when one approaches the subject from the point of view of the variation in case. Notably a nominative referring to the subject in a sentence of direct address can not necessarily be called a syntactic incongruity. It may easily be an appositional nominative, modifying the subject, as in: *a tiṣṭha mitra-vardhanaḥ* (AV. °na) AV. KS. TB.† ApŚ.†, 'approach increasing friends' or 'approach, O increaser of friends!' Here and in many similar cases both forms of the variant contain direct address, and usually a 2d personal verb; yet the nominative may fit as well as the vocative and is frequently the original form. In such cases it often appears that the change (in either direction) is due to form-assimilation to an adjoining word. Thus: *somaṁ piba vṛtrahā śūra* (TS. TA. MahānU. °hañ *chūra*) *vidvān* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU., 'drink the soma, O hero, being the wise slayer of Vṛtra' or '... O heroic slayer of Vṛtra, being wise'. Of course the Taittirīya texts must be secondary, and no doubt the following vocative *śūra* helped the change to *vṛtrahan*; yet their sense is quite as good as that of the original. But as much can hardly be said for the TS. reading of the following, which shows the reverse change (nom. instead of voc.), also under the influence of surrounding forms, but yielding a much less satisfactory result since the name of the god Indra, who is addressed, does not go well as nom. in apposition to the subject of the verb: *sajoṣā indra* (TS. *indrah*) *saṁyoṣa marudbhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. AŚ., 'O Indra, in association with the band of Maruts' or 'in association with the band of Maruts, being Indra'. This pāda immediately precedes the one quoted above, so that TS. has substituted a nom. for the voc. *indra*, while putting the voc. *vṛtrahan* in place of the nom.

§324. The last quoted instance may fairly be called a case of syntactic incongruity, since the nom. *indrah* of TS. is not really construable in an intelligent way. Other cases in which form assimilation to adjoining words seems to have determined the shift, and in which direct address is found in both forms of the variant, are quoted in §§335-6. In §333 will be found variants which shift between direct address and third-person statement, the case of the subject being in one form of the variant incongruous (voc. with 3d person or nom. with 2d). Sometimes three of the four theoretical possibilities are found in the same variant, e.g.: *madhvā yajñam nakṣati* (VS. TS. *nakṣate*) *prajānaḥ* (AV. *prai°*), followed by: *narākaṁso agniḥ* (VS. TS. KS. *agne*), AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Here AV. MS. (probably original) have 3d person verb with nom. subject; VS. TS. have 2d person verb with voc. subject; only KS.



is inconsistent, having 3d person verb with voc. subject. It might be suggested that KS. contains a blend of the other two forms. But more probably KS. represents the first change from the original reading (of AV. MS.), and VS. TS. have a further changed based on KS. and designed to correct its poor syntax.

§325. It should be noted that not a few vocative-nominative forms differ only in the lack or presence of a final visarga—a very slight phonetic difference. They are collected and related to similar phonetic shifts in VV 2 §380.

§326. We shall list first the variants in which a nom. with 3d person verb varies with a voc. with 2d person. This is the simplest type, and requires no comment; the shift in either direction is extremely natural and common.

*mātevdamā adite* (ŚG. *aditih*) *śarma yacha* (ŚG. *yansat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. ŚG. ApMB.

*indro vājam ajayit* TS. TB.: *indra vājam jaya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*bhavati bhikṣāṁ dehi* Kanā.: *bhavān bhikṣāṁ dadātu* AG.

*indrah* (SV. PB. *indra*) *suteṣu someṣu* RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Followed, in RV. SV., by *kratum punita* (SV. *puniṣa*) *ukthiyam*.

*agne tān asmāt pra nudaṣva lokāi* ApŚ.: *agnis tān asmāt pra nunoṭtu lokāi* MŚ.: *agnis tān* (VS. *tān*, AŚ. *āl*) *lokāt pra nuddty* (AŚ. °*tv*, SMB. *nudate*) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB.

*aditih keśān* (AV. MG.\* *kmaśru*) *vapatu* AV. AG. MG. (both) ApMB.: *adite keśān* (aud. *keśaśmaśru*) *vapa* FG. (both).

*annapate 'nnasya* (annasya) *no dehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. PrāgūgU. AG. ŚG. MG. ApMB.: *annasyānnapatih prādai* PB.

*āyātu varadā devī, akṣaram brahma saṁmitam, gāyatri chandasāṁ mātā, idam brahma juṣasva naḥ* TA. TAA. MahānU.: *āyāhi viraje devy, akṣare brahmasammita, gāyatri chandasāṁ mātā, idam brahma juṣasva me* MG. All the noms. in TA. etc. go with *āyātu*, which in MG. is changed to 2d person.

*agnir hotā vetu*. . . AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agne rihī* AB. ŚB. AŚ. MŚ.

*jayanṭu upaspr̥ṣatu* HG.: *jayanṭopa spr̥ṣa* ApMB.

*avasānapate 'vasānāṁ me vindā* TB. ApŚ.: *avasānāṁ me 'vasānapatir vindat* MŚ.

*sāvitrīm bho anu brāhi* AG. ŚG. ApG. HG.: *sāvitrīm me bhavān anu braviṭu* GG.

*saṁ devī* (KS. *devī*) *devyorvaśyā paśyastva* (KS.† °*vaśyākhyata*) TS. KS. ApŚ.

*ugrēna vāya udakenchi* (SMB. GG. *udakenaidhi*, ApMB. *vāyav udake-*

- nehi*, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV. AG. SMB. GG. PG. ApMB. MG. The form *it* of MG. is a dubious imperfect; perhaps rather the particle *id*, cf. Kanuer p. 165 s. v. *id*, and VV 1 p. 87. In any case MG. has an indirect reference instead of direct address.
- prthivī mātā mā mā hīnsīh*. VS. TS. ŚB. ŚS.: *mā mām mātā prthivī hīnsīh* TS. MS.
- agnindgnih savitradatām* TA.: *agne agnind savitradasva* TA. ApŚ. HG. *pra cāndramāte tirate* (TS.† *tirati*, AV.† *cāndramas tirase*) *dīrgham āyuh* RV. AV. TS. MS. N. See VV 1 p. 221.
- purukṣya tvaṣṭā* (MS. *tvastah*) *sutryam* (VSK. TS. *sutiram*) VS. VSK. TS. MS.: *purukṣya dema tvaṣṭar* [text *tvastā*, accentless; followed by *r-*] AV.: *tvastah poṣāya viṣya nābhīm asme* KS. Verb *viṣyatu* or *viṣya*.
- indra* (MS. *indrah*) *stomena pañcadakṣena madhyam* (KS. \**daśenaujaḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Verb *rakṣatu* in MS.; *rakṣa* in the others. See VV 1 p. 223.
- araro divah mā paptah* VS. ŚB. Vait.: *ararus* (MS. *ararus te*) *dyāuḥ mā paptat* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *ararus te divah mā skān* TS. ApŚ.
- yajñah praty u ṣṭhāt sumatau mulinām* MŚ.: *yajñah pratyaṣṭhāt* (v. 1. *praty u ṣṭhāt*) KS.: *yajña pratitiṣṭha sumatau suśevāḥ* TB. ApŚ.
- viśvā ca deva* (PG. *devah*) *pṛtanā abhiṣyāḥ* (PG.† \**ṣyak*) KS. PG.: *viśvā tdeva pṛtanā abhiṣya* TB. ApŚ. HG. See VV 1 p. 242; and on *abhiṣyak* (for \**zyat*), VV 2 §142, where this form might well have been mentioned.
- tasya na iṣṭasya pṛṭasya dravinēhāgameḥ* VS.: *tasya meṣṭasya vṛṭasya dravinam ā gamyāt* (KS. *dravinēhāgamyāḥ*, ApŚ. *dravinēhāgameḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ.: *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vṛṭasya dravinēhāgamyāt* MS.: *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya vṛṭasya dravinam māgachatu* KS. See VV 1 pp. 61 f., 232.
- divo jyote* (KS.\* *jyotir*) *vivasva* (MS. *devajūte vivasvann*) *āditya te no devā(h)*. . . *āsumadhvam* MŚ. KS. (bis): *vivasvā aditir devajūtis te no ādityā*. . . *niyantu* TS. See VV 1 p. 239.
- uṣo dadṛkṣe* (PB. *uṣā*, read *uṣā?*, *dadṛkṣe*) *na punar yatten* RV. PB.
- vaptā* (ApMB. *vaptā*, HG. MG. *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG. *vapati*) *keśāsmāru* (AG. PG. MG. *keśān*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. In PG. change to 3d person verb to agree with *vaptā* (originally not subject but appositional nom.); in HG. MG. change to voc. to mend the same syntax, felt as incongruous. See VV 1 p. 241 f. and below §334.
- yo* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *yad*) *agnih* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *agne*) *kanyavāhanaḥ* (RV.



*kratya\**, TS. TB. ApŚ. °*rāhana*) RV. VS. KS. TS. TB. ApŚ. AŚ. Followed in RV. VS. KS. TS. by: *piśn yakṣad* (TS. *yakṣy*) *ṛdvr-dhaḥ*; by a different pāda with 2d person verb in TB.; only *pratika* in AŚ. ApŚ.

*śrutakakṣo aravā* (SV. °*kakṣatru*) *gave* RV. SV. Preceded by *aram akṣya gāpati* (SV. °*ta*). Note plural verb in SV.; cf. VV 1 §372c. [*indra karmasu no 'vata* VS. KS.; *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB. But Poona ed. of TB. text and comm. *indra* . . °*vata*.]

§327. In the following group the nom. and voc. forms are distinguished only by the accents (see above, §321):

*śinena mā* (ApMB. *teḍ*) *cakṣuṣa paśyatāpaḥ* (ApMB. *paśyante āpaḥ*) AV.

TS. MS. AB. ApMB. *āpaḥ* is nom. in ApMB., voc. in the rest.

*ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī prorn(u)vāthām* (MS. MŚ. °*tām*) VS. VSK. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*āśvinā pibatām* (VS. KŚ. °*tām*) *madhu* (TB. ApŚ. *sutam*) RV. VS. TB. MŚ. KŚ.

*devā deveṣu śrayantām* (TB. *śrayadhvam*) KS. TB.

*tasmai te dyāvāprthivī resatibhiḥ* AV.; *amabhyam dyānā\** *śakvribhiḥ* TB.

CL VV 1 p. 224, under *kāmam duhātām* etc.

*āśvināḥ cha gachātām* RV. AB. AŚ. ŚŚ.; *āśvināḥ cha gachātām* (TS. TB.

°*tām*, in same stanza in which RV. N. have °*tām*) RV. TS. TB. N.

*svātām* cit. . . *āpo devīḥ svadatainam* TS. ApŚ.; *svātām sad* . . . *āpo devīḥ*

*svadantu* MS.; *āpo devīḥ svadantu* (VSK. *sad*\*) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB.

(*abaddhāṁ mano* . . .) *dikṣe mā mā hāsīḥ* (KŚ. *hāsīt*) TS. KŚ. BDh.;

*dikṣen* (sc. *dikṣā-id*) *mā mā hāsīt satapā* MŚ.; *dikṣe mā mā hāsīḥ*

ŚG. See VV 1 p. 225. In KŚ. read probably *dikṣen*.

*apātām āśvinā gharman* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. LŚ.; *gharman apātām āśvinā* (accented in MS. which is therefore inconsistent if not corrupt!) . . .

MS. TA.; *āśvinā gharman pātām* (MS. *pibatām*) . . . VS. MS. ŚB.

TA. ŚŚ. LŚ. ApŚ. Consistent in all but the first MS. form.

*viśve devāso adhi vocatā naḥ* (TS. *me*) RV. TS.; *viśve devā abhi rakṣantu*

(KS. *amḥ tiṣṭhantu*) *teha* (AV.\* KS.† *meha*; AV. °*pakvam*; SMB.

ApMB. HG. *paścāt*) AV. (thrice) KS. SMB. ApMB. HG.

*vājīnan vājajitau* . . . *avajighratām* (KS. °*tām*) MS. KS. MŚ.; *vājīno vāja-*

*jito vājam* . . . *avajighrata* VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. Similarly:

*vājīno vājajito vājam* . . . *bhāgam avajighrata nī mṛjānāḥ* (KS. *bhāgo nī*

*mṛjūlām*; TS. *bhāgo nī mṛjādhevam*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.; *vājīnan vāja-*

*jitau* . . . *bhāgo nīmṛjyethām* MS. MŚ. In this and the prec. KS.

has nouns, the rest vocs.

*āśvinā bhīṣṇjārataḥ* (MS. °*tām*; TB.† °*ta*) VS. MS. TB. See VV 1 p. 71.

*tena brahmāno vapatedam asya* (ŠG. *adyā*) AV. TB. AG. ŠG. PG. HG. ApMB.: *tena brāhmaṇo vapatu* MG. See VV 1 p. 229. The MG. form can of course only be noun.; the other is ambiguous except for the accent.

*ā mā ganta pitaro viśvarūpāḥ* MS.: *ā mā gantān* (VSK. *gantān*) *pitarā mātārā ca* (VSK. *yucam*) VS. VSK.† 10. 3. 12c. TS. KS. ŠB. Add to VV 1 §337.

§328. In VV 1 §§295, 328 we have called attention to the apparent tendency of SV. to address Soma Pavamāna directly in second person forms, where RV. has third person references. The following (all listed l. c.) show correspondingly vocs. in SV. for noms. of RV.:

*pavamāna vy āśnuhī* SV.: *pavamāno vy āśnavat* RV.

*ayā somaḥ* (SV. *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV. SV.

*śṛṅgudhaḥ soṭṛbhīḥ pūyate vṛṣā* (SV. *°bhīḥ soma sūyase*) RV. SV.

#### Phrase inflection

§329. In another group the mantras are found in different contexts. Thus we have the variant *hotrābhir agnir (agne) manuṣaḥ svadhvarāḥ*. The vocative form occurs in RV. AV., preceded by *sudāsi ranto yajaseva puyate*: 'Thou art ever pleasant, as grazing land to the grazer, having fair sacrifices, O Agni, thru the offerings of man.' The nominative form occurs in RV. in a quite different context as an independent sentence (with copula unexpressed): 'Agni has fair sacrifices thru the offerings of man.' These constitute a sort of 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2):

*hiraṇyavarṇa subhagā* AV.: *hiraṇyavarṇe subhage* AV. Quite different contexts.

*śāyān daśamāṇyo [asraḥ jarāyuṇā saha]* VS. ŠB.: *evā tvaṁ daśamāṇyo [sahāvechī jarāyuṇā* RV., *sākaḥ jarāyuṇā pita* AV.] RV. AV. In Ppp. (see Whitney on AV. 1. 11. 6): *evā te garbha ejata nir aitu daśamāṇyo bahir jarāyuṇā saha*.

*bhāratīde sarasvatī [yā vah sarvā upabruve tā naś codayata śriye]* RV.: *sarasvatīdā mahī [imam no yajñam ā gaman, etc.]* RV.

*indra* (RV. *\*indro*) *viśvābhir ūtibhīḥ* RV. (both) AV. SV.

*viśvāni deva* (RV. *\*devo*) *vayunāni videdān* RV. (both) AV. VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŠB. TB. TA. In one RV. passage and all others except AV. preceded by *agne naya supathā rāye asmān*; in the other RV. passage, by *r̥bhuk cukra īdyaṁ cāru nāma*; AV. has different surroundings but requires a voc.

*upedam upaparcanam [āsu goṣūpaprcyatām]* RV. TB. LŚ.: *upahoparcana [asmin goṣṭha upa pr̥ca nah]* AV. See VV 1 §85.



*anturikṣṇa saha yajñinān* (once, \**yān*) AV. (ter). Verbs are consistent. *sahamāne* (PG. HG. ApMB.\* *\*nā*, RV. AV. *devajūte*) *sahasvati* (HG.

ApMB.\* *\*nī*, PG. *sarāsvati*) RV. AV. PG. ApMB. (bis) HG. See also §346, *devajūte*...

*imam yajñam abhinobhā bṛhaspatiḥ* RV. TS.: *imam yajñam bṛhaspate 'avinobhā* KS. Followed respectively by: *devāḥ pāntu yajamānam nyarthāt*, and: *indrāvata kāryair daṣṣanābhīḥ*. Yet the contexts are fundamentally the same (cf. below under *devaḥ savitā*\*, §399).

*ā pasava madintama* RV. SV.: *sa pasava madintama* RV. SV.: *sa pūnāno madintamaḥ* RV.

*samidhho agni āhuta* RV. AV. TS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. (followed by 2d person verbs): *samidhho agniḥ āhutaḥ [vāhākṛtaḥ pipartu naḥ]* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The latter is a blend of the former (as in RV.) with an unmetrical yajus text: *igṣo agniḥ āhutaḥ pipartu* (KS. TB. *vāhākṛtaḥ pipartu*) *na igṣam haviḥ* (TB. ŚB. omit last two words) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*sa tvam nō nabhasas pate* (QB. *patih*) TS. GB.: *tvam nō nabhasas pate* AV. TS.: *agnim nō nabhasas patih* AV. GB. Vait. Kauś.

*ghṛtāpratikḥ ghṛtāprsthō agne* (KS. ApŚ. *agnih*) AV. MŚ. KS. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ghṛtāhavanō ghṛtāprsthō agnih* AŚ.: *ghṛtām vāsāno ghṛtāprsthō agne* KS.

*hiraṇyaparṇa śukune* PG.: *hiraṇyaparṇaḥ śakuniḥ* HG.: *hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakunaḥ* MU.

*agnis tigmēna docīṣā* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agne ti\* ho\** RV. AV.

*pantimānaḥ* (RV.\* *\*na*) *kanīkradati* RV. (both) SV.

*indram soma* (and, *somo*) *mādayan daivyaṁ janam* RV. (both). Followed or preceded respectively by: *sindhōr icormih pavamāno urṣasi*, and: *ā vidyutā parate dhṛayaḥ sutaḥ*.

*devēbhyo havyavāhana* RV.: *devēbhyo* (ApŚ. *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanaḥ* RV. ApŚ.: *devēbhyo havyavād asi* ApŚ. See RVRep. on 3. 9. 6b. The second ApŚ. variant occurs in a context different from any of RV. and belongs to §339.

*deva devēbhyo haviḥ* (SV. *devēbhyah sutaḥ*) RV. SV.: *devo devēbhyah sutaḥ* RV. SV.

*sahasrote śatāmaga* RV.: *sahasrotiḥ śatāmagaḥ* RV.

*sahasrapoṣam* (AV. Kauś. *sahasrā\**) *subhage* (TS.\* *subhagā*) *varāṇā* RV. AV. TS. (both) MŚ. KS. Kauś. SMB. ApMB.

*mitra satyānām patē* (ŚŚ. *satyānām adhipatē*) TB. ŚŚ.: *mitraḥ satyānām* (VS. ŚB. *satyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG. Each in a series, with

2d or 3d person verbs expressed in the first member and implied in the rest. So next.

*savitā prasavānām* (AV. adds *adhipatiḥ* . . .) AV. TS. PG.: *savitāḥ prasavānām adhipate* ŚŚ. As prec.

§330. The following are cases in which the variant containing direct address has no second-person verb form (cf. §322):

*svasā* (ŚG. *sakhā*, ApMB. *priyā*) *devī* (HG. ApMB. *devānām*) *subhagā mekhalopam* SMB. ApMB. PG. HG. ŚG.: *śivā devī subhagā mekhale mā rīdma* MG.

*upa brahmōni savanāni vtrahā* (SV. °han), *paramajyā rciṣamah* (SV. °ma) RV. AV. SV. Preceded in RV. by: *ā no vīśvāsu havya indrah samatsu bhūgatu*, 'May Indra associate himself with us . . . the slayer of Vṛtra' etc. SV. misunderstands *bhūgatu*, taking it in its later sense of 'adorn' or 'honor'. To make this meaning fit, Indra must be made the object of this verb, the subject being now the worshippers; the resulting first half verse is: *ā no vīśvāsu havyam indrah samatsu bhūgata*, cf. VV 1 p. 199. But since *vtrahā* cannot (like *havya indrah*) be made accusative without metrical change, it is made voc., with very awkward supplying of an unexpressed verb; and *rciṣamah* then follows it.

*agnir yaṣṭedaṁ namaḥ* KS.: *agne yaṣṭar idam namaḥ* TS. TB. 'Agni is the sacrificer; this homage (to him)'; 'O Agni sacrificer, this homage (to thee).'

§331. Perhaps in this same group may be placed the following rather puzzling variant:

*tasyās te devy adīte* (Kauś. *aditir*) *upadhe* MS. KS. Kauś.: *upadhe te devy adite* 'gnim TS. Followed in Kauś. by *annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat*, for which the others have versions containing *ādadhē* (1st person), see VV 1 p. 211. In all except Kauś. there is a direct address to Aditi, thru whose intervention the desired result is expected, tho a first person verb is used. In Kauś. Aditi seems to be made the subject of the 3d person verb; but note that Kauś. retains *te*, which apparently can only refer to Aditi! In fact Kauś. is hardly capable of intelligent interpretation.

§332. Similar variants used in different contexts ('phrase-inflection') are:

*sahasrākṣo amartyaḥ* AV.: *sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV. In the second passage a verse of homage, with direct address, is accompanied by the voc. of the deity addressed; the preceding pāda is *namas te rudra kṛṇmus*.



*asveva citrāruṣi* [mālā pavām rāvarī, sakṣābhūd asvinar upāh] RV. SV.: [rayam hi te amanmahy, āntād ā parākāt,] *asve na citre aruṣi* RV. The latter is secondary; see *RVRep.* 63.

*abhūn mama* (KS. *nu nah*) *sumatau viśavedāh* TS. KS. PG.: *bhūyāsmate sumatau viśavedāh* MS.† In the latter a direct address. See VV I p. 218.

*indra somasya pītaye* RV.: *indrah somasya pītaye* RV.: *indrah somasya pītaye vṛṣyate* RV. A 2d personal pronoun accompanies the voc. *yajīṣṭham havyavāhana* RV.: *yajīṣṭho havyavāhanaḥ* RV. Again a pronoun accompanies the voc.

§333. We come now to variations between direct address and indirect reference in which either the voc. or the nom. seems incongruous in one form of the variant, as in *narākaṁso agnīḥ* (agne), §324. Other cases of this sort are:

*agne* (TS. KS. *agnir*) *manyuḥ pratīcudan pareṣām* (TS. KS. *purastāt*) RV. AV. TS. KS. In the next pāda RV. AV. TS. have *pāhi*, KS. *pātu*. All are consistent except TS., which has nom. with 2d person verb; cf. VV I p. 231.

*sa no mayobhūh pīta* (*pītas*) *āviśasa* (*āviśha*, MŚ. *pītur āviśa*) TS. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ŚG. SMB. PG.: *sa nah pīta madhumān ā viśha* (Kauś. *viśa*) KS. Kauś. Only Kauś. is inconsistent; MŚ. (secondarily) restores consistency with nom. matching 3d person verb.

*apālām indra* (MG. *indras*) *triṣ* (*trīḥ*) *pātvi* (AV. *pātā*, ApMB.† *pārtry a-*, MG. *pārty a-*) RV. AV. JB. ApMB. MG. The verb in the following pāda is 2d person in RV. AV. JB., but 3d in MG. and ApMB., despite voc. epithet in pāda b; see Winternitz, Introduction to ApMB., xvi; VV I p. 233 f.

*vider agnir* (VSK. ŠBK. *agner*, MS. MŚ. *agne*) *nabho nāma* (MS. MŚ. *addi yai te*) VSK. TS. MS. ŠBK. MŚ.: *videt agnir nabho nāma* VS. KS. ŠB. See VV I p. 233. TS. is inconsistent.

*vy astabhna* (VS. ŠB. *aṣka*°, MS. *aṣka*°, KS. *aṣṭa*°, TS. *aṣkabhnād*, TA. *aṣtabhnād*) *rodasi viṣṇav* (VSK. MS. KS. *viṣṇa*, TS. *viṣṇur*) etc RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŠB. TA.—TB. is secondary but consistent; TA. inconsistent, and apparently a sort of blend of the other two. See VV I p. 232, where read VSK. *viṣṇa* (instead of VS.).

*dyāvāprthivī ure antarikṣam* AV. TS.: *dyāvāprthivī urō* (VSK.† *ure*) *antarikṣa* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŠB. Context of AV. different from all the others; there a simple third-person prayer. In the rest either (as in MS.) directly addressed to the deities, altho there also the verb is third person because the deities are not conceived

as the direct agents (the following pāda is *bṛhaspatir no haviṣā vṛdhātu* TS. MS.); or, as in VS. VSK. ŚB., the following pāda (*bṛhaspataye haviṣā vṛdhema*) contains a first personal statement. In TS. the nominatives, if not a direct reminiscence of the AV. form of the variant, would be due to assimilation to *bṛhaspatir*, subject of *vṛdhātu* in the next pāda. Keith understands them as exclamations.

§334. We now come to variants both forms of which contain direct address, and generally a second-person verb. Nevertheless in one form a nominative appears where the other form has a vocative. Either may be the original form, since a nom. in apposition to the 2d person subject is often as easy to construe as a voc.; in the example given in §323, *ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana* (°*naḥ*), it is hard to say which reading was the older. We shall quote first a group in which the nominative seems to be the original form and the vocative secondary:

*pavamānaḥ* (SV. °*na*) *saṁtanim eṣi kṛṇvan* RV. SV. A slight tendency for SV. to prefer the voc. referring to Soma may perhaps be detected in this and the following; cf. VV 1 §328.

*aprosivān gṛhapatir* (SV. °*pate*) *mahān asi* RV. SV.

*śuddho mamaddhi somyaḥ* (SV. *somya*) RV. SV.

*sarūpavarṣā ehi* MS.: *sarūpa vṛṣann āgāhi* SV. JB.

*saṁrād asī kṛśānuḥ* (ŚŚ. °*no*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*sūyavavād bhagavati* (KŚ. °*ti*) *hi bhūyāḥ* RV. AV. AB. KB. AŚ. KŚ.

ApŚ. N. Addressed to the cow; KŚ. makes one of the predicate adjectives into a voc.

*vaplā* (ApMB. *vaptrā*, HG. MG. *vaptar*) *vapasi* (PG. °*ti*) *keśanimoḥru* (AG. PG. MG. *keśān*) AV. AG. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The change of the nom. original of AV. to a voc. in HG. MG. belongs here; see §326.

*āyusmān* (MG. °*mann*) *idaṁ parī dhatsva vāsaḥ* ApMB. HG. MG.; cf. also *āyusmānīdam* etc., AV. Lect. fac. in MG.

*vasūni cārur* (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, v. l. *cāryo*, HG. *cāryo*) *vi bhajāsi* (SMB. *bhṛjāsi*), HG. *bhajā sa* *jīvan* AV. SMB. HG. ApMB. Nom. masc. in all but SMB. (*ca āryo* in ApMB.; for HG. see VV 2 §244). In SMB. adapted to a different context which requires a fem.; (*ca ārye*, voc. fem. Note however that SMB. baldly retains the masc. form *jīvan* from the original! (*jīvanā* would be unmetrical.)

*sakhā* (PG. *sakhe*) *saptapadī* (ApMB. PG. °*padā*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG. The (predicate) nom. is clearly original.

*purovāta* (KS. °*to*, TS. °*to varṣaṇ*) *jīva*. . . TS. MS. KS. This and the



adjoining formulas are pretty low bathos; but some of them have nom. forms even in MS.

*brahmacāry asi* (SMB. GG. *asy asau*) ŚB. AG. ŚG. SMB. GG. KhG. PG. ApMB.: *agneś cāsi brahmacārin mama ca Kauś*. Perhaps hardly to be called variants.

[*dhruvaidhi poṣyā* (PG. *poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh. ŚG. PG. ApMB.: *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV. Stenzler and Oldenberg take *poṣye* as voc. fem., addressed to the bride. If this be correct, the variation belongs here. We have preferred to understand *poṣye* as loc. sg. masc., going with *mayi*; see §454.]

§335. In some cases the change of case form seems to be due to the definite assimilatory influence of a neighboring word; see §323. These deserve special listing; the following are those in which the nom. seems to be the older form and the voc. secondary:

*somañ piba vṛtrahā kūra* (TS. TA. MahānU. °*hañ chūra*) *vidvān* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. §323.

*nicerur asi nicumpunah* (TS. TB. *nicanṅaṇa*, MS. KS. *nicuñṅaṇaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. Preceded in all by *anabhrtha nicumpuna* (etc., voc. in all). Doubtless the nom. is original and the voc. assimilated to that of the preceding pāda.

*samjagmāno divaḥ kariḥ* (SV. LŚ. *divā kare*) RV. SV. LŚ. Preceded by *rdhak soma svastaye*. It is likely that the voc. *soma* had something to do with the change to voc. *kare*. The next pāda begins with *pavasva*, 2d person, which may also have helped.

*agner agne puro agnir* (KS.† KapS. [Oertel 73] *agne*, TS.† TB.† *puró-agnir*, cpd.) *bhaveha* VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ŚB. TB. The orig. seems to be TS. TB. ('harbinger of Agni', Keith); the second voc. of KS. KapS. is apparently assimilated to the first *agne*.

§336. In the rest the nominative seems to be secondary. We shall put first those cases in which form assimilation to a neighboring word seems to have operated, as in the preceding section; note that they are very much more numerous than the opposite shift:

*sojōṣā indra* (TS. *indrah*) *soṇaṇo marudbhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. AŚ. §323.

*utso deva* (SV. twice *devo*) *hiranyayah* RV. SV. The surrounding noms. have been responsible for *devo*.

*rjīṣī śavasaḥ pate* (SV. *patih*) RV. SV. Preceded by *tvam indra yāś asi*.

*pavasva devāyusak* (SV. *deva āyusak*) RV. SV. PB. Benfey translates *deva* as voc.; it is accented *devā*. If this is correct and it is a nom., it might be explained by assimilation to *āyusak* if that is a nom.; but Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 9. 25. 5 considers it a neuter adverb.

*dyācāpṛthivī uro* (VSK.† *uro*) *antarikṣa* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.: *dyā-rāpṛthivī urv antarikṣam* AV. TS. The TS. reading belongs here; see §333.

*agne sadakṣaḥ satanur* (KS.† *\*nūr*) *hi bhūtvā* TS. KS.: *agnih sadakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtvā* MŚ. The verb is 2d person in all; the nom. of MŚ. is attracted to the following noms.

*vasupate vasudāvan* RV. VS. ŚB.: *vasudāvā vasupatiḥ* TS. MS. KS. Preceded in all by *sa bodhī sūrīr maghavā*; TS. etc. assimilate to these noms.

*kāmena kṛtaḥ* (RV. and p.p. of MS. *kṛta*) *śruva icchamānaḥ* RV. MS. TB. *kṛtūḥ* partly suggested by *icchamānaḥ*.

*prajāpatiḥ* (ApMB. *\*te*) *tanvan me juṣasva, tvaṣā devaiḥ sahamāna indraḥ* (ApMB. *tvaṣtar devebhis sahasāma indra*, cf. Winternitz, xx) ApMB. MG. Followed in MG. by: *viśvair devair ṛtubhiḥ samvidānaḥ, puṣ-sām bahūnām mātaraū syāva*; in ApMB. by: *viśvair devai rātibhiḥ samrarāṇaḥ, puṣsām bahūnām mātara syāma*. Both texts are poor and doubtless corrupt, but the vocs. in ApMB. are doubtless more original, and may have been changed into noms. in MG. under the influence of the participle in pāda c, which is nom. in both.

*sahasrākṣa medha ā* (VSK. *medhāya*) *ciyamānaḥ* VSK. TS. KS.: *sahas-rākṣo medhāya ciyamānaḥ* VS. MS. ŚB. Preceded in all by *imam mā hīṣīr drīpādam paṇum* (TS. KS. *paṇūnam*). Voc. is likely to be original; attraction to *ciyamānaḥ* in VS. etc.

*karavye brahmasamhitē* (TS. *\*tā*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.: *śaro brahmasam-hitāḥ* TB. ApŚ. Preceded in all by *avasṛṣṭā* (TB. ApŚ. *\*aḥ*) *parā pata*. Voc. was original; in TS. the adjective, and in TB. ApŚ. both it and the noun, have been drawn into the nom. by the nom. adjective preceding.

*ado* (MŚ. *ato*, AV. *ailo yad*) *devi* (ApŚ. MŚ. *devī*) *prathamānā puruṣāt* (KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *prthag yat*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Direct address and 2d person verb in all; voc. original; nom. attracted to *prathamānā*.

*subīraṇa sṛja-sṛja kunaka* ApMB.: *subīriṇaḥ sṛja-sṛja* HG. Preceding pāda ends with *subīriṇaḥ*, which certainly caused the change (it may be a mere corruption in tradition).

*sakhe* (AV. *sakhā*) *sakhāyam ajaro jarimṇe* RV. AV. In the latter attraction to the case of *ajaro*.

*vrihīṇām medha* (MŚ. *medhaḥ*) *sumānasyamānaḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *tasmin sīda*. . . Attraction to the following nom. in MŚ.

§337. In the rest a nominative is secondarily substituted for a vocative, in an expression of direct address, without any apparent assimilatory influence of surrounding forms:



*indra* (MS. *indrah*) *madhām amu hi no babhūtha* RV. KS. MS. In the latter, 'thou hast presented thyself as Indra.'

*punar āgāh punarnava* (AV. *punara*<sup>o</sup>; AV.\* *°voh*) RV. AV. (both).

*namas te astu sisara* (PG. *sisaro lapetāpahvara*) PG.† 1. 16. 24, ApMB. HG. The nom. of PG. is hardly interpretable; indeed one is almost tempted to suppose that *sisaro* is meant for voc. (of an otherwise unknown *sīsaru*). It must refer to the same individual as *te* (a kind of dog demon).

*agne ghṛtenāhuta* (KS. *°taḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. In AVPPP. (Whitney on 6. 5. 1) *ghṛtebhīr āhutaḥ*. PPP. and KS. are awkward and secondary; the nom. must be taken as predicate to the subject of the preceding verb [*ud enam* (ApŚ. *asmān*) *uttaram* (VS. TS. KS. *°rām*, ApŚ. *°rān*) *naya*].

*rātri* (TB. *°ri*, KS. v. 1. *°riḥ*) *stomam na jigyuse* (KS.† TB. *°ṣi*) RV. KS. TB. In all preceded by *upa te gā ivākaram*, *ṛṇīṣva duhitar divaḥ*. The nom. must be taken in apposition with the subject of *ṛṇīṣva*.

*ṛlena* (MG. *ṛleva*) *sthūṇām* (ApMB. HG. *sthūṇāḥ*, MG. *sthūṇā*) *adhi roha vaṇśa* (MG. *vaṇśaḥ*) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG. The appositional nom. of MG. is awkward.

*indra krātā* (MS. *indrah kṛtā*) *maruto yad vakāma* RV. MS. KS. Perhaps the direct address to the Maruts (*maruto*, voc.) in the same pāda made the redactor of MS. feel that the voc. *indra* must be got rid of. The nom. is however clearly inferior; perhaps 'When we, O Maruts, acting as Indra, desire...' (?). On the original cf. Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 1. 165. 7. In VV 2 §380 we have called the nom. 'hardly construable'.

*agne* (MS. *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocaḥ* (MS. *voca*) RV. SV. MS. TA.

#### Vocative and nom. of independent statement

§338. In a few cases the shift between nominative and vocative marks more radical changes in the relation of the word so changed to adjoining words. Thus, a vocative epithet may be developed into a separate clause or sentence (cf. §§32, 38). The first step in this direction is illustrated by this:

*tiṣṭhā ratham* (TS. *rathe*) *adhī tam* (VS. ŚB. *yam*, TB. *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB. *°taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. Here TB., introducing a conjunction *yad*, makes what was originally a vocative epithet into a syntactically separate, tho still dependent, clause: 'since thou art vajra-wielder' instead of 'O vajra-wielder!' The awkward reading of VS. ŚB. is intermediate and paved the way.

§339. Note also the ApŚ. variant *devēbhyo havyavād asi*, under *devēbhyo havyavāhana* etc. §329; and the following; which show the final result of this tendency:

*kāmyāsi* PB. MŚ. GG.: *kāmye* MS.

*agne prāyascitte*...SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *agne prāyascittir asi*...ŚG.

Similarly with *vāyo*...and *sūrya* (*āditya*)...

*agne gṛhapata upa mā havyasva* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnaya upāhavyadhvam* Vait.: *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* ŚB. Parallels rather than real variants?

*adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me*...VS.: *adhvanām adhvapate svasti me*...PB.: *adhvano adhipatir asi svasti no*...ŚŚ.

#### Transfer of epithet

§340. There remain, aside from textually dubious or corrupt variants, chiefly some cases of 'transfer of epithet'. That is, the variant word is transferred from one person or thing to another, which involves change of case. Cf. §14 above:

*tava śravāṁsy upamāny ukthyā* (SV. °ya) RV. SV. In RV. the adj. goes with *śravāṁsi*, in SV. with *Indra*.

*śrūtās ta indra somā vātāpayo* (KB. TA. *vātāper*, KS. ŚŚ. *vātāpe*) *havanakṛtaḥ* MS. KS. (9, 8) KB. TA. ŚŚ. In MS. *vāt°* agrees with *somāḥ*, in the others with *Indra*, either with the voc. *indra* or with the pronoun *te* and the adj. *havanakṛtaḥ*.

*satyasya dharmanas patī* (ApŚ. *pate*, Vait. MŚ. *satyasya dharmanā*, AŚ. *pari satyasya dharmanā*, PG. *pari sakhyasya dharmanah*) ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. AŚ. PG. In ŚŚ. (probably original) *patī* (dual) is part of the predicate of the two preceding pādas. In ApŚ. it is applied to an unspecified divine personage to whom the stanza is felt as addressed.

*devā ājyapā juṣṣāṇā agna* (VS. *indra*) *ājyasya vyantu* VS. MS. KS. In the original (MS. KS.) addressed to *Agni* (voc.); but he is not one of those who are to participate in the action of *vyantu*. The redactor of VS. felt therefore that there was no reason for bringing *Agni* in at all; the rest of the verse suggests that *Indra* is above all the god who is to 'taste the butter'; hence *indra(h)*, as one of the *devā(h)* who are the subject of the verb.

*viśvasunn* (VSK. °vān, TS. KS. °ra) *ādityaiṣa te somapīthaḥ*...VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. The epithet belongs, as it should, to the sun (*āditya*) in all but VSK., which seems to apply it, incredibly, to *somapīthaḥ*.



*anu dyāvōpṛthivī supranītiḥ* (ŚŚ. °te) AŚ. ŚŚ. The original pāda d of AV. 7. 73. 6 (see Whitney's note); Ppp. (Roth) agrees with AŚ., with nom. agreeing with *savitā* of pāda c, while ŚŚ. (secondarily) distorts it to agree with the subject of the 2d person verbs of pādas a, b.

*svar devā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *svar devān*) *aganma* (MS. MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *devā* is accentless both times in VS., tho comm. in one of them takes it as nom. (*vayam yajamāna devā bhūtā*). In KS. 14. 1 it is voc., in KS. 18. 12 nom. (but two mss. make it voc.); in MS. nom.; the Tait. texts make it accus. attracting it to the case of *svar* and making it a second object. If nom. it must, of course, agree with the subject (as comm. on VS. says).

*bhaga eva bhugavān astu devāḥ* (AV.† *devaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TB. ApMB. In AV. the epithet (originally voc.) is transferred to *bhaga(h)*. Ppp. agrees with RV.

*vīryitacakra āsīnāḥ* HG. ApMB.: *avimuktacakra* (v. l. °rā) *āsīran* PG. See §454.

*yat te susīme hṛdaye* (SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. °yam) KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yat te susīman hṛdayam* KBU. 2. 8 (not in Conc.) *susīme* is voc. fem.; *hṛdaye* loc. See §457. If *susīman* be allowed to stand, it is a case of transfer of the epithet to *hṛdayam*: 'the heart that is thine, of well-parted hair' (! despite the bizarre sound of this to us, it is perhaps not impossible in a Vedic text; the 'heart' is the essence of the person, and any epithet of the person may be applied to it). Deussen would read *susīme*, however.

*agne vaiśvānara* (MS.\* °raḥ) *svāhā* TS. MS. (bis) TB. The subject is *jyotiḥ* (neuter!), and if the nom. can stand it must be felt as going with it. But, altho no v. l. is recorded, we suspect a corruption (final visarga added, VV 2 §380).

*punar brāhmāno* (AV. *brāhmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °nītir, MS. °dhīte, KS.\* °dhīlam, v. l. °tīm, KS.\* 38. 12b† °nītha, KapS. °dhīlam or °tīm) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.\* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ŚB. The voc. agrees with *agne* (understood in KS.); the nom. with *brāhmā*; the acc. with *trā* (sc. Agni) of the preceding.

#### Miscellaneous

§341. One or two miscellaneous cases, hardly to be called true variants:

*svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno* VS. TS. ŚB.: *svān*

*nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno* KS.: *śavā nabhṛād aṅghāre bambhāre 'star ahasta kṛśāno* MS.: *śvāna bhrāt, aṅghārīr bambhārīh, hastaḥ suhastaḥ, kṛśānur vīśvāvasuḥ* TA.† In TA. part of the *gandharvagaṇāḥ*; obviously based on the other list (addressed to the gandharvas at the soma purchase), but used in a different connexion.

*agnir ājyasya vetu vaujhaḥ* ŚB.: *agna ājyasya vyantu vaujhaḥ* ŚB. Also *agninājya*°, *agnim ājya*°. Rigmarole formulas, with repetition (with slight variations) of the same words attached to various cases of the stem *agnī*, as required in a set of offerings.

§342. We now append some nominative-vocative variants whose right to be called such is doubtful, either because of dubiety of interpretation of forms, or because textual corruption or editorial error is involved.

*swapnaḥ swapnādhikaraṇo* RVKh.: *swapna swapnābhikaraṇena* AV.: *swapna swapnādhikaraṇena* Ppp. (Barret, JAOS. 35. 52). Probably *swapna* is a sandhi form for *swapnaḥ*; VV 2 §980.

*sumṛṣikā sarasvatī* (MG. °tī) AV. AA. TA. AŚ. LŚ. MG. Read °tī in all; so v. l. of MG., and its comm. *he sarasvatī*. In TA. 1. 21. 3 the Bibl. Ind. ed. reads *sarasvatī*, but Poona ed. °tī.

*sumanīḥ suhīranyavān* (ŚŚ. °vāḥ) AV. ŚŚ. But °vān is Roth's emendation and must be rejected.

*ud īṣṣatāḥ pativati* (ApMB. °vati) *hy eṣā* RV. ApMB. See Winternitz, xix; some ApMB. mss. °vati, comm. °vati interpreted as a 'Vedic' nom.! A voc. seems impossible.

*iyam oṣadhe* (PG. °dhi) *trāyamānā* PG. ApMB. HG. Here too (cf. prec.) the voc. is absurd, yet is clearly intended in ApMB. HG.; see Winternitz xxiv, and Oldenberg *SBE.* 30. 166 note.

[*īrtam haviḥ śamitāḥ* (TS. ApŚ. *haviḥ śamitah*) TS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Conc. *śamitā* for MS. MŚ.; but both follow this word with *iti*, intending *śamitāḥ*.]

*dhāndśomān manthina indra* (MŚ. *indrah*) *śukrāt* TS. KS. MŚ. See Kasner's note. The nom. is unconstruable as such.

*tām naḥ pūṣaṇ chivatamām erayasa* HG.: *tām pūṣaṇ* (AV. °vi) etc. RV. AV. ApMB.: *sā naḥ pūṣā śivatamām eraya* PG. The verb being still 2d person in PG., this might be classed with §337; but PG. is really hopeless.

*stomatrayastriṅke bhuvanasya patnī* TS. KS. AŚ.: *stomas trayastriṅke bhuvanasya patnī* MS. In the latter apparently *stomas* and *patnī* are subject and predicate; the divergence of gender signalizes the badness of the reading.



(*aśvakrānte rathakrānte*) *viṣṇukrānte vasumdhare* (TA. °rā), *hīrasā dhārītā devī* (TA. *dhārayiṣyāmī*), *rakṣasva mām paide-paide* TA. MahānU. The nom. is impossible as member of a series of voes., which are epithets of the personage addressed (*tām* must be supplied). With MahānU.'s *dhārītā*, it might, tho very harshly, be explained by attraction. In fact the comm. on TA. seems to have read *dhārītā devī*, and for *vasumdhara* (which he does not quote; did he read °dhare?) he has: *he bhūme sarvāni vastūni dhārayanti sātī*. Evidently the text of TA. is very uncertain.

*indra* (MS. *indrak*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV. MS. The nom. is not construable.

*na vā ojīyo rudra tead asti* RV. TA.: *ojīyo rudras tad asti* MS. s.p., but p.p. reads like RV. but for *tad* instead of *tead*. The MS. is corrupt and uninterpretable. Add to VV 2 §365 (*tead* : *tad*).

*praty elā vīmā* (AŚ. *sunvan*). . . *pratiṣṭhotopavaktar* (ŚŚ. °vaktā, v. l. °vaktar) *uta*...KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Discussed VV 2 p. 180. All texts seem to have read °vaktar; but a voc. seems unconstruable, and a nom. must have been intended, whatever the form was.

*yatra-yatra jātavedaḥ sambabhūtha* (TB. °bhūva, Poona ed. °tha) TB. ApŚ.: *yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS. *bibhrato*, v. l. *bibhṛto*, *bibhyato*) *jātavedaḥ* AV. KS. The nom. is very awkward; Whitney translates a voc. *śarīraṁ me vicakṣaṇam* (RVKh. *vicakṣaṇam*) RVKh. TA. TU.: *pratīkaṁ me vicakṣaṇam* PG. Scheftelowitz reads *vicakṣaṇa* in RVKh., but this seems unconstruable.

*saṁvīṣṭha* (AA. °ṭhaḥ, but Keith °ṭha with v. l. °ṭhaḥ) *vajrinn ojasā* (AA. Mahānāmnyah *rājase*) RV. SV. AA. Mahānāmnyah. A mere corruption of tradition.

*areḍgvaso vasiṭi te pāram aśīya* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *areḍgvasur [itī trīr ukṭvā]* MŚ. (pratīka). It seems clear that MŚ.'s *pratīka* refers to the mantra of MS. There is no v. l. recorded; but no nom. can be really intended.

## CHAPTER XII

### VOCATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

#### Direct address and indirect statement

§343. The variants between vocative and accusative are much less numerous than those between vocative and nominative, and naturally do not parallel them altogether; yet it is rather curious to observe the extent to which they correspond. Thus, to begin with, we find a group in which one form addresses directly a divine personage or a thing (vocative), while the other expresses the same prayer, wish, or statement indirectly, referring to the same personage or thing in the accusative. Generally in such cases the variants occur in different contexts, so that we have a sort of phrase-inflection, an adaptation of the same mantra-material to different situations. But not always so; in a few cases the same passage undergoes this syntactic modification, just as in the first group of nominative-vocative variants (§326). Among the simplest cases of this sort are two in which a first person verb meaning in substance 'I invoke' is used in both forms of the variant, with the god invoked in the accusative or vocative:

*indram* (SV. *indra*) *dhenum sudughām anyām iṣam* RV. SV. The preceding pāda is *ā tv adya* (SV. *tvādyā*) *sabardughām huve gāyatrave-pasam*. SV., by reading *tvā(dya)* for *tv adya*, turns the verse into a direct address to Indra. 'I call upon Indra' or 'I call on thee, Indra'...

*ṛcā yāmi maruto brahmanaspatim* (SV. <sup>2</sup>*pate*), *devān* (SV. *devā*) *avo vare-nyam* RV. SV. MS. KS. 'With a hymn I approach the Maruts, Brahmanaspati, the gods, for excellent aid': '... I approach [you], O Maruts etc.'

§344. In a few other cases the accusative is the object of a causative or active verb, while the vocative goes with a corresponding intransitive; the action is thought of alternatively as performed by an outside agency upon the entity referred to, or by that entity itself. These are similar to many variations of the acc. with the nom., §372 ff.

*ihavea dhruvā* (ŚG. *sthāne*) *prati tiṣṭha kālē* (ŚG. *dhruvā*) AV. ŚG. HG.: *ihavea dhruvān ni minomī sālām* AV. PG. HG. 'Right here stand thou firm, O house (pillar)!', or: 'Right here I fix firm the house.'



*tasmai tvam stanaṁ pra pyāya* ApMB.: *tasmai stanam pra pyāyasa* HG.  
'Swell for him, O breast!', or: 'Swell thy breast for him.' See  
VV 1 §32.

*unnambhaya pṛthivīm* TS. KṢ. MS. ApŚ.: *pra nabhasva pṛthivī* AV.  
'Split open the earth!' (addressed to Dhātār): 'burst open, O earth!'  
Ppp. agrees with TS. etc., and AV. addresses Dhātār in pāda c;  
AV. probably secondary.

§345. In the stray variant which follows the acc. is original ('the  
sacrifice has gone to the gods...'); AŚ. (the reading of which is repeated  
by its comm.) makes it a direct address to the gods:  
*devān* (MS. *devān*, AŚ. *devā*) *janam agnī yajñāh* MS. KṢ. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.†

#### Phrase inflection

§346. The remaining cases of shift between direct address and indirect  
reference concern different contexts in the two forms of the variant:  
*satyadharmānam adhvare* RV. SV. (preceded by *kurīm agnīm upa stuhī*):  
*satyadharmāno adhvaram* (TS. °re) RV. TS. (preceded by different  
pādas of direct address).

*yajñātham havyavāhana* (and °nam) RV. (both). Voc. accompanies 2d  
pers. pronoun.

*rudra jalāsubheṣaja* AV.: *rudrām jalāsubheṣajam* RV.

*śatamūte śatakrato* RV.: *śatamūtim śatakratum* RV. Voc. with *te*, acc.  
with *indram*.

*śtomebhir havanāśrutam* (and °ta) RV. (both). Acc. with *mahāntam*  
(*indram*), voc. (dual) with *indrāgnī* or *āśvinā*.

*śtomebhir vīśvacarṣayim* RV.: *śtomebhir vīśvacarṣaye* RV. AV.

*uttānaparṇe subhage* (Ppp. °nām *subhagām*), followed by: *devajūte* (Ppp.  
*sahamānām*) *sahasvati* (Ppp. °tīm) RV. AV. Ppp. (JAOS. 40: 161).

The latter also in nom. form, §329, *sahamāne*...

*indav indrāya pītaye* RV.: *indum indrāya pītaye* RV. SV.

*indum* (RV. also *indas*) *indrāya mātaram* RV. (both) SV.

*indrān* (RV. also *indra*) *somasya pītaye* RV. (both) AV. SV.

*tasya te iṣṭasya vītasya draviṇeha bhakṣiṇa* TS. ('may I enjoy the wealth  
of thee...'); *tasya na iṣṭasya pītasya draviṇehāgameḥ* VS. ('wealth  
of..., come to us here'). And others; see VV 1 §104u, and §326  
above. The forms differ only in accent.

§347. We come now to the second large group of vocative-accusative  
variants. In these there is direct address both times; but the person  
or thing addressed is syntactically the object of a verb, at least in one  
form and generally in both, while one of its epithets is alternatively

expressed in the accusative, agreeing with the object, or in the vocative. While we can generally see which is the original form, on external grounds, both forms are often equally sound syntactically, as was the case with the corresponding nominative-vocative variants (§§334 ff.). Usually the shift is due to attraction to a neighboring form.

§348. In the group to be mentioned first the accusative form is older than the vocative:

*indram karmasu avatam* (MS. VS. \**tu*) RV. AV. VS. (both) MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *indram karmasu avatu* MS.: *indra karmasu no 'vata* VS. KS.: *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB. (but Poona ed. *indra... 'vata*). See VV I §354. The voc. is attracted to the subject of the verb, which originally does not include Indra.

*namasyāmas tvēyam* (KS. \**ya*) *jātavedah* RV. MS. KS. TB. 'We pay homage to thee, the worshipful one, O Jātavedas' or 'to thee, O worshipful J.' The RV. original makes the epithet *idyam* agree with *tvā*, the KS. attracts it to *Jātavedah*; but in either case it refers to the same person.

*agnīn* (SV. *agne*) *rathan na vedyam* RV. SV. On this complicated verse (cf. also *agnī ratho na vedyah* RV., and below §387) see *RVRep.* on I. 180. 3, with references, and especially Oldenberg, *ProL* 288. There is no doubt that SV. is secondary. All the surrounding verses are addressed to Agni; this is doubtless the reason for SV.'s change to the vocative, which makes unsatisfactory sense; the pronoun *rah* (plural!) occurs in the first pāda, and is interpreted by the comm. as equivalent to *tvām*!

*pra yā bhūmīm* (TS. ApMB. \**mi*) *pravateati* RV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N. Followed by *mahnā jinōḡi* (MS. *hinoḡi*) *mahini*. Addressed to Pṛthivī, 'earth', who is said to 'promote the land (*bhūmī*)'; by a natural confusion TS. ApMB. assimilate *bhūmī* to the subject and make it vocative, along with (and specifically attracted by) the adjoining vocative epithets. Note that the short *i* of the ending is retained, which however implies a stem *bhūmī* instead of *bhūmī*; cf. *yāś ca bhūmy...* etc., §180.

*mahyā indram* (ApMB. *indra*) *svastaye* RV. ApMB. Occurs twice in ApMB., in different contexts, both different from that of RV. On one of them see Winternitz xxix f. Both are inferior in sense.

§349. The cases in which an older vocative varies with a secondary accusative in expressions of direct address are:

*ye tvā rātry* (MG. *rātrim*) *upāsate* KS. MG.: *yā tām rātrim upāmahe* PG.: *yām tvā rātry upāmahe* (TS. *upāsate*, SMB. *rātri yajāmahe*)



AV. TS. SMB. Direct address in all, even in PG, where the object pronoun is 3d person instead of 2d; PG. and MG. assimilate the form of the orig. voc. to the object-pronoun.

*indra śaviṣṭha satpate* RV.: *indrām śaviṣṭha satpatim* SV. Repeated in SV. from RV. 8. 68. 1, where the first three pādas are: *ā tvā ratham yathotaye sumnāya vartayāmasi, turikārmim rīṣaham*. The acc. epithets of the prec. have attracted two of the three vocs. of the last pāda; the curious thing is that one (*śaviṣṭha*) is allowed to remain even in SV.

*śociṣkeṣām vicakṣaṇa* (AV.\* *ṇam*) RV. ArS. AV. (both) TS. KS. Preceded by *tvā...deva sūrya*. Clear attraction to the prec. acc. in AV.

*hotarē cikīrvo* (AV. *ṇann*) *avṛṇimahiha* RV. AV.: *agne hotāram avṛṇimahiha* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In all texts *tvā* occurs in prec. 'In that today... we choose thee, O hotar (as hotar).'

*punar brahmāṇo* (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. *ṇitir*, MS. *ḍhīte*, KS.\* *ḍhūtam*, v. l. *ḍhūtim*, and \*†*ṇūtha*, KapS. *ḍhūtam* or *ḍhūtim*) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS.\* *agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (bis) KapS. ŚB. See §340.

*sva devā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *sva devān*) *aganma* (MS. MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The acc. certainly secondary, and perhaps influenced by *sva*; see §340.

*vaha kālā* (HG, *kālān*, v. l. *kāla*) *vaha śriyaṁ mābhi vaha* ApMB. HG. Undoubtedly ApMB. is correct and original. Addressed to an elephant: 'Carry, black one, carry! Carry me towards fortune!' Probably *kālā* should be read in HG. with two mss.; certainly *kālān* does not make sense. 'Carry the time' (Oldenberg) is ridiculous, and 'carry the black one' is little better.

#### Transfer of epithet

§350. The remaining vocative-accusative variants, except a few corruptions, concern 'transfer of epithet' from one person or thing to another, involving change of case (and also, often, of number or gender): *rayīm no dhehi subhage suvīram* (MŚ. *suvīre*, PG.† *suvīryam*) AV. TS. MŚ. PG. 'Grant us wealth with good sons, O auspicious one': 'grant us wealth, O auspicious one of good sons.' There is little real difference in the sense; the possession of good sons by the deity addressed implies the granting of them to the petitioner.

*vardhā samudram ukthyam* (SV. *ṇya*) RV. SV. In RV. *ukthyam* modifies *samudram*; in SV. it is transferred to *soma* (in pāda a).

*indram sakhāyo* (KS. °yam) *anu sañ rabhadheam* (KS. *ryayodhram*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The voc. *sakhāyo* refers to the subject (warriors); the acc. to the object (Indra).

*subhage kāmṣīlāvatīni* TS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.: *subhadrikām kāmṣīlāvatīnīm* VS. MS. See Edgerton, *JAOS.* 31. 141, 144. The words are applied differently; the accs. to a rival queen, the vocs. (spoken by the priest) to the Mahiṣī. Both occur in an obscene passage in the *aśvamedha*. In the voc. form note the absence of the imprecatory suffix *ka*.

*kṛṇata dhūmam vṛṣṇaḥ sakhāyaḥ* AV.: *kṛṇota dhūmam vṛṣṇaḥ sakhāyaḥ* RV. The whole AV. verse is a wretched corruption of the RV. original. All that need concern us here is that *vṛṣṇam*, in the orig. an epithet of *dhūmam* (so Grassmann *Wbch.*, Geldner, Hillebrandt), is transferred to the following *sakhāyaḥ*.

*kaś tam indra tvāsam* (SV. PB. *tvā paśo*) RV. SV. AB. GB. PB. AŚ. This involves a 'false division' of the type described in VV 2 §820, where this variant might have been included. The RV. has a cpd. adj. agreeing with *tam*. The SV. misunderstands it as containing an acc. *tvā*, and then makes the seemingly necessary correction to *paśo*, which is then a voc. going with *indra*.

*aganma mitrāvaruṇā vareṇyā* (MS. *vareṇa*, KS. *vareṇyam*) TS. MS. KS. In KS. the epithet goes apparently with *bhāgum*, to be supplied in sense (the following *pāda* is *rātrīṇāḥ bhāgo yuwayor yo aśi*). In TS. (probably a lect. fac.) it is made to agree with *mitrāvaruṇā*. MS. has a different change, on which see VV 2 §326.

*achidram* (SMB. °rāḥ) *śarma yachata* RV. AB. SMB. The unaccented SMB. makes the epithet go with the subject; it may be taken as either voc. or nom.

*svargam arvanto jayema* Vait.: *svargāḥ* (AŚ. text, *svagāḥ*) *arvanto jayata* (AŚ. *jayataḥ*; AŚ. also, as variant given in the text, *arvato jayati*) SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. *arvanto* is voc. in SV., nom. in Vait., in both cases going with the subject (in ŚŚ. either nom. or voc.). In the second version of AŚ. it is transferred to the object.

*ṛbhūm ṛbhukṣaṇo rayim* RV.: *ṛbhukṣaṇam ṛbhūm rayim* RV. SV. In the first passage *ṛbhukṣaṇo* is a voc. elliptic plural, 'O Ṛbhukṣan (and the two other Ṛbhū).'. In the second it is an epithet of *rayim*. See *RVRep.* on 4. 37. 5.

*nāma svadhāvan yuhyam* (ApMB. *svadhāvat svaryam*) *bibhargi* RV. ApMB. In RV. *svadhāvan* refers to Agni; in ApMB. it is made an epithet of *nāma*.



§351. There are two cases of the sort mentioned in §15; in both what is in the original form an object noun is treated in the secondary form as a vocative epithet. They differ from the preceding only in that the original accusative can hardly be considered an 'epithet':

*avavyayann asitarā deva vasma* (TB. ApŚ. *vasvaḥ*) RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. The original: 'Removing the black garment, O god.' In TB. ApŚ. *vasvaḥ* must apparently be meant as an epithet of *deva*; its meaning is obscure; Caland translates the RV. reading. See VV 2 p. 124.

*viśvam ā bhāsi rocanam* (AV.\* °na) RV. ArŚ. AV. (both) VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. The subject is the sun; the object, in the orig., *viśvam... rocanam*. In AV. *rocana* must be felt as an epithet of the subject, 'shining.' This adjective is unknown to the RV., where *rocana* is always a noun.

### Errors

§352. Finally, a few errors:

*evā hīndra* KB. AA. TA. AŚ. Mahānāmnyah. The Conc. follows the Bibl. Ind. ed. of AA. in quoting *hīndram*; but see Keith's AA., 142, n. 12. Voc. in all.

*kāma kāmam mā dvartaya* PB. MŚ.: *kāmam-kāmam mā dvartaya* MS. But one of von Schroeder's best mss. reads *kāma kāmam* (both accented); this and the reading of MŚ., its ritual text, convinces us that the printed reading of MS. is merely due to bad editing. *yīm iḡum giriśanta* VS. MS. TS. KS. ŚvetU. NīlarU. The ed. of NīlarU. used in Conc. has *giriśantam* in text and comm. But the AnSS. ed. has °śanta in text (comm. °śantam). The acc. can be construed only with difficulty; Deussen assumes a voc.

*devanyuṣam* (TB. *devā*\*) *viśvavārām* (AŚ. °vāre) TS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Preceded by *ghṛtavarīm adhvārya* (AŚ.† °yoh) *srucam āśvasva*. The accs. go with *srucam*, the spoon; perhaps AŚ. means *viśvavāre* as a voc. fem. addressed to the spoon, but this is really nonsense, even if it be detached from the preceding and taken with the following (*iḡāmahai devān iḡenyān*). Note that AŚ. is also corrupt in *adhvāryoh* (omitted in Conc.; to be added to VV 2 §381).

## CHAPTER XIII

### VOCATIVE AND OTHER CASES

#### A. Vocative and instrumental

§353. The variations between vocative and instrumental are, as we should expect, few and scattering. Nevertheless there are certain conditions in which, rather unexpectedly, these two cases may be interchanged with substantially no difference of meaning. Thus, first, an associative instrumental may be used with a vocative of direct address of a person also addressed; while in another form a second vocative may function. The associative instrumental varies in this same way with other cases (§§55-7). The examples we have noted are:

*mo ṣū ṇa indrātra* (TS.† *indra*) *ṛtsu devāiḥ* (KS. *devāḥ*, TS. MS. *deva*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In the original, 'O Indra along with the gods!'; in KS., 'O Indra (and) ye gods!' The next pāda begins with *astu* and MS. TS. read *devāstu*, which however MS. p.p. resolves as *devāḥ*, *astu*—implying the reading of KS. The reading *deva* would of course be voc. sg., as epithet of Indra; this would be a case of 'transfer of epithet', as described in §15.

*devīr-devīr* (ApŚ. *devīr devair*) *abhi mā nivartadhvam* MS. ApŚ. In MS. an āmreḍita compound: 'Ye several goddesses!' In ApŚ.: 'Ye goddess along with the gods!'

*ā yāhi sūra haribhyām* (SV. KB. ŚŚ. *hariha*, AŚ. *harī iha*) AV. SV. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ. See notes of Whitney and Keith. Apparently *harī iha* is intended in all but AV.; *harī* would seem to be voc.: 'O hero (Indra) [and] ye two bay steeds!'

§354. In another way the voc. and instr. may be nearly equivalent in ultimate meaning in the following, which psychologically go with interchanges between direct address and indirect statement (cf. §29); here in the indirect form the personage which in the other form is directly addressed is put in the instrumental instead of the nom. (for the equivalence of these two cases in such contexts see §40).

*jagatyainam* (AŚ. °*ty enam*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmah* (MS. KS. °*mī*, AŚ. °*nī*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. The AŚ. reading may be only a phonetic variant or corruption (see VV 2 §709); but if genuine it could be interpreted



as meaning 'O jagati (instead of 'by the jagati') may I settle him in the tribes!' That is, the potency which in the original is to be the instrument for bringing about the desired result is directly addressed for this purpose in AŚ.

*ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam* (GB. *ātmānātmānam*) *me mā hiṃsāh* GB. Vait. Kauś. 'Thou art ātman; O ātman, injure not my ātman!' or, '...injure not my ātman by the ātman.' If textually sound, this would be substantially the reverse of the preceding change (assuming that here the voc. is original). But Gaastra reads in GB. like the others (with v. l. in 2 mss.).

§355. The following might be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' but for the fact that the two forms are used in quite different contexts, so that it is rather what we have called 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2): *devi devebhīr yajate* (and <sup>o</sup>*ā*) *yajatraih* RV. (both); *devi devegū yajātā yajatra* RV. AV. MS. The latter is certainly secondary; *yajatra* is made to agree with a preceding *agne*, whereas in the original the word agreed with *devebhīr*. The contexts are different. See RVRep. 241.

§356. In one stray case a voc. varies with an adverbial instr.:

*sā naṣ samantam anu parihi bhadrāyā* ApMB.; *sā mā* (MG, *naḥ*) *saman-tam abhi pary ehi bhadre* MG. SMB. *bhadre* refers to the sacred belt, *mekhalā*: 'Do thou encircle me (us) completely, O fair one!' Instead of 'O fair one' ApMB. says 'fairly', using the old RV. adverb. Or this may be the original reading, and *bhadre* a sort of phonetic (Prakritic) reduction; the variant should in any case have been quoted in VV 2 §747.

§357. The next is one of those cases which by a certain stretching of language may be called 'transfer of epithet' (cf. §15). A voc. epithet of the subject is replaced by an instrumental of different appurtenance: *utūla parimūḍho 'si* PG.; *ūlena parimūḍho 'si* HG.; *ulena pariṣṭho 'si* ApMB. Original is apparently PG.; *utūla* '(runaway) servant.' The word *ula* or *ūla* seems to mean some kind of wild animal; see Bloomfield SBE. 42. 643 (on AV. 12. 1. 49). But the interpretation of HG. ApMB. is very obscure; Oldenberg abandons the text.

#### B. Vocative and dative

§358. Here again the variants are few. But they show interesting psychological parallels to variations between the vocative and other cases. Thus first we find some cases in which there is a shift between direct address, with vocative, and indirect statement, in which the per-

sonage addressed in the direct form is referred to in the dative (cf. §30). The alteration may be helped by assimilation to a case-form already present in the older form of the variant, as in the first case:

*agnaye* (AV. Kauś. *agne*) *samidham dhārṣam* (ŚG. GG. *dhārṣam*) AV.

Kauś. AG. GG. SMB. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. (The false emendation *agne* in AV. is withdrawn by Whitney ad loc.) Lanman ap.

Whitney regards the voc. *agne* as original on metrical grounds.

More weighty to our minds is the fact that it seems to be a lectio

difficilior. The rest of the verse refers to Agni (*Jātavedas*) in the

3d person, not in direct address; and more particularly, the datives

*brhate jātavedase* follow immediately, and it is almost certain that

*agnaye* has been assimilated to them, replacing *agne*. Note that

the following stanzas are all directly addressed to Agni *Jātavedas*.

However, the comm. on AV. reads *agnaye*, and so does one of

SPP's reciters. 'O Agni (for Agni) I have brought firewood, for

the great J.'

*brhaspataye mahiṣa* (TS. *mahi śad*) *dyuman namaḥ* AV. TS.: *brhaspate*

*mahiṣāya dive namaḥ* Ppp. (Barret, *JAOS.* 26. 273); *brhaspate*

*mahiṣa dyuman namaḥ* MŚ. Followed by:

*viśvakarman namas to pāhy asmān* AV. (and Ppp.): *namo viśvakarmane*

*sa u pātv asmān* TS. MŚ. In the first pāda there is a double case;

*brhaspate* varies with *pataye*, and *mahiṣa* with *śāya* of Ppp.

Altho the AV. comm. reads *mahi śad* like TS., we no longer hold

the view expressed in VV 2 §§392, 826 that this is the original

reading. All texts but TS. have a form of the stem *mahiṣa*; we

attribute special weight to Ppp. *mahiṣāya* which we had previously

overlooked. We now take the original to be MŚ.: 'O Brhaspati,

mighty one (or buffalo bull), glowing homage (to thee); homage

to Viśvakarman; may he protect us.' Since no dative is expressed

in the first pāda, one of the two vocs. (which really indicate the

recipient) is changed into a dative in all the other texts; hence

*mahiṣāya* Ppp., *brhaspataye* AV. TS. The change to direct address

in the second pāda in AV. Ppp. is also due to a sort of assimila-

tion; it matches the direct address of the first pāda, to a different

divinity.

§359. Parallel to the cases mentioned in §§334 etc. are one or two instances in which there is direct address in both forms of the variant, but instead of the vocative one form has a dative, referring to the same person but differently construed. Here too the shift may be due to form assimilation. Thus in the first instance the voc. is clearly original



and the dative assimilated to the pronoun *te*, which is found also in the older form:

*kṣayadvīra* (TS. °*vīrāya*) *sumnam asme te astu* RV. TS. Addressed to Rudra; the preceding is *āre te gaghnam uta pāruṣagham* RV., *drāt te gaghna uta pāruṣaghe* TS. The meaning of TS. is far from clear (Keith may be right in thinking that the variant word is felt as meaning 'hero-destroyer' in TS., instead of 'hero-ruler'; in other respects Keith's interpretation seems to us less happy; we think *sumnam* is felt as 'hymn' in TS.). But the assimilation is clear.

*vasavo rudrā ādityā etā vaḥ pannojanāḥ* MS. KS.; *vasubhyo rudrebhya ādityebhyo vīśvebhyo vo devēbhyah pannojanāḥ grhṇāmi* TS. The former is clearly original: 'These are your footbaths, O Vasus etc.' In TS. we take it that there is still direct address, *vo* referring to the gods; and perhaps the datives may therefore be conceived as assimilated to the case of *vo*. At any rate TS. means: 'I take the footbaths for you Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, All-gods' (or, at least, *vo* must certainly go with *vīśvebhyo devēbhyah*, as its position clearly suggests, rather than with *pannojanāḥ* as Keith takes it).

*puṣṭipate* (MS. *puṣṭa*°; ApŚ. °*pataye*) *puṣṭiś* (MS. om.) *cakṣuṣe*. . . *punar dñhi* (*dehi*). . . MS. AŚ. ApŚ. Caland adopts voc. for ApŚ.; but this involves also reading *puṣṭim* for *puṣṭiś*, which is supported by AŚ. and which MS. lacks altogether. To us it seems that ApŚ. has a genuine (tho secondary) variant: 'To the Lord of Prosperity prosperity! Give back etc.'

§360. The following may be said to be cases of 'transfer of epithet' (§14):

*vīprā ṛgātham gāyata yaj juṣoṣatī* (AA. °*ṛat*) AA. ŚŚ.: *vīprāya ṛgātham gāyata yaṁ juṣoṣate* SV. Preceded by *pra va indrāya vṛtrahantamāya*. In SV. the epithet goes with Indra, in the others it is addressed to the priests (probably by a secondary transfer).

*tasmai rudrāya namo aste agnaye* (KS. ApŚ. *astu devāḥ*, MŚ.† *'astu devāya*) AV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚirasU. (Ppp. has the pāda ending *aste adya*, TS. TA. MahānU. ending *astu*.) *Lectio difficillima* in AV. (probably original). The voc. *devāḥ* cannot refer to the same personage as the dative of the others, whether Agni be identified or only associated with Rudra. Add to VV 2 §909.

§361. A couple of anomalous cases:

*ekam iṣe* TB. ApŚ. SMB. KhG. PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG. Followed, where more than a pratika, by *viṣṇus tvānreṣu* (*nayatu*). 'One (step) for nourishment; may Viṣṇu accompany (lead) thee.' Simi-

lar are *īṣa ekapadī* (sc. *bhava*) AG. ŚG.: *īṣe tvā sumāṅgalī prajāvati susīma* Kauś. In these the formula is the first of a series employing the first seven numerals, with nearly uniform wording. In TS. we find the formula isolated, in a quite different context from any occurring in the others, as follows: *ekam īṣa (viṣṇus tvānu vi cakrame)*: 'One (step), O vigorous one, Viṣṇu has stepped along after thee.' Keith denies any relation between this and the other mantras; but it seems to us probable that he is wrong. TS. has simply worked over and applied differently a formula remembered from other occasions. It has turned *īṣe* into a voc., probably thinking of the RV. adjective *īṣa* (but comm. *sarvadevīr iṣyamāṇa*). [*kanyakumāryai* (TA. °*māri*) *dhīmahi* TA. MahānU. Poona ed. of TA. °*kumārī*, but with accent on the penult (!); and its comm. °*kumārī*. Occurs in a series of formulas which are closely parallel, differing only in using various names; in all the others datives are found. Neither a voc. nor a nom. is, in fact, conceivable here. Perhaps TA. has a mere phonetic corruption, belonging with VV 2 §§700-701. Comm. understands a dative, adding: *līṅgādīvyatyayāḥ sarvatra chāndaso draṣṭavyāḥ* (very simple!).]

#### C. Vocative and ablative

§362. We have noted only a single stray variant, in which the vocative is surely original; it is subject of the following verb *yaja*: 'O broad atmosphere, along with god Vāta, [sacrifice. . .]'. In VS. ŚB. this is violently detached from the following phrase containing *yaja*, and apparently a verb meaning 'protect' must be understood (so the comms.); but the reading is certainly poor:

*uro antarikṣa* (VS. ŚB. *uror antarikṣāt*) *asjūr devena vilena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (Delete reference to KS. 2. 2.)

#### D. Vocative and genitive

§363. Here again the variants are not numerous. Some are essentially phonetic in character, involving presence or absence of final visarga; see especially §366. Most of them are cases of shift between direct statement, with vocative, and indirect reference in which the same noun is referred to in the genitive. In quite a number of these, however, as in the nom.-voc. cases mentioned §333, one form or the other is more or less inconsistent with the context, producing stylistic harshness. Thus:

*ghṛtāvāṇī savitar* (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °*tyaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.



Followed in all by *payasvati rantir* (MS. *rātir*) *āśā no astu*. 'In (by) [thy] lordship, O Savitar': 'in the lordship of Savitar'. But the first part of the stanza is directly addressed to a different deity, and the voc. *savitar* is harsh.

*yena te te prajāpate* TB. ApŚ.: *yenaite prajāpateḥ* MŚ. Followed in all by *ijānasya nyavartayan*. Here the following gen. *ijānasya*, which in the (doubtless original) TB. ApŚ. form agreed with *te* referring to Prajāpati, is doubtless connected with the alteration to *prajāpateḥ*. But in MŚ.'s form *te* is lost and the statement becomes third-personal.

*tām savitāḥ satyasavām sucitrām* AV.: *tām savitur varenyasya citrām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Followed in all by *āham eṇe sumatiḥ viśvajanyām* (AV. *viśvavāram*). 'O Savitar, this [thy] favor...': 'this favor of Savitar.' In the 3d pāda all, including AV., refer to Savitar in the 3d person, with *asya*. This rather mild inconsistency does not prove that AV. is secondary; on the contrary it may suggest that the others have assimilated to the following context.

*apsu te rājan varuṇa* AV.: *dvīpe rājño varuṇasya* KS. AŚ. Followed by *grho hiraṇyayo mitaḥ* (AŚ. *mito hiraṇyayaḥ*). 'A golden house is built for thee, O king Varuṇa (for king Varuṇa).' The 2d half verse refers to Varuṇa in the 3d person in AV.; but probably this inconsistency is original, and has been eliminated secondarily in KS. AŚ.; note that they are metrically very poor. Form assimilation.

*yad bhūmer hṛdayam*, [*divi candramasi śrītam*] ApMB.†: *veda te bhūmi hṛdayam* PG. HG. Even ApMB. addresses Earth directly with a voc. in the following; it is metrically poor in the 1st pāda.

*viṣṇoḥ* (ApMB. *viṣṇo*, v. l. *viṣṇoḥ*) *śreṣṭhena* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz *kraīṣṭhyena*) *rūpeṇa* RVKh. ApMB. MG. 'With the noblest form of Viṣṇu': 'with [thy] noblest form, O Viṣṇu.' The same pāda, with different divine names, is found AV. 5. 25. 10-13, with vocatives; and Ppp. (Barret, JAOS. 48. 38), with *savitur*, *viṣṇoḥ*, *trastuḥ*, but *bhagaḥ* (for *bhaga*?). Barret emends to voc. in all four cases in accordance with AVŚ., but this seems dubious procedure. The deity is addressed directly in pāda c, with *ā dhehi*, in all.

so 'ham vājam saneyam agne (KS. *sanāmy* *ṭagneḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. 'May I win strength, O Agni (of, or from, Agni).'

*ghṛtavalīm adhvaryo* (AŚ.† °*yoh*) *srucam āyasya* TS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

See §352, end; AŚ. has a stupid corruption.

§364. One or two others are used in different contexts, so that they may be called cases of 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2):

*punānāya prabhūcaso* RV. SV.: *punānāya prabhūcasoḥ* RV. The voc. agrees directly with *soma*; the gen. with *yasya* which refers to *Soma*. *parṇam vanaspāter ira* TB. TAA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. PG. HG.: *parṇam vanaspate 'nu tvā* SMB. Quite different contexts.

§365. We come now to a case or two in which both forms of the variant contain direct address, but a name or epithet of the person addressed is in one form put in the genitive. These are similar to the variants of the voc. with other cases mentioned in §§27 ff. In the first, at least, we have a clear case for form assimilation:

*bṛhaspatisulasya ta* (KS. om. *ta*, leaving hiatus) *indo* (KS. MS. *inda*) *indriyāvataḥ patnīvantam* (KS. *°vato*) *graham grhāmi* (MS. *rādhyāsam*, KS. *graham rādhyāsam*) TS. MS. KS.: *bṛhaspatisulasya deva soma ta indor* (VSK. *inda*) *indriyāvataḥ patnīvato grahān rādhyāsam* VS. VSK. ŚB. It is evident that VS. has assimilated the voc. of all other texts to the gen. *te* and accompanying adjectives. Note that only the Vāj. texts have another voc. (*deva soma*), which makes *indo* unnecessary.

§366. The next variant is one of those which seem most clearly phonetic in character; the original voc. *agne* becomes *agneḥ* by addition of the evanescent final visarga, on which see VV 2 §§378 ff. (this variant was overlooked there and should be added to §381). It will be noted that not a few of the other voc.-gen. variants show this same phonetic relationship, and as we have suggested l. c. it is quite likely that in some of them the phonetic moment is more weighty than the syntactic. We doubt, however, whether Knauer (MG., *Einleitung*, xxxii f.) is right in suggesting that this added visarga was intended as an external mark of an imperative or vocative form; we even question whether it indicated (as Knauer thinks) aspirate pronunciation of a following consonant.

*dā agne* (MG. *agneḥ*) *prajāyā saha* RV. AV. PG. ApMB. MG. (All MG. mss. actually read *dāgneḥ* with secondary crasis; this should have been recorded in VV 2 §989; Knauer emends.) Preceded by *tubhyam agre* (MG. *agne*; on this cf. VV 2 §864) *paryavahan, sūryām vahatunā saha, punaḥ* (AV. *sa naḥ*) *patibhyo jāyām*. 'Give back to (us) husbands the bride along with progeny, O Agni (with Agni's progeny?).' But note that MG. also contains voc. *agne* (for original *agre*), addressing the verse to Agni.

§367. In a couple of cases a voc. varies with a partitive gen. (see §84): *tvam uttamasy oṣadhe* RV. VS.: *uttamo asy oṣadhīnām* AV. 'Thou art most excellent, O plant (most excellent of plants).' Same context. The masc. gender is peculiar; apparently there is thought of the



gender of *ṛkṣa*. A tree is addressed. But fem. forms occur in the following verses of AV.

*atho rājann* (AV. *ūta rājñām*) *uttamaṁ mānavānām* AV. TB. Addressed to a king; either makes good sense. The gen. *rājñām* might be assimilated to the following gen. ('also highest of human kings'), or contrariwise the voc. might be assimilated to the direct address preceding ('[who shall make thee] also, O king, highest of men').

§368. The last quoted variant might also be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' (§14). To that category certainly belongs the following:

*purā krūrasya viśpo virapśin* (MS. *śināḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. It is clear that MS. has transferred the epithet *virapśin*(*ah*) into agreement with *krūrasya*. Otherwise the interpretation is dubious. Mahādharma understands: 'Before the bloody (battle) with its rushings to and fro, O mighty one (Viṣṇu or the sacrificer).' So, with misgivings, Eggeling, *SBE.* 12. 64 n. 3. Sāyaṇa on TS. 1. 1. 9. 3: 'Before the secret departure of the cruel foe (perhaps Araru), O mighty one,' taking *viśpo* as abl. gerund. So Griffith and Keith; Eggeling thinks this more probable than the other.

§369. A stray case or two in which the construction is altered, with change from voc. (or nom.) to gen.:

*vider agnir* (VSK. ŚB. *agner*, MS. MŚ. *agne*) *nabho nāma* (MS. MŚ. add *yat te*) VSK. TS. MS. ŚBK. MŚ.: *vided agnir nabho nāma* VS. KS. ŚB. See §333. The nom. is doubtless the original form; but certainly the voc. is better than the gen., which must be construed in dependence on *nāma* ('mayst thou know Agni's name Nabhas'), leaving the subject indefinite or at least unexpressed.

*ṣaṣṭiś cādhvaryū* (ApŚ. *yo*, AŚ.† *yor*) *navatiś ca pākāḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. A voc. is clearly required (see §769), and there is no reason why the bonds should be called 'the adhvaryu's'. Probably a misprint in the wretched edition of AŚ.

#### E. Vocative and locative

§370. First, a stray variant, resembling 'transfer of epithet' (cf. §15); an originally independent noun, in loc. construction, is made into a voc. epithet of the subject:

*apadyamānaḥ prthivyām* TA. ApŚ.: *apadyamānā* †*prthivi* TS. ApŚ.: *avyathamānā prthivyām* (MS. once *vyām* without v. l., once *prthivi* according to p.p., but s.p. might also be read *prthivi*, and one ms. has *vyām*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed in all by *āśā dīśa ā prṇa*. Except in TA. ApŚ. the firepan is addressed, and doubtless the

loc. is original: 'not falling to (wobbling upon) the earth'. In TS. (ApŚ.), and perhaps once in MS., the loc. is assimilated to the subject and treated as a grandiloquent epithet of the firepan. The earth is a symbol of solidity and security.—In TA. ApŚ. the same verse is used in a different ritual connexion which requires a masculine pple. (phrase-inflection).

§371. The next is probably not a real variation in case:

*sa supraṇīte* (ŚŚ. °ti) *ṛtamaḥ svarād asi* AA. ŚŚ. Both forms may be taken as locs., and the text mss. of ŚŚ. actually read °te; see VV 2 §695.



## CHAPTER XIV

### NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

#### 1. Interchange of active and intransitive phraseology

§372. The only large and characteristic group of variants between nominative and accusative is that which concerns shift between active (transitive, or causative) and passive (intransitive, or reflexive) expressions. In so far as these are signalized by corresponding shifts in verb forms, they have been already recorded in VV 1 (chapters 2 and 5). But of course the materials correspond only in part. For example, many variants between active and passive verb forms have no expressed nominative subject of the passive (or intransitive) variant, and hence no case variation. On the other hand, one or both of the variants may lack any verb form.

§373. A very simple case of this shift between causative and intransitive expressions is found in the set of formulas ŚG. 4. 9, 10 and BDh. 2. 5. 9, 10, which illustrates at the same time the point last mentioned, that the verb is very easily omitted. Here, in a long list of supernatural entities to which offerings of water (*tarpaṇa*) are made, we find many correspondences of the type (*om*) *agnih tarpayāmi* BDh., *agnis tṛpyatu* ŚG. So with *rāyu*, *sūrya*, *viṣṇu*, *prajāpati*, etc. A similar set occurs in AG., with the verb understood thruout, and expressed (*tṛpyantu*) only at the end. The verb is also understood in some items of the list in ŚG.; hence such variants as *ṛṣayah* (sc. *tṛpyantu*) AG. ŚG.: (*om*) *ṛṣāḥ tarpayāmi* BDh. Finally, it must be noticed that in the middle of the list ŚG. suddenly shifts to a causative construction like that of BDh. (*śrutim tarpayāmi*...), which prevails for six items (incidentally all these contain nouns not found in BDh.), after which, for no evident reason, it shifts back again to the intransitive form. Perhaps this very irregularity of expression may indicate greater antiquity of the ŚG. form. The Śāmbavya Gṛhya (quoted by Oldenberg, *IST.* 15. 153) has a similar list with the names all in the nominative.

§374. Cases also occur in which the same verb form, or at least a form in the same voice, is found in both variants, but is used now in active sense, governing the acc., now in intransitive, passive, or reflexive sense, with nom. subject. Naturally these would find no inclusion in

VV 1; yet they are psychologically of the same nature as active-passive or causative-intransitive shifts. Of these we find the following examples: *apochatu* (AV. <sup>o</sup>*chantu*) *mithunā yā kimidinā* (AV. *ye kimidināḥ*) RV. AV.

'Let him (Indra) shine away the paired *kimidins*', or 'let the paired *kimidins* fade away.' The verb *apa-vas* is transitive in RV.; in this AV. passage it seems impossible to avoid taking it as intransitive. In AV. 2. 8. 2 and 3. 7. 7 it is also commonly taken as intrans., but Bloomfield (*SBE.* 42. 289, 338 f.) would make it trans.

*ā no vīdāṣu havyāḥ* (SV. Svidh. *havyam*) RV. AV. SV. AA. ŚŚ. Vait. Svidh. Followed in RV. AV. SV. by *indrah* (SV. *indram*) *śamatsu bhāṣatu* (SV. <sup>o</sup>*ta*). The verb is used in a different sense; explained in §330.

*ny akvīnā hr̥tsu kāmā* (ApMB. *kāmān*) *anyaṣata* (AV. *arahaṣata*) RV. AV. ApMB. In the RV. original: 'O Aśvins, (our) desires have stationed themselves in your hearts.' In ApMB., with less feeling for the middle: 'O Aśvins, they (people, indefinite) have stationed (their) desires in your hearts.'

*ekapādī dvipādī . . . aṣṭāpādī bhuvanānu prathatām svāhā* TS.: *ekapādīm . . . aṣṭāpādīm bhuvanānu prathantām* VS. ŚB.: *ekapādam dvipādam tṛipādam catuṣpādam bhuvanānu prathantām* KS. Only TS. seems to use the verb in the intransitive sense which it should have: 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds.' In the others it seems that it must be taken as transitive (= *prathayantu*; cf. the preceding variant), tho the form is certainly anomalous. Comm. on VS. and Eggeling make *bhuvanā* subject: 'let the worlds spread her along' or (comm.) 'make her renowned.' Better indefinite subject, as suggested VV 1 p. 208.

*somam rājānam oṣadhīṣu apsu* VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *somo rājauṣadhīṣu apsu* KS. Preceded by *vājasyemam* (KS. *vājasya nu*) *prasavaḥ suṣuve 'gre* (TS. *ṭagre*; add to VV 2 §908). In the original: 'The instigation of strength pressed out this King Soma,' etc. KS. eliminates the pronoun *imam* and brings *somo rāja* into agreement with the subject of the verb, which is now felt as passive; probably it also understands *prasavaḥ* as 'offshoot'. 'The offshoot of strength, (viz.) King Soma, was pressed out.'

§375. A little different is the next, in which the sense of the verb is also changed, but is transitive both times, the subject and object being reversed:

*avrato* (AA. <sup>o</sup>*tam*) *hīnōti na spr̥ṣad rayīm* (AA. *rayiḥ*) SV. AA. Preceded in SV. by *na kāmam*, in AA. by *na somo*. 'The man who pays no



vows attains not his desire, wins not wealth', SV.: 'Soma impels not him who keeps no vows, wealth will not come near (him)', AA. See Keith's note on AA.

§376. Frequent in the YV. formulas are dedicatory expressions (cf. §126) in which no verb at all is expressed. In that case the formula ordinarily consists merely of the name of the deity, in the dative or genitive, and the name of the thing offered, in either the nominative or accusative according as a passive (or intransitive or copulative) verb form or an active verb form is in the mind of the speaker. These two alternatives may vary with each other in different texts; or either of them may vary with a form of the other in which the verb is expressed. So we get such variants as these; it would hardly be worth while to list them completely:

*himavate* (TS. KSA. TA. °to) *hastī* (TA. *hastinam*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. TA. 'An elephant [is offered, or I offer] to Himavant.'

*dhūmrān vasantāyālabhate* VS. *dhūmrā vasantāya* MS. In the same passage, *prṣato hemantāya* VS., *prṣanto hemantāya* MS., and others.

*anumatyaī caruḥ* (MS. *carum*) TS. MS. KSA.: *adityai viṣṇupatnyai carum* (KSA. *caruḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. And others.

*agnaye 'ñhomuce 'ṣṭākapālaḥ* TS. KSA. ApŚ.: *agnaye 'ñhomuce puroḍāsam aṣṭākapālaṁ nirvapati* MS. In this and the following MS. alone has acc. thruout, all others nom.; the verb *nirvapati* is however regularly omitted in MS. So:

*agnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālaḥ* VS. TS. KS. KSA.: *vaiśvānaraṁ dvādaśakapālaṁ* MS.

*mitrāvaruṇābhyām āgomugbhyaṁ payasyā* (MS. °yām) TS. MS. KSA.— Similarly *marudbhya enomugbhyaṁ* etc.; *agnaye gāyatrāya* etc.; *bṛhaspataye pāṇktīya* etc.

§377. In one passage with no verb expressed, the name of the deity is put alternatively in the acc. and nom. The case to be expected is rather dat. or gen.; cf. §485 under *agnīṁ svāhā* etc. The TB. comm. supplies *udditya* to govern the acc. No explanation of the nom. in ŚB. is offered by the comm. or by Eggeling. Perhaps an intransitive form of *tyj* is to be supplied with the nom. and a transitive form of the same verb or of *yaj* (*hotā yakṣat*...) with the acc. (cf. §§373 and 459 under *svāhāgnim*...). Parallel formulas in the vicinity present acc. forms in ŚB.:

*svāhā devā ājyapāḥ* (TB. *devān ājyapān*) ŚB. TB.

§378. Next may be recorded a group in which a form of *kṛ* or *dhā*, 'make' or 'put', with acc., varies with a form of *as* or *bhū* with nom.,

or with a nominal clause without expression of the copulative verb. Thus: *parā svapnamukhāḥ śucaḥ* AV.: *parāḥ svapna mukhā kṛdhī* KŚ. 'Away the dream-faced pains' (supply *santu* in AV., rather than 'I put' with Whitney); 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces' (or, quite possibly, 'away put the dream-faces').

*ojasvantāṃ mām āyuṣmantāṃ varcasvantāṃ* (MS. *mām sahasvantāṃ*) *manuṣyeṣu kuru* (Valt. *āyuṣmantāṃ manuṣyeṣu kṛṇukī*) TS. MS. AŚ. Valt.: *ojasvān ahaṃ manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VSK.: *ojasvy ahaṃ manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* ŚŚ.: *oṣiṣṭho 'haṃ man° bhū°* VS. ŚB.

*bhrājasvantāṃ mām āyuṣmantāṃ varcasvantāṃ* (MS. *mām varcasvantāṃ*) *manuṣyeṣu kuru* TS. MS.: *bhrājasvān* (ŚG. *bhrājasvy*) *ahaṃ* (VS. ŚB. *bhrājiṣṭho 'haṃ*) *manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.

*jaradaṣṭīm kṛṇomi tvā* AV.: *jaradaṣṭir bhaviṣyasi* SMB. Ppp. (JAOS. 42. 125) reads as SMB.

*brahma varma mamāntaram* RV. AV. SV. ApŚ.: *brahmāham antaram kṛṇve* (KŚ. *karave*) AV. KŚ. 'Brahman is my inner defense': 'I make B. my inner (defense).'

*asmākam abhūr haryāśva medī* AV.: *asmākam kṛṇmo hariṃ medināṃ tvā* Ppp. (JAOS. 37. 263 f.): *iha kṛṇmo hariṃ medināṃ tvā* KS.: *asya* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz *iha*) *kurmo* (RVKh. *kuṛmo*, Sch. em. *kurmo*) *hariṃ medināṃ* (RVKh. Sch. *vedināṃ*) *tvā* RVKh. TS. TB.

*vikēdhā dhātām anapasphuranīm* RV. VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *vikēdhā sante anapasphurantīḥ* AV. TA.

*catuṣṭomo abhavat* (MS. KS. *catuṣṭomam adadhāt*) *yā turīyā* TS. MS. KS. 'The fourth (brick) has become (has set) the Catuṣṭoma.'

*sugā vo devāḥ sadanā* (N. °*nam*) *akurṇa* (MS. *kṛṇomi*, KŚ. Kauś. *sadanāni santu*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. N.: *sugā vo devāḥ sadanam astu* KS.: *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*) TS. ApŚ.

*ariṣṭāṃ tvā* (KŚ. MŚ. MG. *mā*) *saha paṭyā dadhāmi* (ApMB. *kṛṇomi*, KŚ. MŚ. MG. *dadhātu*) RV. KŚ. MŚ. MG. ApMB.: *ariṣṭāḥ saha paṭyā bhūyāsam* VS. The contexts are essentially similar, but the forms with 1st person pronouns are spoken by a woman.

*āsmānaṃ tanvaṃ kṛdhī* AV.: *āsmā bhavatu naḥ* (AV. *te*) *tanūḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.: *āsmā bhava paraśur bhava* ŚB. BṛhU. KBU. AG. SMB. HG. MG. ApMB. The contexts are in part similar.

*ākhuṃ te rudra paśuṃ karomi* MS. MŚ.: *ākhuḥ te paśuḥ* VS. TS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ.: *ākhuḥ te rudra paśuḥ* TS. ApŚ.

*yathā tvam* (PG. *tvam agne*) *suśravah suśravā asy* (SMB. *deveṣṣ*) *evam ahaṃ suśravah suśravā bhūyāsam* (SMB. *brāhmaṇeṣu bhūyāsam*,



AG. PG. MG. *evam mām saśravasā saśravasam kuru* AG. SMB.  
PG. ApMB. MG.

§379. In a couple of other cases forms of *dhr̥* (passive) or *pad* (middle) are found instead of the copula with the nom. form of the variant; otherwise they are exactly like the preceding:

*evā te dhṛiyatām garbhaḥ* AV.; *evā dadhāmi te garbham* AV.; *evam garbham dadhāmi te 'sau* (ApMB. *dadhatu te*, HG. *dadhāmi te*) ŚB. BrhU. ŚG. ApMB. HG.; *evam tam garbham ā dhehi* RVKh. MG.; *evam tvaṁ garbham ā dhataḥ* ApMB.

*viśvasya jan̥tor adhamam cakāra* (RV.\* AV. *adhamas padīṣṭa*) RV. (both) AV. 'He has made him lowest of every creature': 'may he fall lowest of every creature.'

§380. There remains a considerable group of other variants in which active or causative verb forms with acc. vary with intransitive, passive, or reflexive forms with nom. In most, tho not all, the varying verb forms derive from the same root; these are given first:

*evam aham āyusā . . samindhe* (SMB. *samedhiṣṭiṇa*) SMB. PG.: *evam mām āyusā* (HG. *mām medhāyā*) . . *samedhaya* ApMB. HG. 'Thus I am (may I be) inflamed' or 'thus inflame thou me'.

*sahobhau caratām dharmam* MDh.: *saha dharmam cara* NāradaDh.: *saha dharmas caryatām* GDh.

*tvam yajñeṣu idyaḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tvām yajñeṣu idate* RV.

*vedīm bhūmim kalpayitvā* AV.: *vedir bhūmir akalpata* AV. Both in same hymn; 'shaping the earth into a *vedi*': 'the earth took shape as a *vedi*.'

*surca ā dhehi* (KS. *dhāyi*) *me tanvam* (KS. *tanūḥ*) AV. KS. 'Set splendor in my body': 'my body has been set in splendor.' On *tanvam* see §249.

*māmīṣām* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *maiṣām*) *kaṁ canoḥ chīṣaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS. TB. ApŚ.: *maiṣām uccheṣi kim cana* AV.: *māmīṣām mucet kaḥ cana* AV. 'Leave not one of them': 'let not anything of them be left' ('let not one of them be let go').

*gaṇā* (KS. *te*) *me mā vi tṛṣan* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *gaṇān me mā vi tīṛṣaḥ* (MŚ. *vi tīṛṣat*, Vait. *vy arīṛiṣaḥ*) TS. Vait. MŚ.

*yukto vālo 'ntarikṣeṇa te saha* PB.: *yunaṣmī vāyum antarikṣeṇa te* (MŚ. *tena*) *saha* TS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yuktā tiro vimṛṣaḥ sūryasya* PB.: *yunaṣmī tiro vipṛcaḥ sūryasya te* TS. ApŚ.: *yunaṣmī tiro vīṛtaḥ sūryaḥ sava* [iti] MŚ.

*dviṣantam* (AV. *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV. AV. *mahyam*) *randhayan* RV. AV.

TB. ApŚ.: *dr̥iṣṭānā ca mahyam radhyatu* AV.: *dr̥iṣṭanto radhyantūbhi mahyam* MŚ. All in the same verse. Add to VV 1 §§70, 238.

*mṛtyava ekaśatam paraḥ* Kauś.: *mṛtyūn ekaśatam caye* ApŚ. Others, §509. The verb in Kauś. is *nir yantu*.

*pāpmānam te 'pahanṇaḥ* KŚ.: *pāpmānam me 'pa jahi* (MG. *me hata*)

Kauś. MG.: *pāpmā me hataḥ* AG.: *hato me pāpmā* AG. MG.

*caritrāns te śundhāmī* VS. ŚB.: *buddhās caritrāḥ* TS. ApŚ.

*trayastrīṅśat* (VS. *caturtrīṅśat*) *tantavo ye vi tanvire* (MS. *yam* [for *yān*?] *vi tanvate*, KS. AŚ. *yān vi tanvate*) VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

'... which were stretched out (which they stretched out).'

*ad id ghr̥tena pr̥thivī vy udyate* (AV.† *pr̥thivīm vy ūduh*) RV. AV. MS.

KS. N.: *ad it pr̥thivī ghr̥tair vy udyate* TS.

*athaiṣān bhinnakaḥ kumbhaḥ* SMB.: *bhinadmī te kuṣumbham* AV.: *atho bhinadmī tam kumbham* Ppp.

*ayam vai tvām aṣṇayad ayam tead adhijāyatām asau svāhā* ŚŚ.: *asmād vai team aṣṇayathā ayam tead adhijāyatām*, . . (JB. *°thā eṣa trāj jāyā-tām* . . .) JB. AG. Kauś.

*yenakṣā* (SMB. *°kṣān*, PG. *°kṣyāv*, ŚŚ. *yenā kṣām*) *abhyasiṣyanta* (ŚŚ. SMB. *abhyasiṣcatam*, PG. *abhyasiṣcatām*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. PG.

*apahato 'ruruḥ pr̥thivyai* (also *°vyai devayajanyai*, *°vyā adevayajanaḥ*)

TS. ApŚ.: *apāraruḥ adevayajanaḥ pr̥thivyā devayajanāj* (ApŚ.† *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS. ApŚ.: *apāraruḥ pr̥thivyai devayajanād bādhyāsam* VS. ŚB.: *apāraruḥ pr̥thivyā adevayajanam* (ApŚ. *°rum adevayajanaḥ pr̥thivyāḥ*) MS. MŚ. ApŚ. (the last apparently an abbreviated form of the KS. formula).

§381. In the rest the psychology of the variation is essentially the same, but there is no such formal correspondence in the verb forms. Sometimes only a copula, or even no verb at all, is used with the nom. form, as in §§376-7:

*pumānsam putram janaya* AV. ŚG.: *pumāns te putro nāri* ApMB.

'Bear a male son': 'a male son is thine, O woman.'

*antarikṣasya dhartrīm* (TS. om. *an° dha°*) *viṣṭambhanīm* (TS. *°nī*) *dikām adhīpatnīm* (TS. *°nī*) *bhuvanānām* (MS. *dikām bhuvanasyādhipatnīm*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS. predicate noms. with preceding copula; in the others agreeing with object of *sādyaṃī*.

*sūryam cakṣur gamayatāt, vātam prāṇam anuvastjātāt* MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *sūryas te* (AV. *sūryo me*) *cakṣur vātāḥ prāṇaḥ* AV. TS. KSA. ŚŚ. [CI. *sūryam* (TA. *sūryam te*) *cakṣur gachatu vātam ātmā* RV. TA.: *sūryāḥ cakṣur vātāḥ prāṇam, puruṣasya vi bhejire* AV.]

In the same passages: *antarikṣam asum* MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.:



*antarikṣam ātmā* AV. TA. ŚŚ.: *prthivīm karīram* MS. KS. AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *prthivi karīram* (MŚ. °ram asi) AV. ŚŚ. MŚ. With the first quotation in these pairs a verb of sending, forming, or the like is to be understood. The second is a nominal clause (with 3d person copula 'understood', as used to be said). MŚ. in a still unpublished passage was quoted by Knauer with 2d person *asi*, which would seem to require a voc. instead of nom. *prthivi*, or else *prthivī-karīram* as a cpd.

*aganma yatra pratiranta āyuh* (MG. *prataram na āyuh*) RV. AV. MG. 'We have gone where they have extended life (where life is extended for us, or the like).'

§382. Others, in which the nom. form is subject of other intransitive verbs, are:

*ā te prāṇam susīmasi* AV.: *punaḥ te prāṇa āyati* (TA. *āyāti*, AŚ. *āyātu*) TS.† TA. AŚ.

*sahasrīṇa upa no māhi vājān* (no *yantu vājāh*) RV. (both).

*tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya draviṇcha bhakṣīya* TS.: *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya draviṇam ā gamyāt* TS.: *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sveṣṭasya draviṇam māgachatu* KS. And others, see VV I §104u. Cf. also §326 above. *īhaiva tiṣṭha nūnilā* (MG. *nilarā*) AG. ŚG. MG. ApMB.: *īhaiva dhruvā* (ŚG. *sthāne*) *prati tiṣṭha śāle* (ŚG. *dhruvā*) AV. ŚG. HG.: *īhaiva dhruvām ni minomi śālām* AV. PG. HG.

*ūrṇamradasam* (ūrṇā°) *tvā strṇāmi* (KS. *ūrṇamradaḥ prathasva*, Kauś. *ūrṇamradaḥ prathasva*) *svāśastham* (VS.† ŚB.† °sthām) *detebhyah* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. Kauś. ApŚ. *ūrṇamradaḥ* of KS. might be taken as voc. (since the text is here not accented), but Kauś. suggests rather nom., and *svāśastham* can only be nom. (neut.).

*yamāya somam sunuta* (AV. *somah pavate*) RV. AV. TA.

§383. We shall close this section with a variant which will serve as a sort of transition to the next subdivision:

*sam ī vatsam na mātṛbhīh* RV. SV. AB. AŚ.: *sam vatsa iva mātṛbhīh* RV. SV. AB. AŚ. The first is followed by *srjātā gayasōdhanam*, the second by *indur hinoḍno ajyate*. The calf is compared to soma in both, and the sense is essentially identical. The two hymns are workings-up of the same material; see *RVRep.* 13, and on 9. 104. 2. We find here something like the 'phrase inflection' found in the next group.

## 2. Phrase Inflection

§384. Often, as is well known, a phrase or an entire pāda is lifted out of its original context and put into a new context. This, naturally,

may require a change in the case of one or more noun forms. To such alterations we have applied the term 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2). As regards nominative-accusative shifts of this sort, they differ from those listed above essentially only in that the context in the two forms differs in such a way that in one form the nom. is required, in the other the acc. (In the preceding variants the context is essentially the same, but their internal syntax has been altered in a way that involves shift of case.)

§385. A simple illustration is the *pāda kṣīreṇa pūrṇā (pūrṇāḥ) udakena dadhṇā* (both AV.). In the first form the nom. agrees with the noms. of the preceding *pāda (ghṛtakraḍā madhukālāḥ aurodakāḥ)*; in the other (which occurs in the next stanza and is an obvious modulation of the first) it is thrown into agreement with *kumbhānāḥ* of the preceding *pāda (caturāḥ kumbhānāḥ caturdhā dadāmi)*.

§386. Sometimes two entire *pādas* are thus lifted into a different context, involving change of case in several words. Thus the two following variant *pādas* are *pādas b, c* of a verse which in RV. has for a *tam ahyam bhurijor dhiyā*, but in SV. *ṣa sūryeṇa hāsate*. The epithets of Soma are in RV. objects of *ahyam*, in SV. subjects of *hāsate*:

*samvasānam* (SV. °no) *vivasvataḥ* (SV. °ta); followed by:  
*patih* (SV. *patir*) *vāco adābhyam* (SV. °yah) RV. SV.

§387. The long list of such variants now follows. It will be noted that sometimes shifts of number and gender as well as case are involved. For convenience these are listed separately, after the others (§388). Otherwise neither subdivision nor, as a rule, individual comment seems to be called for.

*paramāno vicarṣaṇiḥ* RV.: *pavamānam vicarṣaṇim* RV. In quite different contexts; nom. subject of *arocayat*, acc. object of *gāyata*.

*tiro vajāṇsy asṛtam* (RV.\* °taḥ, SV. *asṛtaḥ*) RV. (both) SV.

*koṣu iva pūrṇo vasunā* SMB.: *koṣam na pūrṇam vasunā nyrṣtam* RV. AV.

*agnī ratho na vedyaḥ* RV.: *agnirḥ ratham na vedyam* RV. Cf. §348.

*hiranyābhīsum* (and °kur) *akvinā* RV. (both). See RVRep. on 8. 5. 28.

*īśāno jagātas patih* AV. TS. KS. ApMB.: *īśanam jagadaiḥ vada* PG.

*avyo vāre* (SV. *avyā vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and, *priyam*) RV. SV. (both in each).

*pībasphākam udārathim* AV.: *pīvo vṛkka udārathiḥ* RV. KS.

*vīśvasya jagato niśām* (ArS. *rātri*) RVKh. ArS.

*sindhutax pary ābhṛtaḥ* (and °tam) AV. (both).

*sutam somam diviṣṭiṣu* RV.: *sutah somo diviṣṭiṣu* RV. SV.

*suṣamiddham* (VS. *susam*°) *vareṇyam* VS. TB.: *suṣamiddho* (VS. MS. *susam*°) *vareṇyaḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB.



*suṣeānam* (and °no) *devavītaye* RV. SV. (both in each).

*rṣibhiḥ sambhṛtaḥ rasam* RV. SV. TB.: *rṣ° sambhṛto rasah* RVKh. SV. TB.

*barhiḥ ca vediḥ* (ŚŚ. *vedim*) *ca* MS. ŚŚ.

*dogdhrīṇ dhenum* ŚŚ.: *dogdhrī dhenuḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. The verb is *āsuvaṃ* in ŚŚ., in the others *jāyatām*. Likewise, in the same passages, these acc. forms in ŚŚ. with corresponding nouns in the others: *vāhāram anadṛāham*, *āśum saptim*, *jīṣṇum ratheṣṭhām*, *puraṃdhīm yojām*, *sabheyaṃ puvānam*. The entire passages are evidently related, one being based on a recollection of the other, but applied to quite different purposes, so that the contexts are fundamentally different, and they constitute a true instance of 'phrase inflection' on a large scale.

*bahubhyah panthām anupaspāśānam* (AV.\* °*naḥ*, TA.† *anapaspaśānam*) RV. AV. (bis) MS. TA. N. The same verse, with acc. governed by following verb, in all except AV. 6. 28. 3, where the nom. occurs preceded by *yah prathamah pravatam ā sasāda*. This AV. passage has adapted the orig. to a quite new context; see Whitney's note and Pischel, *VSt.* 2. 73.

*tiras tamāśai darśataḥ* (RV.\* °*taṃ*) RV. (both) AV. SV. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. The RV. acc. form and ŚŚ. are followed by:

*ghṛtāhavanam idyam* RV.: *ghṛtāhavana idyah* ŚŚ. The nom. of RV. etc. is in apposition with *agnih*, subject of *sam idhyate*; the acc. is appropriate to its different context. In ŚŚ. both occur as nividis; cf. *RVRep.* 192.

*agnih* (RV. °*agnih*) *śukreṇa lociṣa* RV. (both) KS.

*apām patim vṛṣabham oṣadhīnām* KS.: *apām patir vṛṣabha* (KS. om. *vṛ°*) *oṣadhīnām* MS. KS.

*ghṛtaṃ duhānām aditiḥ janāya* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *ghṛtaṃ duhānāditiḥ janāya* KS.

*sahasradhārā payasā mahi gauḥ* RV.: *sahasradhārām payasā mahīm gām* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Occurs thrice in RV., the nom. being subject of various verbs. In the others preceded by *yām asya kanyā aduhat prapīnām*, a pāda found also in AV., where it is followed by a variant of our pāda, viz. *sahasradhārām mahiṣo bhagāya*.

*maṇiḥ sahasravīryah* AV.: *maṇim sahasravīryam* AV.

*yajisṭham havyavāhana* (and °*nam*) RV.: *yajisṭho havyavāhanaḥ* RV.

*rathītamanḥ rathīnām* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *rathītamo rathīnām* RV. See *RVRep.* on 1. 11. 1.

*viśvajanasya chāyā* (MS. KS. MŚ. ApMB. *chāyāsi*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.: *viśvajanasya chāyām* ApŚ.

*dyuh kīrtir varco yaso balam* HG.: *dyuh kīrtim yaso balam anūdyaṁ* *prajāṁ* PG.

*sahasradhāram* (TAA.\*°ro) *akṣitam* (TAA.\*°taḥ) RV. AV. TAA. (both).

In RV. both words are acc. masc., epithets of *indum*. In AV. twice in a wholly different stanza: *ud utsam śatadhāraḥ, sah° akṣ°, evāsmākedam dhānyam, sah° akṣ°*. This is recast in TAA. thus: *yathā kūpaḥ śatadhāraḥ, sahasradhāro akṣitaḥ, evā me astu dhānyam, sahasradhāram akṣitam*. Ppp. (JAOS. 37. 294 ff.) agrees with TAA. but for *akṣataḥ* and *akṣatam* (to be added to VV 2 §576), and the corruption *rāpaḥ* for *kūpaḥ*, which Barret l. c. failed to correct. The Ppp. TAA. reading makes both forms nom. both times (once masc., once neut.), and is simpler than AVŚ., which is certainly harsh; see Whitney on 3. 24. 4, who takes the forms as acc. depending on the verb of the prec. stanza. In pāda d they might be taken as nom. neut., as in Ppp. TAA.; but in b this is difficult, since *utsa* is otherwise masc. We feel however that accs. are impossible, and that either *utsa* is here felt as neut., or the forms of pāda b are mechanically assimilated to those of d (nom. neut.). Cf. the next, which is evidently related.

*sahasradhāram śatadhāram utsam akṣitam* AV.: *sahasradhāra utso akṣityamānaḥ* ApŚ. Cf. preceding. Different contexts.

*aṅgabhedam aṅgajvaram* AV.: *aṅgabhedo aṅgajvaraḥ* AV.

*īndram* (RV.\* *indraḥ*) *somasya pīlaye* (RV.\* adds *vṛṣḍyate*) RV. (both) AV. SV.

*duḥśaṁsaṁ martyaṁ rīpum* RV.: *duḥśaṁso martyo rīpuḥ* RV.

*dhanamjayaṁ raṇe-ṇe* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. MŚ.: *dhanamjayo raṇe-ṇe* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS.

*mañhiṣṭham vājasūtaye* RV. SV.: *mañhiṣṭho vājasūtaye* RV. AA. ŚŚ.

*prajāpatiḥ prathamajā ṛtasya* AV. MS. TS. TA. MahānU.: *prajāpatim prathamajāṁ ṛtasya* MS. TB.

§388. The following are precisely similar except that the variant forms shift in number or gender, or both, as well as in case:

*baheṁ prajāṁ janayanānāṁ sarūpām* (ApMB.\* *janayanānā euratnā,\* janayantau saretasā*) TA. MahānU. ApMB. (bis).

*aṣṭaṣṭhūṇo daśapakṣaḥ* Kauś.: *aṣṭapakṣām daśapakṣām* AV.

*śidhram adya diviṣpṛṣam* (RV.\* SV. MS.\* KS. °śaḥ) RV. (both) SV. TS. MS. (both) KS. ApŚ. N. For *diviṣpṛṣaḥ*, nom. pl. rather than gen. sg., see RVRep. on 1. 142. 8.

*gaur āśvaḥ puruṣaḥ paśuḥ* AV. TA.: *gām āśvaṁ puruṣaṁ jagat* (AV. *paśum*; RVKh. *āśvān puruṣān aham*) RVKh. AV. TA. MahānU. ApMB. HG.: *gā āśvān puruṣān paśūn* MŚ.



*vīśvā rūpāni bibhṛataḥ* (AV.\* °*taṃ*) AV. (both) MS.

*saṃdānaḥ yonīm anu saṃcarantaṃ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *saṃdānaḥ yonīm anu saṃcarantī* (AV. MS. °*carete*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

ApMB.

*mañhiṣṭhaṃ vo maghonām* RV.: *mañhiṣṭhāso maghonām* RV.

*viśvair devair anumatā* (KS. TA. °*taṃ*) *marudbhiḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ŚB. TA. In both KS. TA. different contexts; in KS. neut. acc. adverb, see §817; in TA. masc. acc. adjective, §849.

*amṛtā martyabhyah* RV.: *amṛtaṃ martyābhyah* TB. ApŚ.

*sahasrasā medhasātā sanīṣṭavaḥ* (RV. KB. *medhasātā iva tmanā*, VSK. *medhasātā iva tmanā*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KB. ŚB.: *sahasrasām medhasātā iva tmanā* RV. SV.

### 3. Interchange of subject and object

§389. We return to cases in which the internal syntax of the variant pāda is altered. But now there is no longer any change in the syntax of the verb, which is always transitive in a broad sense, that is, capable of governing an accusative, whether as what we call direct object, or as goal of motion or the like. Yet without any alteration in the form or meaning of the verb, the same noun is used now as subject and now as object. Indeed, in a number of cases the subject and object change places in the two forms of the variant, subject becoming object and vice versa. It is characteristic of the inflated, mystical language of the Veda that this can not infrequently be done without difficulty. Thus in the first example, it makes little difference whether we say 'Brahman has increased the gods' or 'the gods have increased brahman':

*udgrābhaṃ ca nigrābhaṃ ca* VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *udgrābhaḥ ca nigrābhaḥ ca* MS. KS. MŚ. Followed in all but MŚ. by:

*brahma devā* (MS. s.p. *devān*, KS. *devān*) *avivṛdhan* (MS. KS. °*dhat*).

The nouns in the first pāda are probably appositional to *brahma* rather than coordinate with it; cf. Keith on TS. 1. 1. 13. 1.

*nā tat prāpnoti nirṛtiṃ parācaih* (KŚ. *nirṛtiḥ parastāt*) KŚ. ApŚ.: *nābhī prāpnoti* (MŚ. *prāpnuyur*) *nirṛtiṃ parācaih* (AŚ. MŚ. *parastāt*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Destruction reaches it not' or 'it reaches not destruction'. For MŚ.'s verb see VV 1 p. 265.

*ojo na jūtir* (TB. *jūtim*) *ṛgabho* (MS.† *ṛg°*; add to VV 2 §359) *nā bhāmam* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *vanasputir na dadhad indriyāṇi*. TB. makes *ojas* subject and *jūti* predicate of the first simile, reversing the relationship found in the others; but there is little real difference.

*tābhiḥ saṁrabdham aṁś atindan* (TB. *saṁrabdho aśidat*) *ṣoḍ urvīḥ* AV TB. 'The six wide (directions) found out him, grasped by them'; or, 'he, grasped by them, found out the six wide (directions)'.<sup>1</sup> In a mystic verse to Rohita; one version makes as good or as bad sense as the other.

*viśvam anyām abhivāra* AV. (Ppp. *viśvam anyābhi varāra*, which Whitney adopts, tho Barret JAOS. 26. 223 alters it to *anyām abhi*): *viśvam anyābhivāradhe* TB. ApŚ. No doubt Ppp., supported by TB. ApŚ., is more original in making *anyā* subject and *viśvam* object; but the AVŚ. reading may be rendered 'the Universe has enveloped (?) one'.  
*jyok ca paśyāti* (PG. °*asi*, MG. °*ati*) *sūryam* (MG. °*yah*) AG. PG. ApMB. MG. 'And long may he behold the sun (may the sun behold him)'. See VV 1 p. 235.

*gamad indram* (SV. *indro*) *vr̥ṣā sutaḥ* (SV. *sutam*) RV. SV. Apparently the reversal of relationship in SV. was due to a feeling that *vr̥ṣā* is more appropriate as an epithet of Indra than of Soma (*sutaḥ*).  
*taṁ vartanir* (SV. °*nir*) *anu vārta ekam it puru* (SV. *eka it*) SV. AV. 'He, the One, has followed along the paths towards him' (SV.): 'the path has followed him, the One, manifoldly' (AV.). The latter is probably a secondary mouthing over of SV.

*ā trā sakhāyah sakhyaḥ var̥tyuh* SV.; *o cit sakhāyah sakhyaḥ var̥tyām* RV. AV. In SV. the passage is extensively reconstructed; the original object *sakhāyam* is made subject (with change of number also), and so displaces the original unexpressed subject (1st person pronoun implicit in the verb), which is now represented by the object *trā*.

§390. In the remainder there is no double nom.-acc. shift, but a single noun form appears now as subject, now as object (or goal, etc.), of the (always 'transitive') verb:

*pra yukṣma etu nir̥tīm* (AV. °*tih*) *parācāḥ* AV. TB. HG. ApMB. 'Let the fever, let perdition go far away' (AV.); 'let the fever go far away to perdition.'

*jajñānam* (SV. °*nah*) *supta mātaraḥ* (SV. *mātrbhiḥ*) RV. SV. Followed by *redhām āśāsata śriye* RV., *medhām āśāsata śriye* SV.

*aa sūra ā* (ŚŚ. *sūrye*) *janayaṁ jyotir indram* (ŚŚ. *indrah*) TB. ŚŚ. Followed by *ayā dhiyā taranir adribarhāḥ* (ŚŚ. *aṅgirawān*). The TB. comm. makes *indram* acc. of goal, supplying *gachatu*; the subject is *sūraḥ* = *ādityaḥ*. ŚŚ. makes *indrah* subject and *sūrye* loc.

*tiṣṭhantam aṁ gūhati* (mss. °*ti*) AV.; *tiṣṭhann evāra gūhasi* ŚŚ. No intelligible meaning in either form.



*agninā tapo 'nabhanut* (KS.† KSA.† 'nabhanut) TS. KS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

Followed in TS. KS. KSA. by a long series of similar phrases, only partly identical in the things named. In the first formula the form *tapo* is ambiguous, but the parallels show that TS. and KSA. construe it as acc.; this is doubtless the original construction: 'By Agni he has come up to (equalled, or attained?) *tapas*'. KS. makes it nom.: '*tapas* has come up to (equalled, attained, sc. him) thru (by) Agni'. Other phrases in the same lists are: *yamena pīṣṇ* (KS. *pīṣarāḥ*); *indrena deśān* (KS. *devāḥ*; not in KSA.); *vālena prāṇān* (KS. *vāyunaḥ prāṇāḥ*; not in KSA.); *vyāghrenāraṇyān paśūn* (KS. *°aranyāḥ paśavaḥ*); *ṛṣabheṇa* (KS. KSA. *ṛṣṣ°*) *gāḥ* (KS. *gāvāḥ*); *ṛṣhināriḥ* (KS. *°arayaḥ*); *yavenauśadhīḥ* (KS. *°dhayaḥ*); *brāhmaṇena vācam* (KS. *vācaḥ*).

*vī parjanyaḥ* (TS. *°yāḥ*) *srjanti* (MS. KS. *pra parjanyaḥ srjātām*) *rodasi* *anu* RV. TS. MS. KS. In RV. the subject is the Maruts and *parjanyaḥ* defines the *divaḥ kośam* of the preceding half-verse. The others make the subject the rain-god, or deified rain-cloud, and retain the same object, *divaḥ kośam*.

*muñcatu* (KS. *muñcemaṁ*) *yajñam* (ApŚ. *yajño*, KS. adds *muñca*) *yajñapatim anhasaḥ evāha* MS. KS. ApŚ. In MS. preceded by *ardhatām bhūtīr dadhnaḥ ghytena*; in KS. by a similar but expanded phrase. It is evident that *bhūti* 'prosperity' is in both texts the agent that is to 'release the sacrifice and sacrificer from evil'. ApŚ. with the same context as MS. produces a lectio faciliior by making *yajñam* the subject of *muñcatu*: 'let the sacrifice release the sacrificer...'

*pra yam* (SV. *yo*) *rāye niniṣasi* (SV. *°ṣati*) RV. SV. In VV 1 p. 243 we have taken SV. (which read there for 'N') to mean 'who will bring [thee, Agni] to wealth', taking *yo* to refer to the sacrificer as in the following pāda (*marto yas te vaso dāsat*). But perhaps Benfey may be right in making *yo* refer to *te* (= Agni): 'what mortal shall worship thee, who will lead [him] to wealth'... As to the 3d person in such relative clauses cf. VV 1 §331, to which the variant should be transferred if this interpretation is correct.

*prasāpāyanty ūrmiṇam* RV.: *prasāpāyanta ūrmayaḥ* SV. The acc. in RV. is an epithet of soma; in SV. it is replaced by an additional subject: 'the ten associates (i.e. fingers) wash (soma), and the waves.' See VV 1 p. 48; the SV. form must intend present middle. Delete this variant on VV 1 p. 143.

*śriyam ca lakṣmīm ca*...TAA.: *śrīś ca lakṣmīś*...TAA.: *śrīś ca puṣṭīś*

MahānU. Same context; in the first form there is no subject expressed, and comm. supplies *paramātmā*.

[*indrah karmasu no 'ratu* TB.; *indram karmasu anatu* MS. For the better reading of TB. see §326.]

§391. In a small but rather interesting group the variant word is so situated that it may be either subject of one clause or object of another: *samudrā* (MS. °*drān*) *nadyo veśantīh* (MS. °*lān*) AV. MS. Preceded by *divam brūmo nakṣatrāṇi, bhūmim yakṣāṇi parvatān*, and followed by *te no muñcantu anhasaḥ*. In AV. the three nouns of pāda c are made parts of the subject of *muñcantu*, in MS. of the object of *brūmo*.

*devā ājyapā juṣāṇā agna* (VS. *indra*) *ājyasya vyantu* VS. MS. KS.; (*svāhā*) *devān ājyapān svāhāgnīm hotrāj juṣāṇā agna ājyasya viyantu* TB. In the first version *devāh* is subject of *vyantu*; in the second it becomes an additional object of *yakṣad* in the preceding (*hotā yakṣad agnīm svāhājyasya* [sc. *devān*]. . .)

*yendṛtam kham ca divam mahim* (MahānU. *mahī*, v. 1. *māhīm*) *ca* TA. MahānU. Followed by *yenādityas tapati tejasa bhrājasa ca*. If the nom. be read, *mahī* (with *kham* and *divam* which must then also be nom.) would be subject of *ṛtām*: 'by whom was enclosed the air, the sky, the earth.' But Deussen's translation implies the v. 1. *māhīm* in MahānU.; in that case all three nouns are objects of *tapati* in the next pāda: 'by whom the sun warms the atmosphere, enclosed by him, the sky, and the earth.' The double relative is then harsh, but not inconceivably so.

#### 4. Nominative of separate statement varies with dependent accusative

§392. In a considerable group we find that what is originally an accusative dependent on a verb is developed into an independent statement, syntactically separate from the clause containing the original accusative. Or, contrariwise, an originally independent statement is compressed into syntactic dependence, so that the nominative subject (or predicate) of the original clause becomes an accusative. The latter is found perhaps most clearly and simply in variants where by the insertion of *āhuḥ* 'they say' an original independent statement is made into a sort of indirect quotation. Thus:

*iyam vedih para antaḥ prthivyāh* RV. AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ. LŚ.; *vedim āhuḥ param antaḥ prthivyāh* TS. KSA. In the same verse:  
*ayam yajño bhuvanasya* (AV. *viśvasya bhū*°) *nābhīh* RV. AV. VS. LŚ.; *yajñam āhur bhuvanasya nābhim* TS. KSA. And likewise:



*ayam soma vṛṣṇo akṛasya relah* RV. AV. VS. LŚ.: *somam āhur vṛṣṇo*...

TS. KSA.—In the fourth pāda of this stanza the nom. remains in all texts. Cf. also:

*dirgham yac cakṣur aditer anantam* AŚ.: *yad āhuḥ cakṣur aditāv anantam* PB. JB. (see Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases*, §48. 24 R). Here the forms are identical, being of neuter gender; and here the form with *āhuḥ* is likely to be older.

§393. The accusative seems to be the original form and the nom. of independent statement a secondary development from it in most of the following. In the first the particle *iti* is brought in with the nom. to make the syntax clear; in the second a verb is inserted in which the secondary nom. is the subject, thus expanding the pāda into a complete sentence:

*nīrtīm tvāham pari veda viśvataḥ* VS. MS. ŚB.: *nīrtir iti tvāham pari veda viśvataḥ* (AV. *sarvataḥ*) AV. TS. KS. The meter seems to indicate that the acc. is original; it is to be noted also that the preceding pāda in all texts has a similar phrase with *iti*, which may have attracted *nīrtīm* into its own construction. 'I know thee completely as Nirṛti.'

*atas teḍ rayīm abhi* (SV. *rayir abhy aya*) RV. SV. The RV. original makes *teḍ* object of *bharat* in pāda c, and *rayīm abhi* probably an adverbial phrase, 'unto riches'. (Otherwise but implausibly Grassmann.) SV, by a lect. fac. expands into a separate sentence: 'thence may riches come unto thee.'

*anāgaso yajamānasya vīrāḥ* (MŚ. *vīrān*) AV. ApŚ. MŚ. (Mss. of MŚ. *anūgaso* for *anā*°, and all but one *vīram*.) The original has an independent sentence with nom.; MŚ. attracts the noun into apposition with *no* in *yo no dvesṣī*... preceding.

*nābhā prthivyāḥ samidhāne agnau* (TS. °*dhānam agnim*, MS. KS. °*dhāno agnim*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The only possible construction for the nom. in MS. KS. seems to be as part of an independent statement, of which Agni is implied as the subject; *agnim* is object of the verb in the next pāda (*rāyaspoṣṭāya bṛhate havāmahe*): 'He (Agni) is kindled at the navel of the earth; we call Agni unto great increase of wealth.' The very harshness of this may, however, be considered an argument for its greater originality; the other texts look suspiciously like lect. fac.

*tvām* (TB. *tvam*) *rāya ubhayāso janānām* RV. MS. KS. TB. Preceded in all by *tvām vardhanti kṣitayāḥ prthivyām*. In RV. etc. supply *vardhanti* also in this pāda (*rāya ubh*° subject, *tvām* object). In

TB. this is made an independent statement (*tām* subject, *rāya ubh°* predicate; comm. *tatsampādaka ity arthah*).

*agnih* (SV. *agnih*) *sudīṭaye chardih* RV. AV. SV. (Conc. VS. for SV.).

In RV. AV. *agnih* and *chardih* are both accs. with the preceding *idīṣva*. In SV.: 'Agni is the chardis.'

*adhvarakṣtam* (TA. °*kṛd*) *devebhyah* VS. ŚB. TA. Preceded by *tvā...* *ādade*; in VS. ŚB. *adhvarakṣtam* agrees with *tvā*. But TA. inserts between the two passages *abhrir aśi nārīr aśi*; thus it makes our variant *pāda* an independent statement, understanding *aśi*.

*indrāya bhāgaḥ pari tvā nayāmi* AV.: *indrasya bhāgaḥ sūrite dadhātana* ApŚ. The latter is scarcely intelligible; *bhāgaḥ*, if construable at all, must be taken as an independent statement with some verb (or the copula) understood. The plural *dadhātana* is inconsistent with the singular verbs which follow.

*tām* (HG. *tām nah*, PG. *sā nah*) *pūṣaṁ* (AV. *pūṣaṁ*, PG. *pūṣā*) *chivata-mām* (PG. *śiv°*) *erayāva* (PG. *eraya*) RV. AV. ApMB. ApG. HG. PG. The PG. has clearly a corruption, which as it stands can only mean 'She (the bride) is Pūṣan (felt as 'prospering one') to us; bring her hither, most felicitous.' The comm. so takes it; Stenzler and Oldenberg translate the other reading.

*agnih hotāram iha* (MS. MŚ. *upa*) *tām huve* TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnir hotāra tām huve* KS. 'I call here (hither) Agni the hotar': 'Agni is the hotar, I call him hither.'

*akṣatam ariṣtam ilāndam* SMB.: *akṣatam aśy ariṣtam ilānnam gopāyanam* ŚG. In both preceded by a formula containing acc. *tvā*, with which the epithets agree in SMB.; in ŚG. they are made predicates of a separate sentence. It is hard to say which is original here.

§394. A special group of the preceding type is formed by variants in which the nom. of independent statement is part of a relative clause, of which it is the predicate, while the acc. is part of the main clause. Thus:

*tam u ṣṭuhi yo antaḥ sindhau* AV.: *tam u ṣṭuhy antaḥsindhum* AŚ. Followed by:

*sūnuḥ* (AŚ. *sūnum*) *satyasya yuvānam*. 'Praise him who is within the waters, the son of truth, the youthful.' The relative clause is here original; AŚ. compresses it into an epithet, and necessarily alters *sūnuḥ* also to *sūnum*. Note the chiasmic, rhetorically involved order of AV. (*yuvānam* at the end agreeing with *tam* at the beginning). AŚ. has a lect. fac., involving case attraction; but all the epithets refer to the same person.



§395. The reverse of this appears in the next, where the relative clause with predicate nom. appears only in the secondary PG.:

*sashvatearasya pratimām* (PG. °mā) AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. SMB. PG. HG. MG. The following pāda in PG. is *yā tām rātrīm upāmahe* (for the others see VV 1 p. 213); only PG. has *yā* as subject of the relative clause, in which *pratimā* is predicate.

§396. Similarly, the following variants show such shifts in both directions:

*taṁ kravyādām aśīṣamam* AV.: *yaḥ kravyāt taṁ aśīṣamam* Kauś. *veda te bhūmī hṛdayam* PG. HG.: *yad bhūmer hṛdayam* [†*dirī candramasi kṛitam*] ApMB. The latter is metrically poor and doubtless corrupt. *yo devo viśvād yam u kāmam āhuḥ* AV.: *viśvādām agnīm yam u...* MS.: *hutādām agnīm yam u...* KS.: *yam hutādām agnīm yam u...* ApŚ. The nom. is doubtless original, the acc. being due to attraction to the case of the following; note that ApŚ. still has a relative clause, but attracts it into the same construction as the following. *dhātād asmahyaṁ draviṇeha bhadram* (TS. ApŚ. *asmāsu draviṇaṁ yac ca bhadram*) TS. MS. ApŚ.: *datto asmahyaṁ* (etc., see Conc.) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatha no draviṇaṁ yac ca bhadram* MS.

*apāsya ye śeindh pāsāḥ* KS. ApŚ. ('off what fetters are bound on him'): *apāsyaḥ satvānaḥ pāsān* Kauś. Followed by *mṛtyūn* (KS. ed. *mṛtyor*, but best ms. *mṛtyūn*) *ekakṣatām suve* (Kauś. *nude*). The secondary change in Kauś. is due to the influence of *mṛtyūn*.

*labhīr vahānām sukṛtām u lokam* (TA. *vahamaṁ sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.: *vahāsi mā* (KS.† *vahānsi id*) *sukṛtām yatra lokāḥ* (KS.† *lokāḥ*) KS. TB. ApŚ.

*pṛchāmi* (LŚ. °mo) *yatra bhuvanasya nābhīḥ* RV. VS. LŚ.: *pṛchāmi tad* (AV. *viśvasya*) *bhuvanasya nābhīm* AV. TS. KSA. TB.

§397. In the next following group there is in both variants a relative clause; the nom. is construed as part of this, while the acc. is syntactically part of the main clause (both refer to the same entity). As in some of the preceding, the alteration is usually due to formal case attraction:

*āranyān* (AV. VS. °yā) *grāmyāś ca ye* RV. AV. (bis) VS. TA. Preceded by *paśūn* (*paśūns*) *tāś cakra vāyavyān*. In RV. TA. *āranyān* goes with the preceding accusatives; in AV. VS. it is attracted into the relative clause. In AV. 11. 5. 21 the pāda occurs in a different context.

*jyeṣṭho* (SV. °(ham)) *yo vṛtrahā gr̥ṇe* RV. AV. SV. There are no other

accs. in the stanza; SV. has turned *jyotiḥ* into an acc. to provide an object for the verb *grhe*.

*citrabhānuḥ* (TB. ApŚ. °bhānū) *rodasī antar urvī* RV. SV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Preceded by *aganma mahā namasā yariṣṭham, yo didāya samiddhaḥ aśe durone* (with unimportant variants). The acc. goes with *yariṣṭham* as object of *aganma* in the first pāda; because of the intervening relative clause, it is natural that secondary texts attract it into agreement with *yo*. This assumes that the TB. comm. is right in understanding °bhānuḥ, nom. sg., instead of dual (with *rodasī*), which would be formally possible.

*kakṣivantaḥ ya auśijah* (TS. TA. °jam) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. N. The Tait. version can only be interpreted by referring *ya(h)* to the god addressed: 'who (didst make famous) K. A.' So Sāyana, who supplies *kṛtvān aśi*, and Keith. Of course the other reading (in which K° goes with the preceding object acc. and is referred to by the relative, 'K. who is the A.') is original (cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1. 18. 1).

*yathā mitrāya varuṇāya śantamaḥ* (SV. °mam) RV. SV. Preceded by *punātā dakṣasādhanam, yathā śardhāya vītaye*. 'Clarify the strength-producing (Soma), that (it may be) for a refreshing draft for the throng, that (it may be) most gratifying to M. and V.' So RV., making *śantamaḥ* subject of a separate clause; SV. brings the word into direct connexion with the preceding *dakṣasādhanam*.

*yadi śrāto* (AV. *śrātum*) *juhotaṇa* RV AV. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by:

*yady uśrāto* (AV. °jam) *mamattana*, same texts. The preceding pāda of RV. AV. makes clear the antecedent: *indrasya bhāgam pṛīyam*. 'If cooked do ye offer it; if not cooked, delay.' The AV. has attracted the adjectives into direct agreement with *bhāgam*. (The comm. on AV., however, takes them as nom. neuter, supplying *haviḥ*.)

*svarpatim yad im vrdhe* RV. AV.: *svahpatir yadī vrdhe* SV. The acc. agrees with *indram* (*somasya pītaye*) in the preceding pāda; SV. makes it subject of *vrdhe*.

##### 5. Case attraction

§398. The preceding cases taper off into another group which is a little hard to define further than by saying that (as in some of the variants quoted above) case attraction, that is the influence of a neighboring case-form, is responsible for the variation. The varying word still refers to the same person or thing, so that there is no proper 'transfer



of epithet'; but the syntactic shift is hardly of the same type as the immediately preceding cases, unless perhaps in the first two examples: *hotā yakṣat tanūnapāt sarasvatīm* (TB. °II) VS. MS. TB. It seems fairly clear that TB. has attracted *saras*° to the case of *tanūnapāt*; but how either of the noms. is to be construed is not obvious. Comm. on VS. dares to say that *tanū*° is nom. used for acc.! Perhaps the TB. version may be understood as containing an independent statement: 'Let the hotar worship! (The deities are) Tanūnapāt, Sarasvatī...'

*anyam* (AV. *anya*) ū ṣu *tvam* (AV. omits *tvam*) *yamy anya u tvām* RV. AV. N. See Whitney on AV. 18. 1. 16. We believe that *anya* is due to stupid and mechanical assimilation to the following *anya*. *apsu dhūto nṛbhīḥ sutaḥ* RV.: *apsu dhautam nṛbhīḥ sutam* SV. Preceded by *kubhram andho dasyādām*, and followed by *svadanti gāvaḥ payobhīḥ*. Sāyaṇa takes the RV. pāda as parenthetical (pādas a and c going together), which is probably the best way out, tho all three pādas might be taken as syntactically separate, understanding *somam* or the like as object of *svadanti*. SV. assimilates the participles in b to the case of *andho*, an easily comprehensible lect. fac. Grassmann's suggestion that RV. is incorrect is implausible.

§399. As in the two variants just quoted, not a few of the following passages are dubious of interpretation, and at times under suspicion of corruption:

*hṛtau kṛtūm tvaurṇo* (MS. °*ṇam*) *vikṣv* (RV. *apav*, MS. *dikṣv*) *agnim* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The subject is originally Varuṇa, who has instilled 'insight into hearts, Agni into dwellings.' MS. has an unintelligent assimilation of V. to the surrounding accs., perhaps with the thought that Agni is still the subject as in the preceding stanza.

*tebhīḥ* (AV. VS. VSK. *tebhyaḥ*) *svarād asunītim etām* (AV. *asunītir no adya*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. It seems clear that AV., which Whitney calls unintelligible, contains a stupid assimilation of *asunītim* to the case of the adjoining word. The following pāda is *yathāvaśam tanvaṁ* (AV. *tanvaḥ*) *kalpayāti* (RV. *kalpayasva*).

*viṣṇum aḡan varuṇam pūrvahūtiḥ* AV.: *viṣṇū aḡan varuṇā pūrvahūtau* (MS. °*tim*) VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. In AV. the prayer itself is the subject of *aḡan*; in MS. it is made the goal, along with Viṣṇu and Varuṇa, the subject being the offering or the water used with it. The other texts use a locative which might be one of goal, agreeing in sense with MS.; but see §457.

*gāyatrī chanda indriyam, tryavir* (KS. *trīya*<sup>o</sup>) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS. MS. KS. TB.: *gāyatrīm chanda indriyam, tryavīm gām vayo dadhat* VS. TB. The noms. are subjects of *dadhuh*, the accs. objects of *dadhat*, being assimilated to *indriyam* and *vayo*, which are accs. (objects) in both versions. These are the first of a series of formulas, all of the same type; the meter names (in nom. form) are *uṣṇik* (*uṣṇihā*), *anuṣṭup*, *brhātī*, *pañktiḥ*, *triṣṭup*, *jagatī*, *virāḥ*, *dvīpadā* (*dvīpāc*), *kakup* (*kakuc*), *atichandā*. For the epithets of cattle (*dityavīd*, *pañcadvir* etc.) see the passages, which can easily be found in the Cone.

*ukhām* (MS. KS.† *ukhā*) *svasāram adhi vedim asthāt* MS. KS. ApŚ. Preceded by *syūtā devebhīr amṛtenāgāh* (MS. KS. °*agāt*). The word *ukhā* is subject in MS. KS. and it seems scarcely possible to interpret ApŚ. (which addresses it directly in the 2d person) otherwise; yet ApŚ. stupidly assimilates the form to the following accs. Caland translates *ukhā*, but notes that Hir.Ś. also reads *ukhām*, so that the corruption is evidently very old.

*devaḥ savitābhimātiṣāhaḥ* AV.: *savitā devo bhimātiṣāhaḥ* Ppp.: *devam trātāram* (TS. KS. *savitāram*) *abhimātiṣāham* RV. TS. KS. Assuming (cf. Oldenberg, *Prof.* 326 f.) that the acc., as in RV. TS. KS., is original (tho it is difficult), the change to the nom. in AV. is easy to understand. In AV. the preceding pāda is *dhātā vidhātā bhuvanasya yas patih*, and the following: *ādityā rudrā airinobhā, devāḥ pāntu yajamānaṁ nirṛhāt*. For the others have a different version beginning *imaṁ yajñam* (cf. §329); it is significant that this acc. is also eliminated in AV.

*yajñasya* (AV. *cittasya*) *mātā* (SMB. *mātaram*) *suhavā me* (AV. *no*) *astu* AV. TB. SMB. Preceded by *ākūṭim devīm manasā prapadye* in SMB., which has put the epithet *mātā* syntactically into the preceding clause, making it agree with *devīm*; the meter proves it secondary.

*samyag āyur īyajño* (MŚ. *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ. *dhāh*) KS. MŚ. See VV 1 p. 100. In MŚ. *yajñam* is attracted to the case of *āyur*.

*idāno* (KS. °*nā*) *vahnir* (KS. *vahnīm*) *namasā* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Followed by:

*agnīm* (AV. *agnih*) *sruco adhwareṣu prayatsu* (AV. *prayakṣu*), same texts. The original readings are doubtless given by the texts which agree, VS. TS. MS. A verb of approaching occurs in the preceding. 'The carrier (approaches), praising, with adoration; to Agni (approach) the spoons as the sacrifices proceed.' In AV. *agnīm* is



changed to *agnih* to agree with its synonym *vahnih*, and the two pādas are more closely connected than in the original. In KS. the attraction has worked in the opposite direction; *vahnir* becomes *vahnim* to match *agnim*, *śruco* is now the subject, *īdānā* agrees with it, and the preceding pāda (*achāyam eti śavasā ghṛteṇa* [AV. *ghṛtā cit*], see §467) is changed to *achāyam yanti śavasā ghṛtācīh* (note retention of *ayam*, now ungrammatical!): 'here come with might the ghee-filled spoons, praising with adoration Agni the carrier...' Ppp. has *īde vahnim namasāgnim śruco 'dhvareṣu pruyatsu*, which is translatable but obviously secondary.

*gāyatrīm triṣṭubham jagatīm anuṣṭubham* (MS. °tīm virājam) AV. TS. MS.: *gāyatrī triṣṭub jagatī virā* KS. This is the 3d pāda of a verse whose 4th pāda in TS. MS. KS. (omitting slight variants) is *arkam* (TS. *brhad arkam*) *yuñjānāh sear ābharann idam*. It appears that KS. has allowed the names of meters to be attracted into agreement with *yuñjānāh* (tho leaving *arkam* to be the object of the participle, which is the construction of all of them in TS. MS.); they thus become subjects of the verb *ā-abharann*. The AV. varies considerably and is difficult, probably corrupt; its accs. must depend on the verb of the 1st pāda.

*yuvō ratho adhvaram* (AV.† GB.† °ro) *devavītaye* RV. AV. AB. 6. 12. 7 (add in Conc.) GB. Followed by the verb *yāti* (*yātu*). 'Your chariot goes to the sacrifice...' In AV. *advharam* is awkwardly attracted to the case of *ratho*: 'let your chariot, the sacrifice, approach...' Ppp. is reported to read *advharam*.

*ā gharṃ agnim ṛṇayann asādī* (TA. *asādī*) RV. TA.: *ā gharṃ agnir amṛto na sādī* MS. In the latter *agnim* has been changed to the case of *gharṃ*.

*kāmam* (AV. PB. *kāmaḥ*, KS. *kāmas*) *samudram ā viśa* (AV. *viveśa*, KS. TB. *viśat*) AV. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. There seems little doubt that the nom. is original, and it is likely that the acc. is due to attraction to the case of *samudram*. The two accs. must be taken as in apposition. According to the comm. on TA. the subject is *dakṣiṇā*. TB. has the following explanation of the meaning: *samudra iva hī kāmāḥ, nava hī kāmasyānto 'sti, na samudrasya. nayanto gorbham vanām dhiyaṃ dhuḥ* RV.: *nayantam gīrbhīr vanā dhiyam dhāh* SV. Highly problematical; *nayanto* agrees with the indefinite 3 plural subject ('they', really the singers); *nayantam*, like the other accs. in the verse, must be object of *dhāh*. In SV. the subject is Agni and the accs. probably refer to the singer (now singular).

## 6. Transfer of epithet

§400. A very large number of nom.-acc. variants concern what we have described above (§14) as 'transfer of epithet'. That is, an epithet is transferred to a different entity, involving change of case. Often formal case-attraction is also involved, as in the last group; but there is this difference, that the variant word no longer applies to the same person or thing as in the other form. As in all cases of 'transfer of epithet', these variants have no bearing on the uses of the varying cases. There is nothing that need be said about them as a whole except that they may of course show shift of number or gender or both, as well as case; such instances are given separately. No other subdivision of the long list needs to be made.

§401. The following show no change in number or gender:

*iyarti dhāmam aruṣam* (MS. KS. °ṛo) *bharibhrat* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

ApMB. '(Agni) comes clothed in ruddy smoke', original; changed in MS. KS. to read 'the ruddy (Agni) comes clothed in smoke.'

*avar devā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *devān*) *aganma* (MS. MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. See §§340, 349. The nom. or voc. is certainly original, the acc. secondary. The nom. would apply the epithet *devāh* to the priests: 'we have gone to heaven as gods'; the acc., 'we have gone to heaven, to the gods.'

*ye ca devān* (ŚŚ. *devā*) *apajanta* AV. ŚŚ. The passage deals with generous sacrificers and givers of *dakṣiṇā*; AV. means 'who have sacrificed to the gods' (referring to *maghavāno* which follows). In ŚŚ. *devāh*, if nom., must refer to *maghavānah*, as in the preceding variant. It might however be voc. (again as in the preceding).

*mā no hṛṣṭām atithir* (SV. *hṛṣṭhā atithim*) *vāsuv agniḥ* RV. SV. Followed by *puruprasasta eṣaḥ*. RV.: 'let not Agni, our kindly guest, be ashamed of us; much praised is he.' The SV. distortion makes *atithi* object of the verb, referring to some vague person (the *yajamāna*?) other than Agni, to whom it originally belonged. It seems to mean: 'be not ashamed of our guest (O Agni); Agni is kindly, much praised is he.'

*didīhi deva devayuh* (SV. °*yum*) RV. SV. Preceded by *abhi dyumnas bṛhad yāsa iṣaspatē*. In RV. *devayuh* is in logical apposition with the subject of the imperative; in SV. it is apparently made to refer to the worshiper (so Benfey), as a second acc. with *didīhi*.

*jaitram indra* (KS. *jaitrāyano*) *ratham ā tiṣṭha govī* (AV. *govidam*) RV. SV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Whether the epithet is applied to Indra or to his chariot makes little practical difference. But the



rest of the stanza is *trīṣṭubh*, and it is curious that AV. turns this *pāda* into a *jagati* by this otherwise harmless alteration. One or two mss. are quoted by Lanman as reading *govit*; but Ppp. (JAOS. 40. 151) supports *govidam*.

*viprasya vā yac chakamāna ukthyam* (AV. °yah) RV. AV. Followed by *vājam*, with which the adjective agrees in RV.; in AV. (with the help of the adjoining *śakamānah*) it is transferred to the subject (Agni).

*pari dyukṣam sanad rayim* SV.: *pari dyukṣaḥ sanadrayaḥ* RV. In RV. both epithets agree with the subject (Soma) of the verb of the following *pāda*; in SV. *sanad* is made a separate verb (subject Soma) with *rayim* as object, and *dyukṣam* agreeing therewith.

*āreśatruṃ* (TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. āre śatrūn) *kṛṇuhi sarvaśvīram* (TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. °śvrah) AV.† TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ. In AV. the epithet goes with the object (*imam* of the preceding *pāda*); in the others, with the subject.

*punar brahmāṇo (brahmā) vasunūtha* (°nūtir, °dhite, °dhitim, °dhitam) *yajñaiḥ (agne)*; see §340.

*ava priyā* (AV. *priyān*) *adhūṣata* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. If *priyā(s)* is really nom., as commonly assumed, it must agree with the subject (in RV. apparently the Maruts, in the others, secondarily, the pitrs); *priyān* is of course object, but it is not clear to what it refers. Grassmann takes *priyā* as acc. fem., supplying *giras*. (Most AV. mss. read *avā 'priyān*, with wrong accent; see Whitney's note.)

*ūrdhvo adhvaram divi deveṣu dhehi* VS. ŚB.: *ūrdhvam* (VSK. °vo) *imam* (VSK. omits) *adhvaram*... *hotrā yacha* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*jāmin* (KS.† *camī*, see VV 2 §57) *mā hīnśr* (AV. *mā jāmin moṣṭr*) *amuyā* (MŚ. *anu yā*) *śayānā* (AV. KS.† °nām) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The nom. agrees with the subject, the acc. with the object *jāmin*.

*svargān (svargam, svagān) arvanto (arvato) jayata (jayema, jayataḥ, jāyati)*, see §350.

*tam akratum* (KU. °tuḥ) *paśyati vītabokah* TA. MahānU. KU. ŚvetU. *pra yo jajñe vīdeṇ* (AV. °vān) *asya bandhum* (AV. *bandhuḥ*) AV. TS. KS. Followed by *vīkṣa devānām* (TS. *vīkṣānī devo*) *janimā vīakti*. The verse is mystical and its real sense obscure. It is, however, clear that *bandhuḥ* must be construed with or as the subject of *vīakti*, and *bandhum* as one of the objects of *vīakti* or object of *vīdeṇ*.

*urudraso vittarūpa induh* TS. ApŚ.: *purudasmō viṣurūpa induh* VS. ŚB.: *purudasmavad viṣvarūpam induh* KS. Followed by *puṣamāno* (VS. ŚB. *antar*) *garbham* (TS. *dhīra*, VS. ŚB. *mahimānam*) *ānuṣṭja dhīrah* (TS. *garbham*). The adjectives agree with the object *garbham* in KS., with the subject *induh* in the others.

*samārabhyordhvo adhvāro divispṛk* TS. TB.: *ūrdhvo adhvāro divispṛk* MS. KS. In the ritual the TS. passage (followed by *ahruṭo yajño yajñapateḥ*) is addressed to the sacrifice (*āghāra*), and can only be interpreted (understanding *āghāram* as object of *samārabhya*, as TB. does): 'lofty is the cult, undertaking the heaven-touching (*āghāra*); the sacrifice of the sacrificer is undisturbed.' The reading of MS. seems to be a lect. fac.; *samārabhya* is taken easily with the preceding formula, and *divispṛk*, assimilated to the preceding nouns, applies to *adhvāro*. (KS. omits *samārabhya*.) Keith considers the TS. TB. reading a corruption, but with doubtful justice.

*sarasvatī vyaṣi peśo antaram* (TB. and ms. of KS. \**rah*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded in all by *tad āsvinā bhīṣajā rudravartanī*. 'The Aśvins... and Sarasvatī make(s) his inner form,' *antaram* agrees with *peśo*. But *antaraḥ*, read by the sole ms. of KS. as well as TB. (v. Schr. emends), is difficult. The TB. comm. seems to have no qualms about making it agree with *Sarasvatī* (or does he mean to take it as an adverb, = *antar*? *yā tu sarasvaty antaraḥ śarīramadhye*). All we can say is that it certainly no longer goes with *peśo*.

*ud aśhām amṛtān anu* VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. AŚ. ApMB.: *ud aśhāmāmṛtā vyaṣam* (HG. *abhūma*) AV. HG. 'I have risen up after the immortals': 'we have risen up immortal.' The AV. verse seems on the whole to be secondary to that of the Yajus texts, and to have transferred the epithet to the subject.

*asmīn yajñe suhavām* (AV. \**vā*) *jahavīmī* AV. MS. KS. TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. N. Preceded by *kuhūṣ devīm sukṛtām vidmanāpasam* (with slight variants). AV. comm. also has *suhavām*, agreeing with *kuhūṣ*; if *suhavā* be kept it agrees with the subject, who then has to be conceived as a woman.

*prajāpatir yaṁ prathamo jigāya* ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.: *prajāpatiḥ prathamo 'yaṁ jigāya* AŚ. Preceded by *tayānantām kāmam ahaṁ jagāni*. In AŚ. (a) *yaṁ* goes with the preceding nouns: 'this Prajāpati was the first to win (it).' The other, with *yaṁ* referring to *kāmam*, is doubtless original.

§402. Transfers of epithets between nominative and accusative forms which involve also changes in number or gender or both are:



*viśvāni yo amartyo* (*havyā martasya ranyati*) RV.: *viśve yasminn amartye* (*havyaṁ martāsa indhate*) SV. See §457.

*tad ayaṁ* (MG. *idam*) *rājā varuṇo 'numanyatām* AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. *ayaṁ* agrees with the subject *rājā* etc., *idam* with the object *tad*.

*devān achā na majmanā* RV.: *deva indro na majmanā* SV. In SV. the epithet *deva* is attracted into agreement with the subject.

*yā rājānā* (TS. °*nam*) *saratham yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā* TS. MS. KS. Subject is Mitra and Varuṇa, with which *rājānā* agrees: 'ye (MS. they) two kings who, terrible, go against the (warrior) with his chariot.' TS. transfers it to the object: 'ye two who, terrible, go against the king with his chariot.'

*agnis tad viśvam* (AV. mss. *viśvād*) *a prṇātī* (AV. °*tu*) *vidvān* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. With Whitney and SPP. *viśvād* (epithet of Agnī) must be kept in AV.

*andhanasyaṁ vasanaṁ jarīṣṇu* (ŚG. *cār°*, PG. °*ṇuḥ*) ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. See VV 2 §57.

*anuttāḥ carṣaṇīdhṛtīḥ* SV.: *anuttā carṣaṇīdhṛtā* RV. Preceded by *tvam vṛtrāṇi haṁsi* . . . (*anuttā* with *vṛtrāṇi*, °*taḥ* with *tvam* = Indra).

*ayā san* (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāḥ san*, KS. *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyam*) *havyam āhiṣe* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG. The original epithet of Agnī is, with phonetic changes resulting in a different word, applied to *havyam*.

*devatrā yantam avase sakhāyāḥ* (KS. °*yam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *anu tvā mātā pitaro madantu*. The original applies *sakhāyāḥ* to *mātā pitaro*; KS. transfers it to *tvā* (influenced no doubt by *yantam*).

*vapāvantam* (MS. °*to*) *nāgninā tapantaḥ* TS. MS. TA. Preceded by *añjanti yaṁ prahayanto na viprāḥ*; MS. transfers the epithet from object to subject.

*prānyā tantūḥs tirate dhatte anyā* AV.: *avānyāṁs tantūn kirato dhatte anyān* TB. In AV. *anyā* . . . *anyā* refers to weaving maidens; in TB. it is transferred to the threads.

*viśvāni yo amartyaḥ* RV.: *viśve yasmin amartye* SV. The n. acc. *viśvāni* of RV. agrees with the following *havyā*; the masc. nom. *viśve* with the following *martāsaḥ*.

*daivīm* (VS. *devīm*) *nāvaṁ svaritrām anūgasam* (AV. °*saḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In AV. *anā°* is transferred to the subject of *āruHEMA*. *sā śamtātī* (SV. °*tā*, TB. ApŚ. *śamtāctī*) *mayas karad apa śridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. *śamtātī* is epithet of *mayas*; on the other see VV 2 §156.

- bhūriśthātṛām bhūry āśayantīm* (AV. °*taḥ*) RV. AV. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 126, and §14 above.
- vīśvavidam* (AV. °*do*) *vācam aviśsamīnām* (AV. *aviśvarinnām*) RV. AV. Discussed by Edgerton, l. c. 128; the AV. is secondary.
- yavena* (AV.\* *yavena vā*) *kṣudhaṁ puruḥāta viśvām* (AV.\* *vikṣe*) RV. AV. (quater). The AV. once transfers the epithet 'all' from *kṣudham* to the subject (of *tarema* in the preceding).
- dhinām antaḥ sabardughāḥ* RV.; *dhenām antaḥ sabardughām* SV. In RV. the adjective agrees with *vanaspatir* (= Soma); in SV. it is attached to the false form *dhenām*.
- parāśutpa abhī kośucānaḥ* RV.; *parāśutpāḥ kośucataḥ śṛṇīhi* AV. In RV. *śo°* agrees with Agnī, subject of preceding *śṛṇīhi*; in AV. with the object (*mūṛadevān*).
- dyūmantuḥ sam idhīmahi* RV. SV. VS. TS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.: *dyūmantuḥ sam idhīmahi* AV. TS. MS. KS. Acc. with preceding object *trā*.
- gharmanḥ kōcantaḥ* (AŚ. °*ta*, ŚŚ. °*taṁ*) *praraṇeṣu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *praraṇeṣu*) *bibhrataḥ* AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. In AB. nom. with *dhigandh* in preceding; in ŚŚ. acc. with *gharmanḥ*. On AŚ. cf. VV 1 p. 165.
- ānuḥ naya* (RV. MS. *ānuḥ na yaḥ*) *namasā rātaḥavyam* (RV.† MS.† °*yāḥ*) RV. AV. MS. In RV. MS. *rā°* goes with nom. *pañca jandh* in the following.
- achīdraḥ* (SMB. °*rāḥ*) *tarma yachata* RV. AB. SMB. The unaccented SMB. may understand voc. rather than nom.
- vande dāruḥ* (? see VV 1 p. 218) *vandamāno virakmi* RV.; *vandadvārd vandamānā viraṅṣṭu* SV. Preceded by *indrasyeva pra tapasus kṛtāni*; in SV. *vandā°* is attracted into agreement with *kṛtāni*.
- vandārus te* (VS. ŚB. °*ruḥ te*, add to VV 2 §958; MS. KS. °*ruḥ te*) *tanvaṁ* (*tanuvam*) *vande agne* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The meaning here shifts with the form; nom. 'praising', acc. 'praiseworthy' (fem. gender, with *tanvaḥ*, tho the masc. would have the same form).
- achīdrāḥ* (ApŚ. *aghorāḥ*, VS. ŚB. *achinnapātrāḥ*, MS. *achinnapātrāḥ*) *prajā abhivipatyā* (VS. MS. ŚB. *anuvīkṣasya*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.
- vīśvāḥ pṛtānā abhībhūtarām naram* (SV. PB. Svidh. *naraḥ*) RV. AV. SV. PB. AŚ. Vait. Svidh. Followed in RV. AV. SV. by *sajāḥ talakṣur indram jajanus ca rājase*.
- ahruto maho dharuṇāya devān* (AV. *devaḥ*) RV. AV. Followed by *divīva jyotiḥ svam ā mimīyāḥ* (AV.† °*yāt*). In AV. (which has reconstructed the passage extensively) *devaḥ* is made an epithet of the subject (a horse).



*trīn samudrān samaspat svargān* (MS. °gah) VS. MS. ŚB.: *samsarpa* (KS. °pan) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ. *svargān lokān*) KS. ApŚ. *ye ceme* (TS. *cemām*, VS. *cainam*) *rudrā abhitaḥ* (MS. NīlarU. *abhito rudrāḥ*) VS. TS. KS. MS. NīlarU. The nom. *ime* goes with *rudrāḥ*; *enam* (= Rudrā) or *imām* (apparently the earth) is construed as object of *abhitaḥ*.

*śukrān vayanīy asurāya nīrñijam* RV.: *śukrā vi yanty asurāya nīrñije* SV. 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura': 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the A.'

*sa nah prihu* (TB. °uh) *bravīṣyam* RV. SV. ŚB. TB. *prihu*, object: 'the broad (space).' In TB. transferred to the subject (Agni).

*ny adhūr mātrāyām* (KS. *mātrayā*) *kavayo vinyodhasaḥ* (KS. °sam) MS. KS. In MS. *vayo*° goes with *kavayo*, in KS. with *agnim* in the following.

*apo mahi vṛjayati cakṣase tamah* RV.: *apo mahi vṛjate cakṣuṣa tamah* SV. PB. *mahi* refers to the subject Uṣas, *mahi* refers to the darkness which she uncovers.

*sūryam cāmū riśādasah* (RVKh. °sam) AV. RVKh. ŚŚ. (ed. of AV. *cāmūn riśādasam*, but mss. as ŚŚ.; RVKh. Scheftelowitz p. 157). The original nom. pl. agrees with *devāḥ* in the next sentence; RVKh. has acc. sg. with *sūryam*. (The form *amū* is probably neut. pl. of *asau*, cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 350.)

*ulokam u dve upa jāmin iṣyatuḥ* RV.: *lokam u* (ApŚ. *id*) *dve upa jāmi iṣyatuḥ* MS. ApŚ. *jāmi* transferred from object to subject.

*agnin bharantaṁ* (MS. KS. °tā) *asmayam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Preceded by *yunājāthām rāsabham yuvam, asmin yāme vṛjanvasū*. The acc. agrees with *rāsabham*, the nom. dual with the subject of *yunājāthām* (the adhvaryu and yajamāna). The mss. of MS. (s.p. and p.p.) read *asmayuh*; perhaps they intend *asmayā*, which would be another transfer.

*tā* (TS. *te*, VS. ŚB. *yā*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS. N. *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* (TS. °ye) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Only in TS. the pronoun (*te*) is made to agree with the subject (Keith suggests that it is a mere blunder due to the following *te*, enclitic from *team*).

*svīrāḥ prajāḥ prajanayan parihi* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *svīro vīrān prajanayan pariḥy*... VS. ŚB.

*varenyakratūr* (AV. °tur) *aham* RVKh. AV.: *īdenyakratūr* (text *īde*°, doubtless misprint) *aham* ApŚ. Scheftelowitz reads °tur in RVKh. The form °tur is acc. pl. fem. agreeing with the waters; and this is a simpler reading than °tur (nom. sg. masc.), going with *aham*.

*dhr̥āntām vātāgram anusam̐carantau* (PB. *abhisam̐*\*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.; *dhr̥āntā vātā agnīm abhi ye sam̐caranti* MŚ. MG. The mss. of MŚ. MG. read *dhr̥āntā* (nom. dual, going with the subject in the preceding pāda) *vātāgnīm* (for which *vātāgram* is doubtless the true reading, cf. VV 2 p. 402).

*ā raśmīn* (RV. *raśmīm*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yuvase*) *vr̥ashedn* (RV. TB. *svahvah*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

*jyotiṣmatī* (MS. *°tiḥ*) *prati muñcate nabhaḥ* TS. MŚ. KS. PG. Followed by *devī rātri sūryasya vr̥atāni*, or an equivalent. In MS. *jyo°* (originally epithet of *rātri*) is made an object of the verb.

*jīvan* (comm. *jīvan*) *derebhya uttaram str̥ṇāmi* AV.: *derebhya jīvanta uttaram bharema* TA. In TA. *jīv°* is epithet of the subject; so *jīvan* if this is intended in AV. (then with variation of number only); *jīvam*, if intended, must go with the object *uttaram*.

*hiraṇyārūpam* (MS. KS. MŚ. *°varṇam*) *uṣaso vyugṣan* RV. MS. KS. MŚ.; *hiraṇyārūpā* (TS. TB. *°varṇāḥ*) *uṣaso* (TS. TB. *°adm*) *viroke* VS. TS. ŚB. TB. Followed by:

*ayasthānam* (TS. *ayasthūṇḍe*) *uditā* (TS. MS. KS. *°tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS. In both of these the dual nouns agree with the subject, Mitra and Varuṇa; the accs. with the object, *gṛitam*.

*ekarīṣṭa r̥bhavaḥ* (VS.† *°va*) *stutam* (VS. *stutāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. One of six consecutive and parallel verses in all; the remaining five have (before *stutam* or *stutāḥ*): *rudrāḥ pañcadake*, *visvasa triṣṭā*, *stome sapṭadake*, *trayastrīṣṭe 'mṛtaḥ* (*°tā*, VS.), *triṇave marutaḥ* (TB. *ma° tri°*). In VS. *stutāḥ* agrees with the subject, a group of gods that varies in each verse. In the others it agrees with the object in pāda d (*harir indre vayo dadhuḥ*).

*hiraṇyayāḥ* (MS. *°yayā*) *hucayo dhārapūtāḥ* RV. MS. Preceded by *trī rocānā divyā dhārayanta*. In RV. *hir°* agrees with the subject, the Ādityas; in MS. with the object *rocānā*.

*mātā yad vīram dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā* (MS. *vīram jajanaj janiṣṭham*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB.

*ure* (AŚ. *ūrvy* and *urvy*) *antarikṣam vīhi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. AŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ. The nom. must agree with the subject of *vīhi*.

*sa praty ud* (MS. *sa pratyakū*) *aid dharuṇam* (TS. MS. KS. *dharuṇo*) *madhvo agram* AV. TS. MS. KS. KSA. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. Part of a mystic verse; the sense is no better and no worse, whether the adjective goes with *sa* or with *agram*. But it may be based on *juhāmī te dharuṇam madhvo agram* RV. AV., in a ritualistic connexion; this rather points to the originality of the acc.



*mahīṣaṃ naḥ subhvaṃ tathivāṃsam* MS.: *samudraṃ na subhvaḥ sva abhiṣṭayaḥ* RV.: *samudraṃ na suhavaṃ* (AV. *subhavas*, TB. Poona ed. *suhavaṃ*) *tathivāṃsam* AV. TB. ApŚ.—Ppp. reads like MS. but for *subhavas* (Barret *subhavas*, suggesting *subhuvam* as a better reading, JAOS. 35. 46). Same context in all except RV.; the acc. agrees with *samudram*, the nom. with the subject of the verb in the next pāda. Perhaps AV. is influenced by recollection of the RV. passage (i.e. shows contamination of two passages).

*yajā no* (or *yajāno*, so Poona ed. of TB. with MS., see VV 2 p. 376) *devān* (MS. *devo*) *ajarah* *svirah* MS. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. Nom. *devo* is construed as epithet of subject Agni; acc. as object of *yajā* (or *yajāno*), referring to the gods to whom Agni ministers.

*aviraghaṇa* (ApMB.† °nī) *vīrataraḥ* (HG. °*tamaḥ*, AŚ. ApŚ. ApMB. *vīrataraḥ*) *svīrdn* (HG. *sūsevān*) AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. HG. ApMB.: *vīraṇi hi* (read *avīraghni?*) *vīravataḥ sūsevā* MG. The accs. refer to *grāhaṇ*, the noms. to the subject *aham*, which is fem. in ApMB. MG. Presumably the masc. *aham* is more original; *vīrataraḥ* would be impossible in ApMB. MG. Further than this we can hardly go as regards the original form of that epithet. But the nom. *sūsevā* of MG. alone is certainly secondary.

*vī mamarṣa rohito vīśvarūpaḥ* TB.: *vī rohito amṛśad vīśvarūpam* AV. The latter original (*vīśvarūpam* object).

*parimāṇ rāyo manuṣyam* KS.: *parimāṇ rāyas poṣo yajamānaṃ manuṣyāḥ* TS. And others, see §§442 etc. In KS. *manuṣya* is applied to the *yajamāna*; 'let wealth invest this man.' In TS. *rāyās* is gen., and *manuṣyāḥ* must be taken with Keith as a second subject, 'men', or, with thought of *daiteṛ vīśo* in the preceding, 'human clans'.

*codad rādha upastutaś* (ArS. °*tam*) *cīd arvāḥ* RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. In RV. etc. the adjective goes with the subject, Indra; in ArS. with *rādha(s)*.

*apo devā* (TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. *devīr*) *madhumatīr agṛbhṇan* (TS. ApŚ. *agṛhṇan*, MS. KS. *agṛbhṇām*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. The acc. fem. *devīr* is doubtless orig.; *devā(h)* goes with the subject.

*ayam* (TA. *idam*) *devo vanaspatih* AV. TA. Preceded by *varaṇo vārayātāi* (*vārayāt*). TA. feels the need of an object, and alters *ayam* to *idam*.

*ādityā rudrā upariśpr̥to naḥ* (KS. °*śam mā*) AV. KS.: *vasavo rudrā ādityā upariśpr̥tām mā* RV. VS. TS. Followed by *ugraṃ cettāram adhirājām akraṇ* (AV. *akrata*). The adjective, orig. going with *mā*, is transferred to the subject in AV.

*ad im āśvanā na hetārah* (SV. \**ram*) RV. SV. Followed by *āśubhān amṛtāya, madho* (SV. *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde*. 'As drivers (decorate) a horse', RV.: in SV. *hetāram* is Soma (attracted to the case of *rasam*), 'the inciting one'.

*yasya dyāvō na vicaranti mānuṣā* (SV. \**ṣam*) RV. SV. The meaning of RV. is doubtful. Oldenberg: 'whose (Indra's) gifts to men go their course like the days'; Geldner: 'for whom the ages (*yugāni*) of men pass like (his) days.' In SV. *mānuṣam* is assimilated in case and number to the epithets of Indra in the verse, and is taken to mean 'friendly to man'; the relative clause might mean 'whose heavens do not pass away' (so Benfey).

*taj jānatīr abhy anūṣata vṛh* RV.: *tā jānatīr abhy anūṣata kṣāh* ArS. In RV. *taj* is object of *jānatīr*; in ArS. *tā(h)* attracted to agreement with it.

*indra jātharam naryo* (SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. \**yam*) *na* AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. For the difficulties involved see Whitney's note; in any case the word goes with Indra in AV., with *jātharam* in the rest.

*team śamudram prathamō vi dhārayah* (SV. \**drah prathamē vidharman*) RV. SV. Radical reconstruction, with transfer of object to predicate nom. 'You first arranged the sea (for the gods)': 'du bist das Meer im allerhöchsten Träger' (Benfey).

*indram juṣānā vṛṣanāh* (VS. *janayo*) *na patnīh* VS. MS. KS. TB. Here different words are involved. 'Taking delight in the manly Indra, like wives': 'taking delight in Indra, like wedded women.'

§403. In some of the preceding cases it is perhaps doubtful whether the term 'transfer of epithet' applies strictly. In these which now follow it can certainly apply only by stretching the term. Namely: in them one form of the variant shows a noun or pronoun of independent construction, which cannot properly be described as an 'epithet' of any other word. In several cases, moreover, the words are different, as in the last variant in the preceding section. Cf. §15.

*pratnaṁ nī pātī kāryam* RV. ('he protects the ancient wisdom'); *†pratnāni* (Cone. *pra teā nī*) *pātī kāryah* KS. ('he [Soma], the wise, protects the ancient things [laws, or the like]').

*prajāpatim aham tsayā samakṣam rdhyāsam* GB. Vait.: *prajāpatir aham tsayā sākṣād rdhyāsam* MŚ. 'May I cause Prajāpati to prosper visibly with thee': 'may I, a very Prajāpati in person, prosper thru thee.' The latter is original; see Caland on Vait.

*achāyam eti kavasā ghr̥tēna* (AV. *ghṛtā cit*) AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS.: *achāyam yanti kavasā ghr̥tācīh* KS. See §467.



*samādhātā samādhātā* (MS. *samdhār*) *maghavi purūvasuḥ* (*purō<sup>n</sup>*, *puru<sup>o</sup>*) RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. The nom. can only be felt as going with the subject; but the whole verse is very corrupt in MS.

*gīraḥ somaḥ* (SV. *gīra stomān*) *paramāno manīṣaḥ* RV. SV. 'The purified soma (has inspired) our songs and devotions', RV.: 'the purified one (soma, has inspired) our songs, praises, and devotions.'

*evam taṁ garbham ā dhekī* RVKh. MG.: *evam tvam garbham ā dhatava* ApMB.

*asmabhyam indav indrayuḥ* (SV. *indriyam*) RV. SV. The verb is *parasma*, to which SV. supplies an object *indriyam*; *indrayuḥ* is noun, epithet of the soma-drop (*indu*).

*duraś ca vīdā avṛṇod apa sūti* RV. AV.: *turaś cid vīdāva jarṇat laparvān* AV. *duraś* is object of *avṛṇod*; *turaś* apparently felt as epithet of the subject.

*samidhyamānaḥ prathamānu dharmā* (TB. ApŚ. *prathamo nu dharmah*) RV.† TB. ApŚ. (RV. p.p. *prathamā, anu, dharmā*.) The original neut. pla. were misunderstood later and made into nouns, eg. masc., epithets of the subject, Agni. Doubtless the adjacent *samidhyamānaḥ* helped. Caland translates ApŚ. as if it had the RV. reading, tho he has no note.

*guzmānāś ca dāyān ma upetā* (ŚŚ. *dāyam copetām*) AB. ŚŚ. Followed by *vidyām yām u ca* (ŚŚ. *uta*) *vidmasi*. *upetā* is noun, eg. of a nomen agentis used as periphrastic future: 'he shall obtain you as an inheritance from me, and also the knowledge which we know.' In ŚŚ. we have *upetām*, past pple., attracted into agreement with *vidyām*; in this form there is no verb to govern the accs.

*dharaś* (VSK. *°ṣān*) *mānuṣaḥ* (KS. *°ṣam*, TS. ApŚ. *°ṣān*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. In KS. TB. ApŚ. acc. object of the verb, in the others subject, or agreeing with the subject: 'be bold, as a man (VSK. let the man be bold).'

*tasmat devā amṛtāḥ* (AV. *°tuḥ*) *sam vyayantām* (AV. *°tu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. In AV. *amṛtām* is a noun, object of the verb.

#### 7. Neuter acc. adverbs varying with nom. adjectives

§404. In a small and simple group we find neuter accusative adverbs varying with nominative adjectives, virtually equivalent in meaning:

*subhūḥ wayambhūḥ prathamah* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *°mam*) VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*somaḥ prathamo vīdā* RV. PG. HG. ApMB.: *somasya jāyā prathamam* AV. 'Soma was the first to marry (thee)': '(thou wast) Soma's wife first.'

*caraty ananueratā* ApMB. HG.: *vicaranty apatieratā* ŚŚ.: *yac cacāra-nanueratam* (adverb) ApŚ. Preceded by *yan me mālā prafulubhe* (or the like).

*ava tara* (TS. *avattaram*, AV. *avattaro*) *nadiṣv ā* (AV. *nadīndm*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *avattaram* apparently an adverb; *avattaro* adj. agreeing with the subject. MS. p.p. has *avattaram*, which seems to be what Keith means to translate by 'lower' in TS.

*asvati naḥ pūrnamukhaḥ pari krāmatu* (HG. °*mukhaḥ pari krāmatu*) ApMB. HG. We now would render (rather than as in VV I §359): 'Happily may he, with his face turned full towards us (HG. they, with their faces . . .), walk round us.' So better than Oldenberg's interpretation of HG., 'walk round our full face.' The Sātra itself renders by *pradakṣiṇam*.

*asambādha yā madhyato mānavebhyah* MS.: *asambādham bādhyato* (read *mā*°, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp. *mānaveṣu*) AV. Ppp. Kauś. See §623.

*dyumad vibhāti bhuratebhyah kuciḥ* (VS. *kuci*, comm. *kuciḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *kuci* may be taken as an adverb.

*viśvair devair anumatā* (KS. TA. °*taḥ*) *mārudbhiḥ*, see §388 above. KS. has an adverb.

*viśvak patantu didyavoḥ* RV.: *viśvaṇco asmac charavoḥ patantu* AV.

*āgne yāhi suvidatrebhir aretā* (MS. *arāḥ*, p.p. *arātā*) RV. AV. MS. TB. N.

*prāṇ* (VS. TB. *prāṇk*, MS. *prāk*, p.p. *prāṇ*) *somo atidrutah* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*pratyak* (p.p. *pratyāṇ*) *somo atidrutah* MS.: *pratyāṇ* (VS. TS. MS.† ŚB.† TB. *pratyāṇk*) *somo atidrutah* (VS.\* †10. 31b, MS. *atidrutah*) AV.† (see Whitney's note) VS. (his) VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (his) TB. ApŚ.

§405. Once we have what seems to be perhaps a fem. acc. adverb varying with a nom. adjective; but the form is very suspicious:

*didāyānidhmo* (MS. °*māṇ*) *ghṛtanirniḡ apeu* RV. TS. MS. °(Agni) shone in the waters without kindling . . . If MS. is sound it would seem to have an adverb. All s.p. mss. agree; curiously the p.p. reads *didāya*, same *ity asme*.

#### 8. Miscellaneous and doubtful

§406. The remaining nominative-accusative variants are hardly classifiable. Many are textually dubious, and in most the interpretation of one form, or both, is troublesome.



*sakṛd yat tad* (KS. *te*) *manasā garbhā* (KS. *garbhām*) *āśayat* TS. KS. Here *garbha* is used in different senses: 'embryo' (TS.) and 'womb' (KS.).

*amāśi sarvān* (AŚ. *sarvān*) *asi praviṣṭaḥ* AŚ. Kauś.; *amo 'si sarvān asi praviṣṭaḥ* ŚG.; *amā hy asi sarvām anu praviṣṭaḥ* SMB. The original is certainly *sarvān* (from *sarvāne*); the accs. are lect. fac.

*apa snehītṛ* (SV. *mihitṛi*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāh*, KS.† *nṛmanām adadhṛām*) RV. AV. SV. KS.; *upa stuhi tam nṛmanām* (Poona ed. *stuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA. The latter is plainly corrupt. The acc. *nṛmanām* (bad form in any case) may be felt as a second object, correlative with *snehītṛ*; but the interpretation is certainly dubious.

*sūryasya marīciḥ* TA.; *sūryo marīcim ādatte* TA. Probably the two are not really related. The former occurs in a list of the *patnīs* of various gods; the latter in a cosmic verse about creation.

*udādāyān pṛthivīm jivādānum* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *jiradānuḥ*, MS. KS. *jiradānum*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ. The nom. is clearly established as the reading of the Tait. school; but there is no main verb in the stanza and it is hard to construe. Both Keith and Caland think an acc. (agreeing with *pṛthivīm*) must be read.

*kratum dadhikrā* (MS. *\*krām*) *anu santarīvat* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *samsa-nīṣyadat*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. The context is identical in MS., and only a nom. seems construable: 'Dadhikrā, showing his strength according to his will.' Is the final *m* in MS. mere 'Hiatustilger'? Cf. VV 2 §308 ff.

*samānam ajman* (PB. *ṭayman*) *pary eti* (TA. ApŚ. *ajmā pari yāti*) *jāgruḥ* RV. PB. TA. ApŚ. In RV.: 'watchful he (Agni) goes about his accustomed course.' The nom. *ajmā* is apparently felt as an epithet of Agni (TA. comm. *svargagamaśīlāḥ*), but is scarcely to be called anything but a corruption (Caland on ApŚ.). Comm. on PB. understands *ayman* (for *ajman*) as a loc., but probably misunderstands the intention of its text. On *y* for *j* in PB. see Caland's translation, xxv. The Conc. should be corrected for this and *ṭyunaṣmi te pṛthivīm agninā saka*, and these interesting variants added to VV 2 §192. Cf. also Raghu Vira, *Kaṣīṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhita*, 5; Oertel 28.

*bṛhaspatim yajñam akṛvata* *ṛṣim* RV.: *bṛhaspatir yajñam atanvata* *ṛṣiḥ* AV. The same passage in both texts, dealing otherwise wholly with Yama; the introduction of a statement about Bṛhaspati's action is evidently a stupid blunder.

*yāns* (TA, Poona ed. text and comm. *yāns*) *te soma prāṇāns tān* (tān, tāñ) *juhomi* TA, MahānU. Either reading must intend approximately 'those breaths which are thine...' Comm. on MahānU. supplies *pāṣyāmi* as governing the acc. The nom. *yās* makes construction simpler (*prāṇāns* for *prāṇās* being then attracted to the following *tān*).

*sam takṣā hanti cakrī vaḥ* (HG, *cakrīnaḥ*) ApMB, HG. Obscure and likely to be corrupt in both forms. According to Oldenberg, HG. would mean 'the carpenter hammers at (the chariots) that have wheels.' *cakrī*, if sound, would seem to be felt as an epithet of *takṣā*!

*brahmānam* (TB, °*na*) *indram vayoḥhasam* VS, TB. After *hataḥ yuktad*; only acc. seems construable. Comm. on TB. in fact takes *brahmānas* as acc. pl. (agreeing with *devās* preceding)!—as if from *brahman*, with strong stem for weak.

*manuṣm* (AV, *manuṣ*) *viśa idate mānuṣir yāḥ* (TB, † *idate devayantiḥ*) RV, AV, MS, TB. The nom. is carelessly repeated from the preceding half verse, where it occurs three times. It is really unconstruable, as Whitney observes; comm. reads *manuṣm*. Yet Ppp. has *manuṣ*, which seems to suggest that it is the actual reading of the Atharvan schools.

*purāṇān* (TA, °*nā*) *anu venati* RV, TA, N. Comm. on TA, *purāṇān devān*. In fact neither a nom. pl. masc. nor a nom. or acc. pl. fem. is construable.

*narāśaśena nagnaham* (KS, TB, °*kuḥ*) VS, MS, KS, TB. The form must be acc. in all. Von Schroeder emends KS. to °*ham*; TB. comm. keeps the form °*kuḥ* but regards it as acc. neut.

*paridam vāḥ ujinam* (PG, °*dam vājīnam*) *dulhe 'ham* (HG, *ajīnam dhaterāsan*) ŚG, PG, HG, ApMB. Haplology in PG. (VV 2 p. 362); *vājīnam* not construable.

*bahuprājā nirrtim* (AV, °*tir*) *ā vīśa* RV, AV, N. Whitney assumes an acc. in AV.; but the passage is mystic nonsense and perhaps anything is possible. This might be classed with 'case attraction' above, since apparently AV. has made *nirrti-* agree with *bahuprājā*.

*ā vīśāparājītā* (TA, °*tā*) AV, TA. Only the acc. can be construed; so comm. on TA. interprets the form, tho he reads °*tā* like both editions.

*tilvilāstām irāvatim* AG, † *tilvilā syād irāvatī* ApMB., and others, always with nom. Stenzler (note in transl. of AG p. 83) regards the acc. ending as certainly erroneous.



§407. In the rest there seems to be no genuine variant at all:

*sindhur* (MāhānU. v. l. *sindhur*) *nā nāvā dūrlāṭi paṇi*; RV. MS. TB.

TA, MāhānU. The v. l. is worthless; no nom. could be construed. *haryam pārdantebhyah* AV. ŚŚ. So mss. of AV.; R-Wh. emend wrongly to *haryah*.

*pūṣaṇēn karambham* MS. KS. AB. *karambhaḥ* is read by Von Schroeder in MS. by emendation; and the Conc. quotes KS. as °*bhaḥ*, erroneously. All texts should read °*bham*.

*śimāḥ kṛṣṇantu kimyāntaḥ* TS. KSA. Conc. quotes *śimām* for KSA.; this is a false reading of one ms., rejected in the ed.

*tān sma mānuvāṣaṣṭkṛtāḥ* AŚ.; *ete nānuvāṣaṣṭkṛtāḥ* Vait. But all mss. of Vait. read *ca tātāsamānuvāṣaṣṭkṛtā(h)*; with Caland we should probably assume that they intend the AŚ. reading.

*trptām juhur mātulaṣṣya yajā* RVKh.† N.† Conc. reads *trptā* for RVKh., with Aufrecht; but see Scheftelowitz, p. 87.

*vāyavyah śvetah puche* VS. MS.; *vāyaryam śvetam* ApŚ. The latter should be deleted in the Conc.; it is no mantra but the beginning of a Brāhmana passage, TS. 2. 1. 1. 1.

*iṣamāṇa* (ŚŚ. °*nā*) *upaspṛaḥ* AV. ŚŚ. Read in AV. as in ŚŚ. (with mss., SPP., Whitney's Index; and see Bloomfield's note on 20. 127. 2).

## CHAPTER XV

### NOMINATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

#### 1. Instr. of means or agent and subject nom.

§408. The instrumental in one aspect expresses the means or instrument, or the agent, by which an action is performed. Naturally, therefore, it sometimes varies with the nominative as expressing the performer of the action. In its simplest form this change merely accompanies a shift between an active or transitive verb and a passive or intransitive one, as in:

*yā im vāhanta āśubhiḥ* RV.: *yadī vāhanty āśavaḥ* SV. 'Whoso travel by horses': 'when the horses carry (him).'  
*manyur akārṣṇ manyuḥ karoti* . . . TAA.: *manyuṇā kṛtām manyuḥ karoti* . . . BDh.

§409. It is not even necessary that the verb form should vary; once, at least, the same verb is taken as either passive or middle-deponent: *na karmaṇā līpyate pāpakena* ŚB. TB. BrhU. BDh.: *na karma līpyate nare* VS. IśāU. 'He is not stained by evil action': 'action does not stick to (stain) a man.'

§410. A little different in psychology is the next group—all occurring in the same passage—in which the instr. of means varies with what would be, with the active voice, an acc. of direct object, but becomes nom. as subject of a passive verb:

*antar dadhe parvataiḥ* HG. ApMB.: *antarhitā girayaḥ* ŚG. 'I interpose with mountains': 'mountains are interposed.'—In same context: *antar mahyā prthivyā* HG.† ApMB.†; *antar dadha rtubhiḥ; ahorātrāś ca saṁdhibhiḥ* (HG. °trāḥ susaṁdhibhiḥ); *ardhamāsaiś ca māsaiś ca*—all HG. ApMB.: *antarhitā prthivī mahi me; antarhitā ma rtavaḥ; ahorātrāś ca saṁdhijāḥ; māsāś cārdhamāsāś ca*, all ŚG.

§411. More often there is no such change in the verb, whether in form or meaning. The variation in case may be said to signalize a lack of clear distinction between the concepts of agent and of instrument. 'Indra by his might has done so and so' is equivalent to 'Indra's might has done so and so.' In such religious literature as the Veda, where personification and apostrophe of inanimate things and qualities



are so common, such a shift is particularly easy; it would indeed not be difficult anywhere. It suggests a characteristic trait of Homeric diction (βλιγ Ἡρακλεια). But it is noteworthy that the possessive adjective, or genitive, or equivalent, which appears in such Homeric phrases, is rarely found among our variants; the first example is perhaps the only one.—Instead of the subject nom., the voc. of direct address is also found varying with the instr. in the same way, §354.

*pra te diro na stanayanti kuṣmāḥ* (MS. °*yanta kuṣmañ*) RV. TS. MS.

'Thy (Agni's) furies thunder like (the thunders) of heaven': 'they (sc. *giraḥ*) have thundered to thee with furies like (those) of heaven.' *abhi stomair* (RV.\* SV.\* *stomā*) *anūgata* RV. SV. (both in each) AV. VS. 'Songs of praise shouted to thee': 'they shouted to thee with songs of praise.'

*vājasya mād prasaṁva* (VS. ŚB. °*rah*) VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *udgrābhenod agrābhūt* (*ajīgrabham*, etc.). 'He has (I have) exalted me (myself) with increase of strength, with exaltation': 'increase of strength has exalted me with exaltation.'

*tam tvābhīḥ suṣṭutibhir vājayantaḥ* RV.: *tam tvā giraḥ suṣṭutayo vājayanti* SV. 'Strengthening thee with these fair praises': 'songs of fair praise strengthen thee.'

*punantu manaso* (RV. *vasaso*, VS. KS. *manasā*) *dhiyā* (VS. KS. *dhiyaḥ*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. 'Let men (*Vasus*) purify with prayer': 'let prayers purify with mind.' The change of *manaso* to *manasā* introduces a different word; but it is to be noted that it replaces the instr. *dhiyā*, and so in a way restores the original construction of the sentence.

*abhi yo mahinā divam* RV. AŚ.: *abhīman* (TS. MŚ.† °*mān*, MS. MŚ. v. 1. °*mān*) *mahinā* (VS. °*mā*; delete MŚ. v. 1. in Conc.) *divam* (MS. *divaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *mitro* (VS. *vipro*) *babhūva saprathāḥ*. 'The far-spreading Mitra has surpassed this heaven (these heavens) by his majesty': VS. substitutes *vipro* for *mitro* (phonetic shifts, VV 2 §§180, 235), and turns *mahinā* into *mahimā*, nom.: 'the wise, far-spreading majesty has. ...'

*kṣatram agne* (AV. *kṣatrenāgne*) *suṣamam astu tubhyam* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In AV. neither the *pāda* itself nor the context furnishes a subject for *astu*. Apparently indefinite subject: 'by dominion, Agni, let it be of easy control for thee.' The other reading is supported by Ppp. and is much simpler, but for that reason perhaps to be suspected of secondariness: 'let dominion, Agni, be of easy control for thee.'

*kūro brhan dakṣiṇayā* (TB. *brhad dakṣiṇā teṣā*) *pipartu* AV. TB. 'Let the bright one, the mighty, endow [me] with the sacrificial fee': 'let the bright one, the mighty [comm., the *ādman*], (and) the sacrificial fee endow thee.' On this use of root *pṛ* see Bloomfield, *AJP.* 17, 408 ff. (esp. 409).

2. Associative instr. and (collateral) subject or predicate nom.

§412. An associative instrumental attached to a noun in any other case might theoretically be replaced by a form in that other case. So we find such instr. forms attached to a subject or predicate nom., varying with a nom. as collateral subject or predicate. For the same variation with other cases than the nom. see §§55-7. With the nom. this is particularly easy in constructions with words whose meaning suggests the instr., expressions of mingling, union, equality, comparison, or the like. Such words occur in most of the following variants:

*ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair* (ApMB. °*air*, MG. °*śam*) *aguh* (with varr.) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. Preceded by *ā ratso jagatā saha*. Ppp. reads *ā dadhnaḥ kalaśaś ca yaḥ*. The ApMB. substitution has phonetic aspects (VV 2 §701), but Ppp. supports it in sense by reading a nom. (Note, however, that the fem. stem *kalaśī* is post-Vedic.) 'They have come with pots of sour milk': '(they and) pots of sour milk have come.' Knauer prints MG. as *kalāśam airayam*; but the mss. are clearly corrupt; the syllable *air* must conceal the true case-ending of *kalāśa*. Read *kalaśair ayam*, as in Kāthaka G. (see Caland's ed. and note on this). In the same context:

*enam pariśrutah kumbhaḥ* AV.; *enam pariśrutah kumbhyā* ŚG.; *ā tuḥ pariśritah* (°*rutah*, °*rtah*, *hiraṇmayah*) *kumbhaḥ* (ApMB. † °*āḥ*) AG. PG. MG. ApMB. HG.

*yaśasā* (ArS. *yaśo*) *mā dyāvāprthivī* ArS. PG. MG. The verb to be supplied is a form of *vid* 'find', from pāda c; *yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG. *riṣat*) PG. MG., *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS. ('let glory of fortune find [me]'; so correct rendering in VV 2 p. 98).—So, in same stanza, between these two pādas:

*yaśasendrābhraspati* PG. MG.: *yaśo mendrābhraspati* ArS. Cf. pree. 'With glory let... find (come to) me.' However, the dual forms might be taken as vocs., supplying a 2d person verb: 'with glory (come) to me, O...'. (So Oldenberg on PG.)

*yavā* (MS. *yavair*) *nā barhīr bhruvī kesarāṇi* VS. MS. KS. TB. 'The hairs on his eye-brow are like barley and sacred straw (like sacred straw with barley).'



- samā bhuvantūdrotā* (TS. °vūtā) *nīpādāḥ* RV. TS. KS. 'The heights and depths shall be equal': 'the depths shall be equal with the heights.'  
*teṣāṃ iṣṭāṇi sam iṣā madanti* RV. VS. TS. MS. N.: *sam no mahāni sam iṣo mahantām* KS. A far-reaching reconstruction in the latter; it vaguely suggests the psychology of the variants in this section.  
*satyā eṣāṃ* (AG. *etā*) *ākiṣaḥ santu kāmāḥ* (ApMB. HG. *santu kāmāḥ*; SMB. Jørgensen *santu kāmāḥ*, v. l. *kāmāt*; AG. *santu sarvāḥ*; VS. *sahnamantām*) VS. VSK AG. SMB. Kauś. ApMB. HG. 'Let their prayers, their desires, come true': 'let their prayers with their desires (or perhaps, according to their desires? cf. the v. l. *kāmāt*) come true.'  
*ādityas* (ApMB. °yais) *te vasubhir ā dadhātu* HG. ApMB. Preceded by *indro marudbhir ṛtudhā* (HG. *iha te*) *kṛṇotu* (HG. *dadhātu*). 'Indra with the Maruts . . . , Āditya with the Vasus': 'Indra with the Maruts . . . with the Ādityas, with the Vasus'.  
*sam revatīr jagatībhiḥ preyaṇtām* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *sam revatīr jagatībhir* (VSK. °bhiḥ *sam*) *madhumatīr madhumatībhiḥ sṛjyadhvam* (VSK. *preyaṇtām*) TS. VSK. TB.: *sam revatīr jagatīḥ* MS. The latter belongs to the same context as the others, but the verb of mingling is postponed to the next pāda (*śivīḥ śivābhiḥ sam asṛkṣatāpāḥ*), and the original instr. which was paired with *revatīr* is made into a supplementary subject.  
*tan mṛtyunā nirṛtīḥ saṃvidānā* AV.: *tan mṛtyur nirṛtyā saṃvidānaḥ* TB. Here nom. and instr. change places, without real change of meaning. 'Destruction in unison with death': 'death in unison with destruction.'  
*tām viśvair devair* (KS. *vīṣve devā*) *ṛtubhiḥ saṃvidānaḥ* (KS. °nāḥ) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Followed by *prajāpatir viśvakarmā vimuñcotu* (ApŚ. *yunaktu*). KS. turns the original complementary instr. (dependent on *saṃvidānaḥ*) into a collateral subject of the verb in the next pāda.  
*śukraḥ śukraśociṣā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *śukrau śukraśociṣau* MS. 'The bright with the bright-shining one': 'the two bright, bright-shining ones.'  
*tayor* (TS. TB. *tasyām*, MŚ. *yasyām*, v. l. *asyām*) *devā adhisaṃvasantaḥ* (MŚ. *abhisamvīśantaḥ*) TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *tasyām devaiḥ saṃvasanto mahītvā* AV. In AV. the following verb is *madema*, in the rest *mādayantām* or °*yadhvam*. 'The gods, dwelling together . . .': 'may we, dwelling together with the gods . . .'  
*parīmanī yajamānaṃ manuṣyāḥ saha rāyas poṣeṇa prajāyā cā vyayanāntām*

MS.: *parīmanā rāyas poṣo yajamānam mānuṣyāḥ* TS. The associative instr. is pointed with *saha*. See §§402 etc.  
*indraghoṣas* (MS. KS. °śās) *teḥ vasubhiḥ purastāt pātu* (KS.† *teḥ vasavaḥ pu° pātu*, MS. *teḥ purastād vasubhiḥ pātu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *indraghoṣa vo vasubhiḥ purastād upadadhatām* TA. Followed by the next two, q. v.  
*manojavāḥ teḥ pitr̥bhir* (KS. *pitaro*) *dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* (KS. *pātu*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *pitaras teḥ manojavā dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* MS.: *manojavaso vah pitr̥bhir dakṣiṇata upadadhatām* TA. See next.  
*pracetās teḥ rudraiḥ paścāt pātu* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *rudrās teḥ pracetasah paścāt pātu* MS.: *pracetā vo rudraiḥ paścād upadadhatām* TA. This and the two preceding all occur in the same passage, which also contains a fourth phrase (*viśvakarmā tvādityair* . . .) in which all texts have the instr. When a nom. is substituted for the instr. (as twice in KS. and twice in MS.) it may be felt as a second subject, so belonging in this group. Yet it is at least as likely to be felt as sole subject, modified by the word (*indraghoṣas* etc.) which in the other version is the substantive subject, but here may be felt as an adjective.

### 3. Instr. of karmadhārayas (or separate instr.) and nom. of bahuvrīhis

§413. Occasionally we find the same compound stem used now as an instr. (a karmadhāraya), and again in the nom. as a bahuvrīhi, an adjective epithet of the subject. The instr. seems generally to be felt as associative, tho this shades over into the instr. of means. In general psychology this group is similar to the preceding one. Sometimes the instr. occurs in separate, uncompounded forms.

*asvānām sadhastutī* (TB. °tiḥ) RV. TB. The verse reads: *ye me pañcāśataḥ dadur, aśv° sadh°, dyumad agne mahi śravo, bṛhat kṛdhi maghōnām, nṛvad amṛta nṛṇām*. 'Who have given me 500 horses, of (these) patrons do thou, Agni, with joint praise (TB. having joint praise), make great the fame' etc.

*dame-dame suṣṭutir* (AV. KS. °tyā, TS. °tir, MS. °ti) *vām iydānā* (TS. MS. KS. *vāvr̥dhānā*, AV. °nau) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. If MS. intends nom. dual, its variation with AV. KS. is like the foregoing: 'having good praises' or 'along with good praise'. But *suṣṭutī* may be taken also as instr. TS. makes the form acc. pl. depending on the pple., and AŚ. ŚŚ. are hopelessly corrupt.

*taṁ teḥ bhrātaraḥ suvr̥dhā* (ApMB. °dho, HG. *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV. ApMB. HG. The following verb is *anu jayantām*. AV.: 'after



thee, growing with good growth, may brothers be born.' ApMB.: 'after thee, growing, may brothers be born whose growth is good.' Even closer to the preceding cases would this variant be if *surādha* were taken with the following verb rather than with the participle; but the order seems against this.

*prāṇo āgñih paramātmā pañcavdyubhīr āvṛtaḥ* PrāṇāgU.: *prāṇo 'gñih paramātmā vai pañcavdyubhīr samāśritaḥ* MU. 'The Paramātmā is surrounded by the five breaths': '...has entered in with (or, perhaps, as) the five breaths.' Here the psychology is a little different; the instr. seems clearly one of means.

*vī yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā* RV.: *vī yo rajāsīy amimīta sukratūḥ* RV. Here a different but related word (with abstract suffix) is used in the karmadhāraya.

*tripād ūrdhva ud ait puruṣaḥ* RV. ArS. VS. TA.: *tribhīḥ padbhir dyām arohaḥ* AV. Here two separate words are used instead of the karmadhāraya compound.

#### 4. Nom. and instr. of part dedicated in offering

§414. In the long list of dedicatory formulas used in presenting parts of the horse's body to various deities in the Aśvamedha, we find a number of times variation between instr. of the part dedicated (and acc. of the deity), on the one hand (with verb of 'gratifying' understood), and on the other hand nom. of the part dedicated and gen. or dat. of the deity (with copula 'understood'). Cf. §126 on the various types of dedicatory formulas. We shall not record a complete list here; others will be found in the same vicinity:

*pūṣaṇam vaniṣṭhūnā* VS. MS. ('Pūṣaṇ [we gratify] with the *van*<sup>o</sup>): *pūṣṇo vaniṣṭhūḥ* TS. KSA. ('the *van*<sup>o</sup> is for Pūṣaṇ').—Similarly: *andhāhīn* (<sup>o</sup>he, <sup>o</sup>heh) *sthūlagudayā* (*sthūra*<sup>o</sup>, <sup>o</sup>gudā), and others, same texts.

#### 5. Transfer of epithet

§415. As usual we find in a number of cases that the shift between nom. and instr. is due to the transfer of an epithet from one person or thing to another. In most cases there is a variation in number or gender as well as case; we quote first those in which case alone varies: *evāvelayā* (VS. ŚB. <sup>o</sup>velā) *tanvā samvīśasva* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. In VS.

ŚB. the adjective, if as we believe (cf. §174) it is nom., agrees with the subject (*iṣṭakā*), in MS. KS. with *tanvā*.

*prātaryāvāṇo adhearam* RV. VS. TB.: *prātaryāvabhir adheare* SV. Pre-

ceded by: *śrudhi śrutkarna vahnībhīr, devair agne sayātvabhiḥ, ā śidantu* (SV. *śidatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB. adds *varuṇo*) *aryamā*. In the original *prātar*<sup>8</sup> agrees with the subject; in SV. it becomes an associative instr. attached to the subject, doubtless influenced by the instrumentals in the preceding.

*anuttāḥ carṣaṇīdhṛtīḥ* SV.: *anuttā carṣaṇīdhṛtā* RV. In RV. *carṣaṇīdhṛtā* is an epithet of doubtful reference (cf. Oldenberg, *Noten*, 1 p. 162, n. 1); in SV. it is transferred to the subject (*tvam* = Indra).

§416. In the rest there is variation in number or gender or both, as well as case:

*para devebhīr* (MS. <sup>o</sup>*bhyo*) *asurair* (MS. <sup>o</sup>*raṁ*) *yad asti* (TS. *asurair guhā yat*) RV, TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *para divā para enā prthivīyā*, except in MS. which has *para divaḥ para enā prthivīyāḥ* (abl. for instr.); MS. makes *devebhīr* over into *devebhyo* in accord with this, and since the meter does not permit *asurebhyo*, it transfers this word to the subject *yad*.

*ghnanto* (MS. ApŚ. *ghnatā*) *vṛtrāny aprati* AV. MS. KS. TS. ApŚ. Nom. goes with subject *vayam*, instr. with associative *indreṇa*.

*indreṇa sayujō* (AV. <sup>o</sup>*jā*) *vayam* AV. TS. ApŚ. 'We allied with Indra': 'we with Indra as ally.'

*indreṇa devīr* (MŚ. *devair*) *vīrudhah saṁvidānāḥ* TS. MŚ.

*ta ā vahanti* (MS. *taṁ vahante* [so p.p.]) *kavayah purastāt* TS. MS. TB.; *tad dharanti kavayah purastāt* KS. In MS. *taṁ* by attraction to preceding *svadhayā*; cf. VV 2 §342.

*udyan bhrājabhṛṣṭībhīr* (PG. <sup>o</sup>*bhrṣṭīr*) *indro marudbhīr asthāt*...SMB. PG. GG.

*śuddha* (SV. *śuldhair*) *āśīrvān mamattu* RV. SV. Preceded by *śuddhair ukthair vāyrdhvānsam*; to these instr. forms the SV. has assimilated *śuddha(h)* of RV.

*aganma mahā* (KS. *maho*) *namasā yaviṣṭham* RV. SV. MS. KS. AB. KB. TB. ApŚ. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'We have come with mighty homage (KS. mighty with homage) unto the youngest (Agni).' KS. apparently understands a nom. pl. with its *mahā*.

*abhīkhyā bhāṣā bṛhatā śuśukvaniḥ* RV.; *dr̥śe* (MS. *dr̥śā*) *ca bhāṣā bṛhatā śuśukvaniḥ* (KS. <sup>o</sup>*vabhiḥ*, MS. *śuśikmand*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In MS. *śu*<sup>o</sup> is made an epithet of *bhāṣā*. In KS. too the epithet no longer agrees with the subject (Agni). It is perhaps made coordinate with *bhāṣā*; or possibly it is meant to agree with *śuśastībhiḥ* in the following pāda (but in that case the form would be irregular since the latter word is fem.).



*ayāsā manasā dhṛtaḥ* ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ. *vayasā*) *kṛtaḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. Kauś.: *ayā san*† (MS. *ayāḥ san*, KS. *ayās san*, ms. *ayāsā*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS. *kṛtaḥ*, p.p. and KS. *kṛtaḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. Followed by:

*ayāsā havyam ūhiṣe* ApŚ. ApMB. HG.: *ayā san* (MS. ŚŚ. *ayāḥ san*, KS. *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. HG.: *ayā no yajñam vakāsi* KŚ. In the first of these two pādas, the instrs. are transferred to *manasā* from agreement with the subject (Agni); in the second they are attracted to the like construction by the preceding *ayāsā*.

*uruvyacasā dhāmnā patyamānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.: *uruvyacasāgnē dhāmnā patyamāne* AV. The AV. version is corrupt; by a false verse division *uru*<sup>o</sup> (originally epithet of the divine doors, *dvārah*) is transferred to *dhāmnā*. Ppp. agrees with the others.

*pāvakayā yāḥ* (TS. *pāvaka ā*) *citayantyaḥ kṛpā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The nom. in TS. is really due to phonetic alteration; cf. Oldenberg, *Prol.* 453, and VV 2 §343. But it is construable in agreement with the unexpressed subject of the verb *ruruca*.

*saṃjagmāno abibhyuṣā* RV. AV. SV. N.: *saṃjagmānā abibhyuṣiḥ* (MS. *arihṛtaḥ*) AV. MS. The instr. goes with a preceding *indreya*, the nom. with the *gāvaḥ* who are addressed. But the contexts are quite different, and the pādas in their original forms probably unrelated. We take it that AV. has a contamination of the MS. pāda with that of RV. etc.

§417. The following cases are also classed as 'transfers of epithet' as explained in §§15-6. They show in one form a true 'epithet', in the other sometimes a form of the same, sometimes a different word, not properly an epithet of anything but independently construed:

*acitibhīḥ cakṛmā yac cid āgaḥ* RV. MS. KS.: *avidvānsaś cakṛmā kac canāgaḥ* TS.

*apa dṛuhā* (AV. *druhāḥ*) *tanvan gūhamānā* RV. AV. The instr. of *man-*ner, virtually an adverb, of RV. becomes in AV. an epithet of the subject, a she-demon.

*harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣitā* (TB. *dhṛṣatā*) *marutoḥ* RV. TB. N.: *harṣamāṇā dhṛṣitāso marutvan* AV. In TB. the orig. nom. epithet becomes an adverbial instr. of a different but related stem.

*indrādhipatiḥ* (MS. KS. <sup>o</sup>*patyoiḥ*) *pīptād ato naḥ* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'O Indra, as overlord (with thy overlordship) . . .'

*vaiśvānaraḥ pavayān naḥ pavitraiḥ* TA.: *vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā mā punātu* AV. The TA. reading seems to be intended by Ppp. (Whitney on 6. 119. 3). 'May V. with purifiers (V. the purifier) purify us (me).'

*yena prajā* (MS. *ya imāḥ prajā*) *vīśvakarmā jajāna* (TS. *vyānāt*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In MS. *yaḥ* goes with *vīśvakarmā*. The original: 'by which V. produced creatures.'

*yenaīṣa bhūtas tiṣṭhaty* (MahānU. MuṇḍU. *bhūtais tiṣṭhate hy*) *antarātmā* TA. MahānU. MuṇḍU. (2. 1. 9). Deussen reads *bhūtas* in MahānU. but observes that a v. l. has *bhūtais* and that this is a better reading. The nom. is secondary and attracted to *antarātmā*. See also Deussen's note on the MuṇḍU. passage.

*tenā* (TS. *sā*) *no yajñam piprīḥ vīśvasāre* AV. TS. Nom. is secondary. *candro* (SV. *candair*) *yāti sabhām upa* RV. SV. Preceded by *śatrabhājā vayasā sacate sadā*. Apparently under the influence of the preceding instrumentals, tho not in agreement therewith, the nom. is changed into an associative instr. The 'shining ones' are soma-drops according to Benfey.

*prīyaḥ karīṇām mati* (SV. *matih*) RV. SV. In RV. *mati* is instr.: 'by the hymn of the seers.' In SV. it is anomalously made into an epithet of *indu*.

*sūyavasiniḥ manave* (RV. TA. *manuṣe*, KS. *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA. *daśasye*, TS. MS. KS. *yaśasye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The original *daśasyā* is instr. of stem *daśasyā*, 'benevolently'. TA.'s *daśasye* seems, like *yaśasye*, to be dual nom. fem. agreeing with the subject.

#### 6. Nom. of independent sentence and instr.

§418. Twice a dependent instr. of one form of the variant is paralleled in the other form by an independent sentence, with nom., which is however resumed by a pronominal instr. in the same construction as the nominal instr. of the variant form. See §33:

*gavā te kṛiṇāni* TS. ApŚ.: *iyam gaus tayā te kṛiṇāni* MŚ. 'With a cow let me buy of thee': 'here is a cow, with her. . .'

*etat te rudrāvasam tena* (VSK.† *etena rudrāvasena*) *paro mūjavato 'tīhi* VS. VSK. ŚB. 'This is thy food, O Rudra; with it depart. . .': 'with this food, O Rudra, depart. . .'

#### 7. Miscellaneous

§419. The remaining nom.-instr. variants are scarcely classifiable. They mostly involve various reconstructions of the material, in sense at least, and usually in form, extending far beyond the mere change in case-form.

*vī śloka etu* (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *pathera*) *sūreḥ* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, KS.† *sūraḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*) RV. AV.



VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. In RV. VS. ŚB. *pathyā* may be taken as nom., with Grassmann and Oldenberg: 'as the path of the *sūri*'. In all the others, at any rate, we have an instr.: 'like the lord on his path'. Cf. §284.

*gaṇair mā mā vi tīrṣṇata* MS.: *gaṇā me mā vi tīrṣṇa* VS. TS. ŚB.: *gaṇān me mā vi tīrṣṇa* (MŚ. °ṣat) TS. MŚ. See §§380, 459.

*ajānānam* (SV. °naḥ) *sapta mātaraḥ* (SV. *mātrbhiḥ*) RV. SV. Followed by *vedhām asāsata* (SV. *medhām āsā*°) *kriye*. 'The seven mothers instructed their holy child unto fortune': 'the child of seven mothers prayed to the wise one unto fortune.'

*yajñam hinwanti adribhiḥ* RV.: *yajñāya santv adrayaḥ* SV. Preceded by *taṁ duroṣam abhī naraḥ, somaṁ vītvācyā dhīyā*. In RV. *naraḥ* is subject of *hinwanti* and *somaṁ* its object. In SV. it seems that *naraḥ* must be taken with Benfey as voc., with no verb expressed, and that *pāda* o must be completely detached from the preceding. *tan nau saṁśananaṁ kṛtam* MG.: *tena saṁśaninau saṁśa* HG. 'That concord has been made for us': 'thereby we are concordant.'

*layā devāḥ sutaṁ ā babhūvuh* TS. KSA. TB.: *sā no asmin suta ā babhūva* VS. MS. 'Therewith the gods mastered the libation': 'it is present for us at this libation.' See Keith on TS. 4. 1. 2. 1, n. 6.

*prthivīm bhasmanāprṇa* (MS. KS. *bhasma*) *vedhā* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'Fill the earth with (thy) ashes.' In MS. KS. sc. *gachatu*: 'let (thy) ashes (go) to earth.'

*ya indreṇa saratham yāti devaḥ* AV.: *yenendrasya ratham sambabhūvuh* MS. KS. ApŚ.

*maṇḍūkyā su saṁ gamah* (TA. *gamaya*) RV.† TA.: *maṇḍūky apsu taṁ bhuvah* AV. (corrupt).

*āptam manah* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApŚ.: *āpāma manasā* VS. ŚB. 'Mind has been obtained': 'may we obtain by mind'. Ritualistic rignmarole.

*ārohātmatmānam* (MŚ. *ārohātmanātmānam*) *achā* TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Mount as self (with thy self) upon (my) self.' TB. Bibl. Ind. reads *ārohātyātmānam*, text and comm.; Poona ed. like the others. *mūrā* (SV. *mūrair*) *amūrāṁ purāṁ darmānam* RV. SV. Benfey: 'den durch Thoren unbethörten'. Obscure.

*taṁ devāḥ saṁ acikṣan* KS.: *taṁ devaḥ saṁ aṣṭanam* TS. The sense is radically altered. 'Him the gods have fashioned': 'her I have united with the gods.' Both preceded by *aṅgāny ahrutā yasya* (TS. *yasyai*).

*saṁ indro viśvadevebhīr aṅktām* VS. ŚB.: *saṁ indreṇa viśvebhīr devebhīr aṅktām* TB. ApŚ. In the latter the *barhis* is the subject.

*sam arjamaṁ sam bhago no nīniyati* RV. ApMB.; *sam bhagena sam aryamā* (followed by *sam dhātā ṛjatu varcasā*) AV. See Whitney on AV. 14. 1. 34, which doubtless understands *bhagena* and *arjamaṁ* as parallel with *varcasā*.

*kālena bhūtaṁ bhavyaṁ ca* AV.; *kāle ha bhūtaṁ bhavyaṁ ca* AV. vulgate, but by emend. for *kālo* of most mss., kept by SPP. *kālena* of the other form is also an emendation for *kāle ha*, which SPP. keeps. This last emendation seems justified and is supported by Ppp. (JAOS. 46. 37f.). In the other, while the loc. would be possible, there seems no reason to reject the well attested nom. form, which is adopted by Bloomfield and Whitney. The contexts are different tho related (found in the same hymn), and the variant could be called 'Phrase Inflection'.

[*krāṇā* (SV. *prāṇā*, AV. *prāṇāḥ*) *sindhūnām kalāśāṁ avīvaśat* (SV. AV. *acikradat*) RV. SV. AV. *krāṇā* is problematic; Oldenberg takes it with Lanman as instr.; see *RVRep.* 136 for a different view. In SV. we have a phonetic shift (VV 2 §152) which defies interpretation; in AV. an attempt at rationalization of SV., which is grammatical ('the breath of the rivers has made the jars resound') but silly.]



## CHAPTER XVI

### NOMINATIVE AND DATIVE

#### 1. Dative of purpose varying with nominative

§420. Since the dative of purpose often denotes something attributed to or desired for the logical subject of the sentence, it may vary with a nominative form, of the same or a related word. This nominative may be an epithet of the entity to which the dative of purpose relates, as in: *mandrā dhanasya sītaye* (KS. °*yah*) TS. MS. KS. TB. KŚ. MŚ. ŚG.

Waters are referred to. 'Fair ones, unto the winning of wealth': 'fair winnings of wealth'. All mss. of KS. agree on the form.

*pade-pade pākinah santi setavaḥ* (AV. °*re*) RV. AV. KS. ApŚ. 'On every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond).'

*agner apunann uśijo amṛtyavaḥ* RV.: *agner akrṇvann uśijo amṛtyave* MS.: *devā akrṇvann uśijo amartyave* ApŚ. In RV. *amṛtyavaḥ* is adj., 'immortal ones', agreeing with the subject; in MS. a noun, 'unto immortality', meaning about the same thing. ApŚ. doubtless intends the same meaning as MS.; cf. VV 2 §650.

*prajāvatir* (MŚ. °*varir*, v. l. °*vatir*) *yakaso* (MŚ. °*se*) *viśvarūpāḥ* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. In TB. ApŚ. *yakaso* is adjective: '(here come the cows) with many calves, renowned, varied in appearance.' In MŚ. *yakase* is evidently the noun, 'unto renown'; the ultimate meaning is substantially the same.

*ājyam uktham aryathāyai* (TS. *aryathayat*, KS. *aryathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS. °*notu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Comm. on TS. *tvām aryathayad vyathārahitaṁ kurvaṭ*, which is practically the meaning of the datives of purpose of the other texts.—The same with *prauḡam uktham*, *marutvatīyam u°*, *niṣkevalyam u°*, *vaiśvadevāgnimārule ukthe*.

*aso yathā no 'vītā vṛdhe ca* (SV. *vṛdhak cīt*) RV. SV. 'That thou mayst be our helper, and for (our) increase', RV. In SV. the dat. of purpose becomes a nom. of a nomen agentis, being assimilated to *avītā*: '...and (mayst be our) increaser.'

*ayam sahasram ā no dṛśe kavīnām matir jyotir vidharmaṇi* AV.: *ayam sahasram ānavo* (Benfey and Caland assume *sahasramānavo*) *dṛśaḥ kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ. °*mā*) SV. ApŚ. MŚ. Comm.

on SV, takes *drśāḥ* as nom. (= *draṣṭā*), 'seer' or 'eye'. If this be accepted the variant would belong here; *drśe* is a dat. (infinitive). But Caland apparently assumes an infinitive as meant in ApŚ. (perhaps abl.-gen. in form?).

*sajātānām madhyamaśthā edhī* (AV. *madhyameṣṭhāḥ*, MS. KS. *madhyameṣṭheyāya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *sajātānām madhyameṣṭhā yathāsāni* AV.

§421. Slightly different are a couple of cases in which the nom. form of the variant is the subject of an independent statement attributing the quality denoted to the person referred to:

*tava praśastayo mahīḥ* (SV. *prakaṣṭaye mahe*) RV. SV. Preceded by *tām tvā madāya ghrīvaye*, u *lokakṛtnum imahe*. In RV. our pāda is an independent statement: 'great are thy praisings.' In SV. it is assimilated to the datives of pāda a: 'unto great praising of thee.' *rāyaspoṣā* (MŚ. °*poṣāya*) *yajamānam viśantu* KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *imām devā ajuganta viśve*. 'Let increase of wealth dwell with the sacrificer.' In MŚ. the subject *devāḥ* of the preceding clause holds over: 'let them (the gods) dwell with the sacrificer unto increase of wealth.' The psychological difference between such variants and those of the preceding paragraph is slight, since the gods are logically the subject even in the reading of KS. ApŚ.; it is thru them that the desired result is expected. Cf. *rāyaspoṣā yajamānam sacantām*, in a similar context, for which one ms. of MŚ. also reads *rāyaspoṣāya*. Such variants remind us of the quite similar use of the associative instrumental in variation with the nominative, §412.

*ā yāhīma indavaḥ* RV. AŚ.: *ā yāhy ayam indave* SV. This clearly belongs here, even tho the dative of SV. may not be quite properly described as one of purpose. 'Come! Here are the soma-drops': 'come, thou here, to (for) the soma.'

§422. We may record here a variant in which the logical object of an infinitive is in the original version nom., subject of a nominal clause (copula 'understood'), while in the secondary version it is assimilated to the dative infinitive, in accordance with familiar usage (cf. Delbrück, *AIS.* 89, where it is suggested that 'case-attraction' does not properly describe this dative):

*mayah patibhyo janayah* (AV. °*ye*) *pariṣvaje* RV. AV. ApMB. 'A joy to husbands (are) wives to embrace': 'a joy to husbands (it is) to embrace a wife.'



§423. In the only other variant involving this dative 'object' of a dative infinitive, the nominative form is attracted to agreement with a preceding nominative (in a relative clause):

*brahmadviṣe* (RV. also *°dviṣaḥ*) *śarave hantavā u* RV. (both) AV. The nom. form is preceded by *tapurmūrīhā tapatu rakṣaso ye*: 'may he whose head is flame burn those (that are) brahman-hating ogres, so that his arrow may slay (them).' See *RVRep.* on 10. 125. 6.

## 2. Dative varies with nom. of secondary adjective in dedications

§424. In dedicatory expressions (cf. §126), the deity may be expressed either by the dative or by the nominative of a secondary adjective; these variants resemble some of those quoted above in §420, except that the dative is not one of purpose:

*kapota* (MS. *°tā*) *ulūkāḥ śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TA. KSA. *nairṛtāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. 'These are for Nirṛti (Nirṛti's).'

*vāyusavilṛbhyaṁ āgomugbhyaṁ payaḥ* MS.: *vāyosāvitṛ āge° caruḥ* TS. KSA. P.p. of TS. *vāyosāvitṛaḥ*. On the formation see VV 2 §716. *ātir* (TS. KSA. *ātī*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

## 3. Dative varying with nominative of independent statement

§425. Like other cases (cf. §§32-8), a dative may be replaced by a nominative of independent statement, or vice versa:

*tasmā etan bharata tadvakāya* (and, *tadvaśo dadīḥ*) RV. (both). 'Bring this to him who desires it': 'bring this to him—he desires it and is generous.'

§426. Elsewhere the independent nominative is thrown into a relative clause, and is resumed by a dative of a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause:

*agninetrebhyo devebhyah purahsadbhyah svāhā* VS. ŚB.: *ye devā agninetṛāḥ purahsadas tebhyah svāhā* VS. ŚB.: *ye devāḥ purahsado agninetṛā* (KS. 'gni°) *rakṣohanaḥ . . . tebhyah svāhā* MS. KS.: *ye devāḥ purahsado 'gninetṛā . . . tebhyo namas tebhyah svāhā* TS. Others similar (VS. 9. 35-6, MS. 2. 6. 3, KS. 15. 2).

*namo vaḥ pitaro ghorāya* (VSK. adds *manyave*) VS. VSK. TS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG.: *namo vaḥ pitaro yad ghoratṛ tasmai* AV. MS. And, in same passage: *namo vaḥ pitaro jitrāya* VS. TS. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. GG. KhG.: *namo vaḥ pitaro yaj jitratṛ tasmai* VSK. MS. Note the difference in phraseology in VSK.

## 4. Phrase inflection

§427. There are a few cases of repetition of a whole clause or pāda in a different context, requiring shift of case between nom. and dat.; in short, of what we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2):

*patir* (VS. ŚB. *patye*) *viśvasya bhūmanah* RV. SV. VS. KS. ŚB. Followed in RV. SV. KS. by *vy akhyat rodasā ubhe*, in VS. ŚB. by *juhomi viśvakarmaṇe*.

*sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV.: *sahasrākṣo amartyaḥ* AV. Preceded respectively by *namas te rudra kṛṇmah*, and *anyatrāśman ny ucyata*.

*prāci dig agnir adhipatir asito rakṣitādityā iṣavaḥ* AV.: *prācyai tvā diśe 'gnaye 'dhipataye 'eitāya rakṣitra ādityāyeṣumate* AV. The first is followed by *tebhyo namo 'dhipatibhyas* etc., the second by *etam pari dadmah*. Similar variants in the five following verses; see Conc. under *dakṣiṇāyai tvā* . . . , *prāciyai tvā* . . . , *udciyai tvā* . . . , *dhruvāyai tvā* . . . , *ūrdhvāyai tvā* . . .

*janāya vṛkṭabarhiṣe* RV.: *janāso vṛkṭabarhiṣaḥ* RV. Different contexts. *stotāra indra girvaṇaḥ* RV. SV.: *stotrbhya indra girvaṇaḥ* RV. The nom. is preceded by *vayam ghā te api ṣmasi*, the dat. by *yad dītsasi stuto magham*.

## 5. Transfer of epithet

§428. The general nature of such variants differs in no wise from those concerning other cases (§14). We quote first those which show shift in case alone, not in number or gender. But it must be noted that not one of them is quite strictly a case of typical 'transfer of epithet'. In the first three an original dative of independent construction, not an 'epithet' of any other word, is attracted into agreement with the subject in a secondary text. In the fourth the dative (probably secondary) also does not agree syntactically with any expressed noun or pronoun. Cf. §15.

*tasmā u brahmaṇas patih* RV. KS.: *ayanī ca brahmaṇas patih* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. Preceded by *tasmai somo (devā) adhi bravat (bruvan)*. The pronoun is transferred from the recipient of blessing to the god: 'And him (may) Brahmaṇaspati (bless)': 'and (may) B. here (bless him).'

*juṣṭo vācaspataye* (MS. °*patih*, KB. ŚŚ. °*pateḥ*, TB. °*patyuh*) TS. MS. KB. GB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KS. In all preceded by *juṣṭo vāco (vāce) bhūyāsam*. 'May I be pleasing to speech, pleasing to the lord of speech': in MS., 'may I be pleasing to speech, (may I be) a pleasing lord of speech.'



*iyam te rāṇ mitrāya* (KS. *mitro*) *yantāsi tṛyamanah* VS. KS. ŚB. 'Thou art a guiding controller for thy friend (KS., a guiding friendly controller).' We suspect that KS. is secondary, since it has what looks like form-assimilation to the following noms.

*pitarah pitāmahāḥ pare vare* (KS. *varebhyas*) *te nah pāntu* (MS. omits *te nah p°*) *te na vantu* TS. MS. KS. 'Let the fathers. . . the earlier and the later, guard us. . .' In KS. *avarebhyas* is made to refer to the petitioners: 'Let the fathers, the earlier ones, for (us) the later ones, guard us. . .' Note however that we should expect an acc. agreeing with the following *nah*.

§429. Transfers of epithet involving change of gender or number as well as case are:

*suprāḍye* (AV. *°vyā*) *yajamānāya sunvate* RV. AV. Preceded by *aham dadhāmi draviṇam* (AV. *°nā*) *havismate*. RV. makes *su°* go with *yaja° sunvate*: 'I (Vāc) give riches to the giver of oblations, to the zealous sacrificer who presses the soma.' Whitney adopts the RV. reading following the AV. comm. and one ms., but notes that AVPr. 4. 11 proves that the Atharvan reading was *suprāḍyā*. It may be taken either as acc. pl. neut. with *draviṇā*, or better as nom. sg. fem. with the subject. In any case it must be derived not from the stem *suprāvī* but from its equivalent *suprāḍyā* (RV.).

*śrīṇamrudā yuvatī* (AV. *°mradāḥ prthivī*) *dakṣiṇāvate* (TA. *°vati*) RV. AV. TA. 'The maiden (earth; this is what RV. TA. also mean) soft as wool to him that gives *dakṣiṇā*'; in TA. the epithet 'possessed of *dakṣiṇā*' is applied to the earth, doubtless implying 'bounteous'. *vaiśvānarāya matir naryasī* (ArS. *°se*) *śuciḥ* RV. ArS. In ArS. the epithet is transferred from *matir* to *vaiśvā*.

*te asmā* (KS. *°sma*) *agnaye* (ApS. and v. l. of MS. *°yo*) *draviṇam* (KS. *°nāni*) *dattvā* MS. KS. ApS. 'They, giving wealth to this Agni: 'these Agnis, giving wealth to him (the sacrificer).' The subject *te* refers to Agnis just mentioned; hence the secondary *agnaye* by attraction.

*nābhā samdāyi naryasī* (SV. *°dāya naryase*) RV. SV. Preceded by *yad dha krāṇā vivarvati* (SV. *°te*). In RV. *naryasī* agrees with the subject of *samdāyi* (Oldenberg understands *nābhīḥ*); in SV. with *vivarvate*. The stanza is somewhat problematic in both.

§430. Only one form of the variant shows a proper 'epithet' in the following; in the other appears a word of independent construction (in one case with change of meaning, a nomen actionis instead of an adjective). Cf. §15.

*āre te goḥnam uta pārūṣaḥnam* RV.: *ārāt te goḥna uta pārūṣaḥne* TS.

See under *kṣayadvāra* (TS. °*vīrāya*) *sumnam asme te datu* (which follows this), §359. 'Far off be thy cattle-killing, and thy man-killing' (RV.). In TS. the nomina actionis are made adjectives going with *te* (Rudra).

*rāyas poṣaṁ cikituṣe* (AV. °*ṣī*) *dadātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. 'Let her (Kuhū), the wise, grant increase of wealth': 'let her grant... to the wise.' Possibly the dative is secondarily attracted into parallelism with *dātūse* of the preceding pāda (in Ppp. and all others but not in AVŚ., which has a quite different pāda *o*).

*rātri* (KS. v. l. *rātriḥ*, TB. *rātri*) *stomaṁ na jigyuṣe* (KS.† TB. °*ṣī*) RV. KS. TB. The epithet (in RV. referring to some unspecified 'conqueror') is transferred to Night.

#### 6. Miscellaneous

§431. The remaining nominative-dative variants are unclassifiable:

*ādityāḥ* (MS. °*yebhyas*) *tvā prabr̥hantu* (MS. *prasr̥hāmi*) *jāgatena chandasa* TS. MS. 'Let the Ādityas pluck thee forth...': 'I pluck thee forth for the Ādityas...'

*yathainam jarasē nayat* AV.: *athainam jarimā nayet* HG. The latter is evidently poor; perhaps 'then may old age lead him'? Or is it felt as *jarim ānayet*, as if involving a stem \**jari*? Note lingual *ṇ* in *nayet*!

*īyaṁ* (AV. MS. *yā*) *teṣāṁ avayā durīṣṭyai* (AV. MS. *durīṣṭih*) AV. TS. MS. Followed by *aviṣṭih naḥ tāṁ* (AV. wrongly *tān*) *kṛṇotu* (AV. *kṛṇavad*) *vikrakarmā* (MS. *vi*° *kṛṇotu*). Ppp. has *yā. durīṣṭā*, *aviṣṭam tad vi*° *kṛ*°. TS.: 'this is their expiatory sacrifice for a vitiated sacrifice; may V. make it for us a perfect sacrifice.' AV. MS. could apparently only mean: 'that expiatory sacrifice of theirs which is a vitiated sacrifice, may V. make it...'. This does not fit the requirements; it seems to be due to some sort of misunderstanding or corruption. Whitney emends to *durīṣṭeh*. Ppp. *durīṣṭā* might be interpreted as a loc. of *durīṣṭi*, 'in case of an imperfect sacrifice'; conceivably this might have been the middle stage which (misunderstood as nom. sg. fem. of *durīṣṭā*) led to the further change to *durīṣṭih*.

*yathā prthivyaṁ agnaye samanamann evā mahyaṁ saṁnamah saṁ namantu* AV.: *yathāgniḥ prthivyā samanamad evam mahyaṁ bhadrāḥ saṁnatayajāḥ saṁnamantu* TS. KS.† 5. 20. And others in the same passage.



*vāk patanḡḡya dhīyate* (TS. *śīśriye*, MS. *hūyate*) RV. AV. SV. ArS. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *vāk patanḡḡo aśīśriyat* (KS. *\*gā aśīśrayuh*) AV. KS. The verse is desperately obscure; we can contribute nothing to its elucidation.

*eka eva rudro 'va tathā na dvitīyah* N.: *eka eva rudro* (ŚvetU. *eko hi ru\**, ŚirasU. *eko ru\**) *na dvitīyāya tathā* (ŚvetU. *tasthuh*, ŚirasU. *tasmai*, but Poona ed. with comm. *tasthau*) TS. ApS. ŚvetU. ŚirasU. In N. 'one only is Rudra, there is no second existent'; in the others, 'one is Rudra, he does not (or they, indefinite, do not) tolerate ('stand for', Hume) a second.' Add to VV 1 §§76, 359.

[*kanyakumāryai* (TA. *\*māri*, Poona ed. *\*māri*) *dhīmahi* TA. MahānU. See §361.]

[*jyeshthāya* (ŚŚ. *jyeshtho*) *yad apracetāh* AV. ŚŚ. But AV. mss. *jyeshtho*.]

## CHAPTER XVII

### NOMINATIVE AND ABLATIVE OR GENITIVE

#### A. Nominative and ablative

##### 1. Ablative of source and subject nominative (passive : active)

§432. Variations between these two cases are few and scattering. Rarely do they fall into typical pattern-groups, and yet more rarely do they illustrate typical syntactic relations of the two cases. In the following an ablative of source with passive forms of the root *jan* 'beget, bear' varies with subject nominative of an active form of the same root. The two expressions are virtual equivalents, and the variation is of the same sort as the much commoner shift between instrumental and nominative with passive and active verbs (cf. §40):

*ayam vai tvām ajanayad. . ŚŚ. : aśmād vai tvam ajāyathā. . JB, AG.*

*Kauś. : aśmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si VS. ŚB, TA, KŚ, Karmap. 'He has begotten thee': 'thou wast produced from him.'*

##### 2. Independent nominative and dependent ablative

§433. The variants found here belong to §§32-8. In the first the relative pronoun justifies construction of the nom. as independent, tho it is really equivalent in sense to the dependent abl., cf. §32, end. This meaning is probably more likely to be right than the alternative interpretation which would make the nom. correlative with the subject of *chumbhantu*, a construction impossible in the locative form of the variant. Cf. §§450, 669.

*(āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu) agneh samkasukāc ca yat (Ppp. agnih samkumkāc ca yah) AV. Ppp. : (sise mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam) agnau samkasuke ca yat (Ppp. as before) AV. Ppp. 'May the waters purify me from that and (from) (him who is) Agni S.'*

*viṣṇo (viṣṇoh, viṣṇos) sthānam asi (MS. MŚ. sthāmāsi, KŚ. sthāmanah) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB, TB. ApŚ, MŚ. In KS. construed with the following, ita indro vīryam akr̥not. According to ApŚ, also the two are connected in sense; see Keith, HOS. 18 p. 14 n. 2.*



## 3. Phrase inflection

§434. We have noted only one variant which seems to belong to this category (cf. §§21-2), in that a pāda is repeated in a different context which requires change of construction of the noun:

*pāpebhyāś ca pratigrahaś* (RVKh. °hāt) RVKh. TA. MahānU. BDh.

The contexts are different tho similar.

## 4. Transfer of epithet

§435. This occurs a few times; in some instances, as usual, number or gender varies along with case:

*pra skannāḥ* (KS. *skannam*, v. l. °nāḥ) *jāyatām hariḥ* KS. KŚ. ApŚ.

Probably the abl. is original: 'let oblation be born from the (part of the offering that has) fallen (on the ground).' If KS. really intends a nom., it would agree with *hariḥ*: 'let the oblation that has fallen be born.'

*ud asya śuśmād bhānuḥ nārta* (MS. *bhānuḥ nāryāḥ*) RV. MS. TA. ApŚ.

In the original *bhānu* is applied in the simile to Agni, subject of the verb. In MS. it seems to apply to *śuśmād*. (Understand doubtless *na anyāḥ*, despite p.p. which does not divide.)

*pāpāt* (KŚ. *pāpāḥ*) *svapnyād* (KŚ. °nād) *abhātyāḥ* (KŚ. °yat) AV. KŚ.

Preceded by *paryāvarṣe duḥsvapnyāt*. In KŚ. *pāpa* seems to be transferred to the subject.

*apahato 'raruḥ pṛthivyā adevayajanaḥ* (*pṛthivyai devayajanyai*) TS. ApŚ.

(both in each). The epithet is (altered and) transferred from *araru* to *pṛthivi*, or vice versa.

§436. In another case the original, and perhaps only correct, form of the variant shows an ablative which is independently construed, while the nominative form (if textually sound) is attracted into agreement with the subject. Cf. §15.

*parāṃyātāḥ* (TA. °mptāt) *parimucyanti sarve* TA. MahānU. MuṇḍU.

KaivU. The ablative seems to be original, and is read by Deussen in MahānU., and by the Poona ed. (*Upaniṣadāṃ Samuccayaḥ*) in KaivU. Deussen understands 'the immortal' from which 'all are freed' as *prakṛti*, 'material nature'. If the nom. is read it would apply to the subject in a pregnant sense: '(so as to be) immortal.'

## 5. Miscellaneous

§437. The rest are unclassifiable; some are under suspicion of corruption:

*adbhyaḥ sambhṛtaḥ* (TA. ApŚ. *sambhūtaḥ*) *pṛthivyai* (KS.† MS. °vyā)

- rasāc ca* (KS. *rasah*) VS. KS. MS. TA. ApŚ. Followed by *visvakar-*  
*maṇaḥ samavartatādhi* (VS. \**tāgre*). Comm. on VS. supplies *yo*  
*rasaḥ* as subject; the KS. reading is doubtless secondary (certainly  
 unmetrical), and seems to have been suggested by a like under-  
 standing of the passage. In fact, however, the original subject  
 must have been the *puruṣa*, understood from the original context.
- gārhapatyah* (ŚŚ. \**īyāt*) *prajāyā* (VSK. *prajāvān*) *vasuvittamah* VS. VSK.  
 ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Preceded by *ayam agniḥ gṛhapatīḥ*. Original: 'he,  
 Agni Gārhapatya, is the house-lord, most liberal in good things to  
 our offspring.' ŚŚ. seems to mean: 'he, Agni, is house-lord, most  
 liberal dispenser of good things from the gārhapatya-fire to our  
 offspring.' This is barely intelligible.
- madhu reto* (KS. *madhur ato*, TS. *madhor ato*) *mādhavaḥ pāte asmān*  
 TS. MS. KS. AŚ. KS. has the simplest and, in this case, probably  
 the original reading: 'let Madhu and Mādhava (the two spring  
 months) protect me.' TS.: 'let Mādhava protect us after (or,  
 from) Madhu.' MS. AŚ. seem likely to contain a corruption; MS.  
 p.p. *madhuḥ, aṁtaḥ*, pointing towards the KS. reading. As it stands  
 the reading may be rendered: 'let the sweet seed and Mādhava  
 protect us', or 'let Mādhava protect the sweet seed and us'. Either  
 is bathetic, but perhaps no worse than many Yajus passages.
- nakṣatrāṇāṁ sakāśān mā yausaṁ* MS.: *nakṣatrāṇāṁ mā samkāśāś ca*  
*pratikāśāś cācatām* Vait. Kauś. 'May I not be cut off from the  
 presence of the nakṣatras': 'may the presence and the gleam of the  
 nakṣatras aid me.'
- satyā tā dharmaṇas paṭi* ApŚ.: *satyād ā (satyādā?) dharmaṇas paṭi* (ŚŚ.  
*dharmaṇā*, Vait. MŚ. *dharmaṇas* [but MŚ. *uss. dharmaṇā*] *pari*) AŚ.  
 ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ. See VV 2 §65.
- apāraram adevayajanaṁ pṛthivyaṁ jdevayajanaṁ* (ApŚ. *adevayajano*) *jahi*  
 KS. ApŚ. Caland would read *adevayajanaṁ* (acc. pl. masc.) in  
 both. We too find ApŚ. uninterpretable, since *adevayajano* can  
 scarcely fit the subject of *jahi*. But KS. could mean: 'Smite away  
 Araru, that sacrifices not to the gods, from the earth, from the  
 sacrifice to the gods.' Caland, like the Conc., misquotes KS. as  
*adevayajanaṁ*.
- mṛtyur* (!) *me pāhi* TAA.: *mṛtyor mā pāhi* TS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. Comm.  
 on TAA. says that *mṛtyur* is for *mṛtyor*, *vṛatyayena*. The variant  
 should doubtless be added to VV 2 §716.
- satyā cām* (AŚ. *etā*) *āhiṣaḥ santu kāmāḥ* (ApMB. HG. *kāmaḥ*, SMB.  
 Jørgensen *kāmāḥ*, one ms. *kāmāt*; AG. *santu sarve*, VS. *samnaman-*



tām) VS. VSK. AG. SMB. Kauś. ApMB. HG. See §412. The abl. could mean 'according to their desire', like the instr.

### B. Nominative and genitive

#### 1. Partitive genitive and nominative

§438. First among the nominative-genitive variants may be put a group of cases where the two forms are virtual synonyms. Namely: in one form is used a partitive genitive (almost appositional at times), depending on a nominative, while in the other the two words are both nominatives, in syntactic agreement. (See §84.) Most simply this appears in formulaic lists such as *dakṣiṇā* (and *prāci*, *ūrdho*, *pratīci*, *udici*) *dik*, 'the southern (etc.) quarter', AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. Besides this list, TS. also has one with the variant *dīkām* in each case: 'the southern (etc.) one of the quarters.' Quite similarly in a list of the seasons, VS. MS. KS. ŚB. have *vasanta* (and *grīṣma*, *varṣā*, *śarad*) *ṛtuh*, and *hemantakṣīrār* (°rā) *ṛtū*, 'the spring (etc.) season', while TS. in each instance reads *ṛtūnām*, 'the spring (etc.) of the seasons.'

§439. Less formulaic, but of the same character, are the following:

*subhūr asi* (ŚŚ. *subhūr nāmāsi*) *śreṣṭho rakmir*... PB. ŚŚ.: *subhūr asi śreṣṭho rakminām*... TS. ApŚ.: *swayambhūr asi śreṣṭho rakmiḥ*...

VS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MŚ. 'The best ray': 'the best of rays'.

*yathāmī* (RVKh. *yathāmiṣām*, AV. *yathaiṣām*, SV. *yathaiteṣām*) *anyo anyam na jānan* (KVKh. AV. SV. *jānāt*) RVKh. AV. SV. VS. 'That those may not know the one the other': 'that of those one may not know the other'.

*trivṛd bhuvanam yad rathavṛt* KS.†: *trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB. ApŚ. *yad bhuvanasya* must mean the same as *bhuvanam yad*, 'what land'.

*yā* (TS. *yeṣām*) *tisraḥ prathamajāḥ* (TS. KS. TA. *paramajāḥ*) TS. MS. KS. TA. In TS. preceded by *ye grahāḥ pañcajanināḥ*: 'what cups pertain to the five peoples (i.e. are five in number, cf. Keith's note), of which three are first-born'... Followed by *teṣām (tāsām)*... *iṣam ūrjāṁ sam agraḥkṣm*. The other texts vary considerably, and do not mention the number 'five'. On the fem. gender see §835.

*amṛtasya nidhīr hitaḥ* RV. TB. TA.: *amṛtam nihitam guhā* SV. Preceded by *yad ado vāta te grhe*. 'What store of nectar is placed in thy house': 'what nectar is placed in secret in thy house.'

*mitraḥ satyānām* (VS. ŚB. *satyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG. Parallel formulas have gen. even in VS. It is not certain that they are partitives; cf. *mitra satyānām pale* (°nām *adhīpale*) TB. ŚŚ. (in different contexts, to be sure).

Here we place also the following, tho the TS. is poor and less close in meaning to the original:

*yad enaś cakṛvān baddha tṛṣa* AV.: *ena mahac cakṛvān baddha tṛṣa* MS.: *enaś cakṛvān mahi baddha tṛṣm* TS. The last seems to mean 'the one of them who, having committed a great sin, is bound'; otherwise Keith. Undoubtedly *tṛṣa* is the proper form.

## 2. Possessive or descriptive genitive and nominative

§440. Not very different from these are a group in which the genitive is no longer partitive but rather descriptive or possessive, and so substantially equivalent to a nominative epithet of the subject, which may vary with it (cf. §85):

*vṛṣāsy ūrmih* TS. TB.: *vṛṣormir asi* MS. KS. MŚ.: *vṛṣṇa ūrmir asi rāṣṭradh* VS. ŚB. 'Thou art a bull-wave (a bull's wave)...'

*martānām* (AV. *martāsaś*) *cid urvaśir akṛpran* RV. AV. 'Even of (or, for) mortals *Urvaśis* (even mortal *Urvaśis*) have been fashioned.'

See Bloomfield, *JAOS.* 20, 183.

*pratiṣṭhe stho devate* (MG. *devate dyāvāprthivi*, ApMB. *devatānām*) *mā mā samtāptam* HG. ApMB. MG. 'You (a pair of shoes) are standing-places, deities (of the deities)...'

*mā no rakṣo abhi naḍ yātumāvatām* (AV. *\*māvat*) RV. AV. The variation accompanies a change in the meaning of *rakṣas* (abstract in RV., but in AV. used in its later concrete sense): 'Let not the injury of the sorcerous ones (the sorcerous ogre, *rakṣas*) get at us.'

*apāni sakṣā* (GB. *yonih*) *prathamajā rtāvā* (GB. *rtasya*) RV. GB. Here the nom. of an adjective derivative varies with a genitive: 'first-born, *ṛta*-full' or 'first-born of the *ṛta*'. GB. quite naturally falls into the familiar rigmarole expression *prathamajā rtasya* instead of the RV. phrase, which is more recherché; so much so, indeed, that Grassmann was moved to suggest that *rtasya* should be read for *rtāvā* in the two places where the phrase occurs.

§441. In a different way the two variants result in the same meaning when the possessive genitive with an abstract noun varies with a nominative plus the nominative of a corresponding concrete, in predicate relationship:

*yavāś cāyavāś cādhipataya āsan* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āsīt* TS. 'The Y. and A. were overlords': 'the overlordship belonged to the Y. and A.'

*ta* (MS. *ta u*) *evādhipataya āsan* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *teṣām ādhipatyam āsīt* TS. 'These same were overlords': 'theirs was the overlordship.'



§442. In the remaining cases there is a more substantial difference of meaning between the two forms of the variant. Still fairly close to each other, and hence to be mentioned next, are a few cases in which the genitive depends upon a word which, in the other form, is a complementary subject or predicate, parallel with the nominative which replaces the genitive:

*yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG. *riṣat*, mss. mostly *riṣak*) PG. MG.: *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS. 'Let glory and fortune find me', PG., doubtless original. ArS. makes *yaśo* object, and *bhagaś ca* is then changed (with phonetic shift, VV 2 §189) to a gen.: 'let him find glory of fortune'. The real sense, in spite of all this, is not very different.

*parimāṇaṁ yajamānaṁ rāyo manuṣyāṇāṁ* VS. ŚB.: *parimāṇaṁ rāyas poṣo yajamānaṁ manuṣyāṇāṁ* TS.: *parimāṇaṁ yajamānaṁ manuṣyāṇāṁ saha rāyas poṣena prajāyā ca vyayanātmā* MS.: *parimāṇaṁ rāyo manuṣyam* KS. Only the relations of VS. and TS. concern us here (for MS. see §412, for KS. §402). The former: 'riches (subject) of humans'. The latter: 'increase of riches (and) humans' (both subjects; §402).

*āpah prajāpatir yajñō* (ApŚ. *prajāpatēḥ prāṇā*) *yajñasya bheṣajam aśi* (ApŚ. omits *aśi*) KŚ. ApŚ. 'Thou art the waters, Prajāpati, sacrifice, . . .': 'the waters are Prajāpati's life-breaths. . .'. Here ApŚ. substitutes a different word for the correlative nominative in its extensive reconstruction.

*ahorātrayor vṛtyā* (VS. *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭhīre*, MS. *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭhīre*) *bṛhadrathamātare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS.† *kalpanām*) VS. TS. MS. In all preceded by a long list of noms., parallel subjects of the verb. By a clearly secondary distortion (with phonetic aspects, VV 2 §§803, 840) TS. allows a discordant phrase to intrude, changing the following word to a different one. Original: 'May . . . the vrata, day and night, thighs and knees, the Bṛhat and Rathamātarā sāmāns, prosper for me thru the sacrifice.' TS.: 'May . . . the vrata by the rain of day and night, the Bṛhat' etc.

§443. Such cases shade off into a rather miscellaneous group in which the genitive (possessive or vaguely descriptive) no longer depends on the nominative with which, in the other form of the variant, the other nominative (replacing the genitive) is somehow correlated. The only connecting link in this group is this: of two nominatives, correlative subjects or subject and predicate, in one form of the variant, one is replaced in the other form by a genitive dependent on some other word than the remaining nominative. Thus:

*[dyutānas (MS. KS. nīlānas) tvā māruto minotu (MS. KS. nihantu)]*

*mitravarunau* (TS. KS. °*varuṇayor*) *dhruveṇa dharmanā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: [*varuṇas teḍa dhṛtavarato dhūpayatu* (TA. °*eratu ādhūpayatu*)] *mitravarunau* (TA. °*varuṇayor*) *dhru° dhar°* MS. TA. [Conc. fails to divide these sentences properly.] 'Let Dyutāna (Nītāna) ... fix thee (or the like), (and) Mitra-Varuṇa with firm ordinance (or, with the firm ordinance of M-V.).'

*vi śloka etu* (eti, *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*) *sūreḥ* (*sūriḥ*, *sūrah*, *sūrāḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. See §419.

*agnir hotā vetu* (ŚB. and TB. Poona ed. *vette*) *agnir* (ŚB. AŚ. *agner*) *hotraṁ vetu* (*vettu*) *prāvitraṁ* ... ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Let Agni the hotar enjoy (know); let Agni enjoy (know) the office of hotar...'; 'let Agni the hotar enjoy (know) Agni's office of hotar...'

*daive vede ca gāthīnām* (ŚŚ. °*nāḥ*) AB. ŚŚ. Preceded by *adhīyata* (ŚŚ. °*to*) *devarāto, rikthayor ubhayor ṛṣiḥ, jahnūnām cādhipatyē* (ŚŚ. *cādhitasthīre*). See Keith, *HOS*. 25. 308 n. 8. In ŚŚ. what was originally possessive gen. ('and in the divine sacred lore of the Gāthīn[a]s') is turned into a complementary subject.

*pitaro nārāśaṁsāḥ sannaḥ* (VSK. *śādyamānaḥ*) VS. VSK.: *pitaro nārāśaṁsāḥ* KS.: *pitṛnām nārāśaṁsāḥ* TS. Soma is referred to; it is 'when settled, the Nārāśaṁsa fathers' (VS. VSK.); 'the fathers, as Nārāśaṁsa' (KS.); 'Nārāśaṁsa, as belonging to the fathers' (TS.). All are banal rubbish without intelligent sense.

*vāyuh pūtaḥ pavitrena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.: *vāyoh* ... AV. VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. Kauś. The contexts are the same; *pūtoḥ* applies to Soma, with which in the first variant (doubtless original) Vāyu is identified: 'Soma, (who is) Vāyu, purified by the strainer.' The other reading looks like a rationalizing lect. fac.; it turns *vāyuh* into a gen., 'purified by Vāyu's strainer.'

§444. Sometimes this change of case-form seems to be due to formal attraction to the case of an adjoining word:

*śivā no astē adīter* (TS. KS. °*tir*) *upasthe* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. *adīter upasthe* is a standard cadence (see e.g. *RVRep.* 659), and *upasthe* without a dependent gen. is scarcely conceivable. The orig. must have meant 'may she (the Viṣṇupatnī referred to in a preceding pāda) be favorable to us in the lap of Aditi.' In TS. KS. there is felt to be need of a specific name of the deity referred to by the preceding series of nom. epithets; hence *adīter* is substituted for *adīter*, by a sort of case attraction.

*yena dhātā bṛhaspatēḥ* (ŚG. °*tīḥ*) VSK. AG. (1. 17. 12a) ŚG.: *yena pūṣā bṛhaspatēḥ* SMB. GG. ApMB. HG. MG. Followed by *indrasya*



*cārapac chirah*; the *ca* here confirms the obvious secondariness of ŚG., which clearly has assimilated *brhaspateḥ* to the case of *dhātā*. *mātā* (MS. *mātur*) *mātari mātā* MS. KS. ApŚ. Preceded by *prthivi prthivyām āida*, with which the first *mātā* doubtless goes in sense: 'Earth, sit on earth as mother, mother on mother.' In MS.: 'Earth, sit on earth, mother on mother's mother.' If MS. is original, the other form may have assimilated *mātur* to *mātā*; but anything is possible in such rigmuddle.

*cakṣur yad eṣāṁ manasaś ca satyam* AV.: *cakṣuṣa eṣāṁ manasaś ca samdhau* TS. *cakṣuṣa* in TS.'s lect. fav. may be partly due to formal assimilation to *manasaś*.

*dyumattamā supratikasya sūnoḥ* (AV. *supratikaḥ sasūnoḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The gen. of the YV. texts agrees with the preceding *agneḥ*. In AV. (but not in Ppp., which agrees with the rest) a closer connection is sought with the following nouns. (*tanūnapāt* etc.), beginning a new sentence and also referring to Agni. See Whitney on 5. 27. 1.

### 3. Independent nominative varying with dependent genitive

§445. As with other cases (§§32-8), so with the genitive, a nominative out of syntactic relation (generally as subject or predicate of a separate nominal sentence) may vary with another case in dependent relationship of any kind. Where the nominative occurs, it is generally, but not always, resumed by a genitive pronoun referring to it. Thus:

*agner ahaṁ sviṣṭakṛto devayajyayāyuhḥ pratiṣṭhān gameyam* KS.: *agneḥ sviṣṭakṛto 'haṁ devayajyayāyusmān yajñena pratiṣṭhān gameyam* TS.: *agnihḥ sviṣṭakṛd yajñasya pratiṣṭhā tasyāhaṁ devayajyayā yajñena pratiṣṭhān gameyam* MŚ. Note *tasya* in MŚ., resuming *agnihḥ*.

*agnīṣomayor ahaṁ devayajyayā cakṣuṣmān* (and, *vṛtrahā*) *bhūyāsam* TS. ApŚ.: *agnīṣomau vṛtrahanau tayor* (MŚ. *vṛtrahanāy agnīṣomayor*) *ahaṁ devayajyayā vṛtrahā bhūyāsam* KS. MŚ.

*somasāhaṁ devayajyayā...reto dhiṣṭya (dhe°)* TS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *somo retodhās tasyāhaṁ devayajyayā...reto dhiṣṭya* KS.

*catuspāda uta ye deipādaḥ* KS. MŚ.: *catuspadām uta yo* (TS. *ca*) *dripadām* AV. TS. Preceded by *yeṣām* (AV. *ya*) *īṣe paśupatiḥ paśūnām*. AV. looks original; the gen. depends on *īṣe*. In ultimate sense KS. MŚ. mean the same.

*devānām patnīr agnir gṛhapatir yajñasya mithunām* (KS. °*patir* *mithunām yajamānasya*) *tayor ahaṁ devayajyayā...TS. KS.: devānām patnīnām ahaṁ devayajyayā...MŚ.*

*vilīpti yā* (and, *viliptyā*) *byhaspate* AV. (both). In two near-by stanzas which are otherwise practically identical. Whitney would emend *viliptyā(s)* to *vilīpti yā*; but it is quite construable as partitive gen. depending on *atītyāt* of pāda c: 'of the *vilīpti* (cow) he shall not eat.' The relative clause paraphrases the same sense. The variation has phonetic aspects: VV 2 §791a.

#### 4. Transfer of epithet

§446. The usual group of variants due to 'transfer of epithet' (§14) appears here also. We begin with examples where neither number nor gender, but only case, varies:

*na vai śvetasyādhyācāre* (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyācāreṇa*, MG. *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. Followed by *ahir jaghāna* (PG. *dadarśa*) *kaṁ* (AG. MG. *kiṁ*) *cana*. Most texts: 'In the domain of the white one (the serpent-demon) a serpent has killed no one' or the like. AG. (by a phonetic shift, VV 2 §188) makes *śveta* an epithet of *ahir*: 'In the house (?) the white serpent has killed nothing.' The original genitive is, strictly, no 'epithet' of any expressed word, so that the variant perhaps belongs in §448. *adhvanām adhvapatē śreṣṭhah śvastyasyādhecanah* (ApMB. *śreṣṭhasyādhvanaḥ*, MG.† *śraīṣṭhyasya śvastyasyādhevanah*, see VV 2 §707) *pāram aṣṭiṇa* AŚ. ApMB. MG. In AŚ. *śreṣṭhah* is an epithet of the subject; in ApMB. it becomes an epithet of *adhvanah*.

*viprasya dhārayā kaviḥ* RV.: *viprah sa dhārayā sutaḥ* SV. In RV. *viprasya* is the human priest; SV. transfers it to Soma (cf. VV 2 §189).

*pibā autasya matir na* (AV. *mater iha*) AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. In either reading the meaning is obscure; if there is no corruption, this much is certain, that *matir* must refer to the subject of *pibā*, and *mater* to *autasya*.

*viprā viprasya bṛhato vipaścitah* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚvetU.: *viprō viprasya sahaso vipaścit* AV. In the original: 'The priests of the great wise priest' (Savitar; so if *vipaś*<sup>2</sup> be taken with Grassmann and Ludwig as gen. sg.; the alternative would be to take it as nom. pl. with *viprah*). In AV. the context is different; the pāda describes the goat that is being sacrificed: 'The sage (was born from) the sage's (heat), acquainted with power' or the like.

*viśām karīm viśpatim mānuṣiṇām* (and, *mānuṣir iṣah*) RV. (both). The gen. goes with *viśām*, the nom. with *iṣah*.

*mahāns te mahato mahimā* AV.: *mahas te suto mahimā panasyate* (SV.



*paniṣṭama*) RV. AV. SV. VS. In RV. etc. *mahas* agrees with *te*; in the AV. variant it is attracted to *mahimā*.

§447. The rest involve change of number or gender as well as case: *brātās ta indra somā vātāpayo* (KB. TA. °per, KS. ŚŚ. °pe) *havanaśrutah* MS. KB. (fragment) TA. ŚŚ. Add KS. 9.8 in Conc. In MS. the epithet *vāt°* goes with *somā(h)*, in KB. TA. with *te* (= Indra), in KS. ŚŚ. with *indra* directly.

*yeṣām* (AV. Kauś. *ya*) *īśe paśupatiḥ pakūṇām* AV. TS. KS. MŚ. Kauś. *vasuḥ* (TS. ApMB; *vasoḥ*) *sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā* RV. VS. TS. KS. MS.

ApMB. In TS. ApMB. *vasoḥ* is attracted into agreement with *saḥaso*, instead of *sūnuḥ*.

*mahaś* (TS. MS. KS. *mahī*) *cid yasya* (TS. *hy asya*, KS. *devasya*) *mādhūṣo yasya* (KS.† °rayāḥ) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The adjective is transferred from *yasya mādhūṣo* to *yasya* (*arayaḥ*).

*garbho yas te yajñīyaḥ* KS.: *yasyai* (VSK. °yās) *te yajñīyo garbhah* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *yasyās te harito garbhah* TS. ApŚ. The relative agrees in KS. with *garbhas*, elsewhere with *te* (the cow). Followed by: *yasyai* (VSK. *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayī* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *yonir yas te hiraṇyayāḥ* KS. Same conditions.

*śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasinā* (MS. *ahann ojasine*, KS.† *śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ. °hany ojeśānām) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. If *ojasīnām* is not a mere corruption or misprint in the (imperfect) edition, it seems to be a gen. pl. fem. of a stem °*ojasa*, going with *disām* in the preceding pāda.

*maho gotrasya kṣayati svarājah* (AV.\* °jā) RV. AV. (both). In RV. *svarājah* is gen. (from *svarāj*), epithet of (neut.) *gotrasya*. AV., doubtless stumbling over the less familiar form, substitutes the nom. of *svarājan*, making it an epithet of the subject.

*asya prāṇād apānati* (AV.\* MS. °taḥ) RV. AV. SV. VS. ArS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *apānati* apparently goes with *rocand* in the preceding pāda, as nom. sg. fem.; *apānataḥ* with *asya*. See Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 10. 189. 2, and Whitney on AV. 6. 31. 2.

*mahām* (SV. *mahān*) *avīnām anu pūrvyaḥ* RV. SV. The adjective is transferred in SV. from *avīnām* to the subject.

*imau te pakṣāv* (VSK. MS. KS. *pakṣā*) *ajarau patatrināu* (VSK. TS.† KS. °pāḥ) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *you te pakṣāḥ ajarau patatrināu* Kauś. The nom. agrees with *pakṣau*, the gen. with *te*. The variant is really phonetic, for the actual reading is *patatrinō*, before a sonant: see VV 2 §732.

§448. Cases in which one or the other form of the variant word is in strictness not an 'epithet', but construed independently (§15), are:

- juṣṭo vācaspatiye* (MS. \**tiḥ*, KB. ŚŚ. \**teḥ*, JB. \**tyuḥ*) TS. MS. KB. GB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. See §428. Here is no variation of number or gender; the rest show change of one or the other.
- yo rathah satyavartmarjuralamih* AV.: *yo vām ratha rjuralamih satyadharmā* TS. MS. KS. The relative is resumed in all texts (with slight anacolouthon except in AV.) by *mitrāvaruṇa(u)*.
- agner apunānn ukiḥo amṛtyavah* RV.: *agner akṛvann ukiḥo amṛtyave* MS.: *devā akṛvann ukiḥo amṛtyave* ApŚ. In ApŚ. *devā(h)*, substituted for *agner*, goes with *ukiḥo*.
- viśvā devānāḥ* (TS. *viśvāni deva*) *janimā vivakti* AV. TS. KS. 'He declares all the births of the gods' becomes in TS. 'he, the god, declares all births'. Ppp. *viśvām devā*, looking perhaps a little in the direction of the TS. reading—which however is certainly secondary.
- yaj* (TS. MS. KS. *yasya*) *jātam janitavyam* (TS. MS. KS. *janamānam*) *ca kevalam* AV. TS. MS. KS. Preceded in AV. by *yasyadam praditi yad virocate*: 'In whose direction is . . . what is born and to be born.' In the YV. texts *yasya* refers to the following *agnim*: 'whose is what is born and being born.'
- arir: bhuvad* (ArŚ. *bhuvann*) *aruṇir yāsasā goḥ* (ArŚ. *pāvoh*) RV. ArŚ. In RV. *goḥ* (gen. sg.) depends on a noun (something like 'milk') understood with *yāsasā* (adj.), as Oldenberg shows, *RVNoten* on 4. 1. 16. In ArŚ. it is attracted to *aruṇir*, felt now as nom. pl.; the two words are interpreted as 'ruddy rays'. The starting-point of the change is the ambiguous form *aruṇir*, which in RV. is nom. sg.

### 5. Miscellaneous

- §449. The remaining nominative-genitive variants are hardly classifiable. For the most part they concern rather radical reconstructions of very varied character. In the first two the 2d personal pronoun forms *tvam* and *tava* interchange, without essential difference of sense in the first at least.
- lam u team* (SV. *tava tyan*) *māyayāvandhīḥ* RV. SV. Preceded by *yad dha tyan māyinaḥ mrgam: tava*, of course, goes with *māyayā*.
- hastagrābhasya didhiṣos* (AV. *da*) *tavedam* (TA. *tvam etat*) RV. AV. TA. Followed by *patyur janitvam abhī sambabhūtha* (TA. \**bhūva*). 'Thou hast entered into this spouseship with thy second husband who takes thy hand.' On the verb form of TA. cf. VV 1 p. 178. It is there suggested that the 3d person may be due to thought of



forms with subject *bhavad* (*bhavati*), which would be in effect 2d person (comm. glosses as a 2d person). If this be held too violent an assumption with *tam* preceding as subject, the preceding *pāda* may be taken as a separate sentence; 'thou belongest to a second husband who takes thy hand.'

*vayam te rudra syāma* RV.: *vayam vām mitrā syāma* SV. 'May we be such (yours),' *tē*, n. pl.

*ayah(h)sthānam* (TS. °*hāv*) *udita* (TS. MS. KS. °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV. TS. MS. KS.: *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indro*) *ulīthau sūryāś ca* VS. ŚB. See VV 2 §188.

*vider agner nabho nāma* VSK. ŚBK.: *vider (vided) agnir (agne)* . . . see §333.

*upasthāsāndōn mitravat astv ojah* TS. MS. AŚ.: *upasthāsā mitratatidam ojah* KS. Both TS. and MS. accent *upasthā'sāndām*, i.e. *upasthā' d's°*, but MS. p.p. apparently misunderstands and reads *upasthe d's°*. KS. has no accents. The meaning of *upasthā'* is obscure; on AV. 12. 1. 62 Whitney renders *upasthā's te* by 'standers upon thee', which is purely etymological; Ludwig and Bloomfield, 'thy laps', which would imply *upasthās*. Keith on TS. renders 'the stay of the earth', implying that this phrase is equivalent to *dhartṛ diśām*, the subject in the preceding *pāda*. Whatever the meaning, in MS. TS. AŚ. *upasthāsāndām* goes with the preceding, while in KS. *d's* is to be taken either as a further epithet of *dhartṛ* in the preceding, or as subject of an independent sentence.

*anu sūrya uṣaso anu rāsmīn* AV.: *anu sūryasya purutrā ca rāsmīn* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. '(Agni has looked) as a sun, along the dawns, along the rays': '(Agni has looked) many times along the rays of the sun.'

*garbham āśvatary āśāśānu* PG.: *garbham āśvataryā isa* ApMB. HQ. *prathamachad* (KS. *parama°*) *avarōn* (TS. *paramachado varo*) *a viveśa* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The nom. is an epithet of the subject (Viśvakarman). Keith on TS.: 'hath entered into the boon of the first of coverers', a purely mechanical rendering, which may be quite right in suggesting that the passage is nonsense.

*brahma varma mānāntaram* RV. AV. SV. ApŚ.: *brahmāham antaram kṛve* (KŚ. *karave*) AV. KŚ.

*ya* (MS. *ya*) *yaśo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NilarU. ApMB.: *yaśu vā yātudhānānāḥ* KS. 'What (serpents) are the arrows of sorcerers': '(serpents) in which are sorcerers.' On KS. cf. VV 2 §990. *śomo yajñāś ca* (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhya haviṣmatā* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. TB. See VV 2 §188.

- br̥hvanta* (TS. ŚvetU. °ti) *viśve amṛtasya putrāḥ* (AV. *amṛtāsa etat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.
- dhiyā martah śāsamale* (SV. *martasya śamalah*) RV. SV. Preceded by *rdhad yas te sudānave* RV., *sa ghā yas te divo narah* SV. See VV 2 §189.
- yasya brutarva br̥hann* [ār̥kšo anika edhata] RV.: *yā sma brutarvann ārkšye* [br̥hadanūka idhyate] SV.
- nediya it sṛjyaḥ* (TS.† *sṛjyā*) *pakvam eṅāt* (AV. *ā yavan*, TS. MS. KS. *āyat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. See §589. Without change of form, AV. reinterprets the originally genitive sg. form ('may the ripe fruit of the sickle come nearer') as a nom. pl.: 'may the sickles draw the ripe grain nearer.'
- apsarasāṃ anu dattām ṛtāni* (AV. *ṛtān nah*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsarasām anu dattānṛtāni* MS. The latter is a phonetic corruption; VV 2 §237.
- pādo 'syekābhavat* (AV. *pādasye*°; TA.† °bhavat, both edd., add to VV 1 §137) *punaḥ* RV. AV. ArŚ. VS. TA. Whitney adopts the nom. with comm. and a few mss. The gen. seems not construable.
- somaḥ prathamō vīdī* RV. PG. HG. ApMB.: *somasya jāyā prathamam* AV. See §404.
- [*tasya mṛtyuḥ* (KS. *mṛtyoḥ*, but read *mṛtyuḥ* with two mss.; TB. *mṛtyau*) *carati rājasūyam* AV. KS. TB.]
- [*agniḥ tad dhotā kratuvid vijānan* RV. KB. TB. ApŚ. Conc. wrongly *janānām* for *vijānan* in KB.]



## CHAPTER XVIII

### NOMINATIVE AND LOCATIVE

#### 1. Independent nominative and dependent locative

§450. Variations between nominative and locative are fairly numerous, but quite miscellaneous. Except for the usual group of 'transfers of epithet', few of them fall into recognizable categories. A couple of cases occur in which a nominative of independent statement varies with a dependent locative; the first example is particularly simple and clear; in it the independent nominative is obviously secondary:

*krte yonau* (KS. *krto yanir*) *mapaleha bijam* (VS. ŚB. *vijam*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'In the prepared womb scatter here the seed': 'the womb is prepared, scatter' etc.

*nābhā pṛthivyāḥ samidhāne agnau* (MS. KS. *samidhāne agnim*, TS. *samidhānam agnim*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See §393.

(*sāe mṛdīhvam nade mṛdīhvam*) *agnau samkāsuke ca yat* (Ppp. *agnih samkāsukāḥ ca yāḥ*) AV. Ppp.: (*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agnēḥ samkāsukāc ca yat* (Ppp. as before) AV. Ppp. On the interpretation of AV: see §§433, 669. Whitney considers Ppp. the correct reading. The same sense must be intended in both: 'and (wipe off) on Agni S.'

§451. Once a locative of a noun varies with a nominative of a secondary adjective from the same noun, yielding the same meaning ('in the atmosphere, in the earth': 'atmospheric, earthly'):

*antarikṣa uta vā pṛthivyām* AV.: *yā antarikṣa uta pṛthivīr yāḥ* TB.

ApŚ.: *yā antarikṣyā uta pṛthivīvāḥ* (AG. *pṛthivīr yāḥ*) KS. AG.

The ms. of Ppp. has *antarikṣa uta pṛthivīr yāḥ*; for the first word we may read *antarikṣa* with Barret, or perhaps better *antarikṣā* (adjective).

#### 2. Phrase-inflection

§452. One case may be called an instance of 'phrase-inflection'; the *pāda* is repeated in (here three) different contexts, requiring change in the case-form:

*sulāsa indra girvanāḥ* RV. 8. 95. 2b; *anteyo indra girvanāḥ* RV. SV.

## 3. Case attraction

§453. A few variants may be grouped together in that the motive for the shift seems to have been a more or less mechanical assimilation of one word to the case of a neighboring word. Other instances, as usual, will be found among the cases of 'transfer of epithet'.

*gahanam* (ŚB. °ne) *yad inakṣat* RV. VS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *dūre catlāya chantsat*. 'To him hidden afar may the hiding-place which he has reached be pleasing'; 'may it be pleasing to him hidden in the distant hiding-place which he has reached.' Apparently ŚB. assimilates to the case of *dūre*. Remarkable is the divergence of ŚB. from even VS. as well as all other texts.

*rūpum indre* (MS. *indro*) *hiranyayam* VS. MS. TB. The subjects in the original are Sarasvatī, Idā, and Bhārati, who are to put *rūpum hiranyayam* upon Indra. In MS. Indra is attracted to the case of the subject nouns and treated as a supplementary subject, no loc. being expressed.

*itthā hi soma in made* (SV. *madaḥ*) RV. SV. AB. KB. ŚB. AA. AS. ŚŚ. Followed in RV. SV. by *brahmā* (SV. °ma) *cakāra vardhanam*. In RV. the subject is *brahmā* alone, *soma* (= *some*) and *made* loc.; in SV. *soma* (= *somaḥ*) and *madaḥ* are coordinate subjects.

*vardhamāno* (TS. °naḥ) *mahān* (TS. MS. *maha*) *ā ca puṣkare* (TS. °ram) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The loc. is clearly original; it is apparently to be construed with *ā*, 'on the lotus leaf', altho *ā* regularly follows a loc. In TS. both *vardha*° and *puṣ*° are made nouns; this and the next pāda are now felt as addressed to the lotus leaf (see §837); undoubtedly the nouns of the preceding half line have helped in the change. It is not clear how TS. understands *ā*.

## 4. Transfer of epithet

§454. The following cases of simple transfer of epithet (§14) occur; in all but the first two there is change of number or gender, or both, as well as case:

*ā haryato arjune* (SV. °no) *atke avyata* RV. SV. In RV. the adjective agrees with *atke*; in SV. it is transferred to the subject, Soma.

*tatrāpi dahre* (MahānU. *dahram*) *gaganam viśokaḥ* (TA. comm. and Poona ed. text with v. l. °kam) TA. MahānU. [TAA 10. 12. 3, Poona ed., reads *viśokaḥ* in text and comm.; the latter calmly refers it to *brahma* without explanation.] In TA. *dahre* goes with *tatra*, which refers back to *dahram* in the preceding: 'in that small place'. In MahānU. *dahram* is an epithet of *gaganam*.



*śarman* (MS. °*mavis*) *te syāma* (VS. *tava syāma śarmanā*, TS. *tava syātā śarman*) *trivārūtha udbhau* (TS. *udbhū*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. In TS. *udbhū* is an epithet of the subject; in the others *udbhau* is loc. with *śarman*. (Comm. on VS. understands it as from a stem *ud-bhī*! He interprets it, however, as if from *ud-bhā*. The stem is of course *udbhū*, declined as a short *u* stem.) In all but TS. *trivārūtha* stands for °*the* and goes with *śarman*. In TS. it might also be so interpreted, but p.p. °*thah*, nom., and so Keith.

*trāṇ śamudraṇ prathamō vi dhārayaḥ* (SV. *samudrah prathamē vidharman*) RV. SV. See §402, end.

*asūrte* (MS. KS. °*tā*, KapS. °*tāḥ*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS. °*tā*, KS. *na satta*) RV. VS. MS. KS. KapS. N.: *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS. See Oldenberg, *Prol.* 313, and *RVNoten* on 10. 82. 4. Certainly both *asūrte* and *sūrte*, and perhaps also *niṣatte*, go with *rajasī*; *asūrtā* is transferred to *bhūtāni*, *asūrtāḥ* to *ṛṣyaḥ*; either *niṣatta* or °*tāḥ* is possible, referring to either of these nouns.

*priyo* (TB. ApS. *priye*) *devānām parama janitre* (AV. TA. *sadhasthe*) RV. AV. SV. KS. TB. TA. ApS. MŚ. Addressed to the spirit of the dead man; *edhi* precedes. The original *priyo* agrees with the subject, *priye* with *janitre*.

*dhruvaidhī poṣyā* (PG. *†poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh. ŚG. PG. ApMB. 'Be thou steadfast with me, prosperous.' We take *poṣye* as loc. with *mayi*, contrary to Stenzler and Oldenberg, who understand it as voc. fem. addressed to the bride (which is also possible; in that case this variant would belong in §334).

*arepasaḥ nectasaḥ* (etc.) *śvasare manyumattamāḥ* (SV. ApS. *manyuman-lāḥ*) *citē goḥ* (SV. *citā goḥ*, ApS. *cidakoh*) AV. SV. ApS. MŚ. A very obscure verse; in AV. *citē* must clearly go with *śvasare*, in SV. with *arepasaḥ* etc. (here nom. masc., tho in AV. apparently acc. fem.) On ApS. see VV 2 §§47, 61.

*nirṣṭacakra āśināḥ* HG. ApMB. (epithets of *prajāḥ*): *anivuktacakra* (v. l. °*ra*) *deīran* PG.: *nirṣṭacakraṃ* AG. (here an independent sentence, with *naḍi* understood; in Čone. under *soma no.* . .). If °*cakra* is the true reading of PG., it may be a voc. fem. agreeing with the name of a river to be supplied for the following *asau* (so Oldenberg); or it may be loc. with the following *fire*.

*viśve devā aṇṣu nyuplāḥ* (VSK. *nyupyamāneṣu*) VS. VSK. 'He (soma) is the All-gods, when he is offered in the *aṇṣu* (when the *aṇṣu* are offered).' Reference is made to the *graha* called *aṇṣu* (ŚB. 4. 6. 1. 1 fl.). Probably VSK. is original.

*śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasind* (MS. *ahann ojasine*, KS. *śukre ahany ojaṣye*, AŚ. *hany ojasinām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. *ojasind* is nom. fem. agreeing with *ugrā* (sc. *dik*) of the preceding; *ojasine* and *°ṣye* go with *ahann* (*ahany*). *śukre* goes with the latter; *śukre* of KS. (and presumably *śuciḥ* which in the others goes with *ugrā*) apparently goes with *indra* of the following (*indrādhipatyaiḥ pīptāt*).

*samṛṣṭāṣu yutsu indro gaṇeṣu* MS.: *samṛaṣṭā sā yutḥa indro gaṇeṣu* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS. See §548.

§455. The rest of the cases grouped under the heading 'transfer of epithet' can be so described only by stretching the term (§15). We find first a group in which an independent locative noun, not the epithet of anything else, is changed into a nominative, becoming then an epithet of the subject. The nom. seems to be always secondary in this group. All but the first few show shift of number or gender as well as case:

*urukṣayāḥ saṅgaṇā mānuṣāḥ* (TS. *°ṣeṣu*) AV. TS. We take it that TS. is original: 'widely dwelling with their troops among men.' The AV. assimilates to the preceding nouns, making *mān* an epithet of the subject, the Maruts.

*na yonā* (TS. *yonā*, KS. *yonir*) *uḍḍinaktā* (KS. *°naktāgneḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. The verse deals with Agni. 'Dawn and night, as in his native place.' In KS. *yonī* is made to agree with *uḍḍinaktā*, called 'the native place' of Agni.

*sūr aśi svanasya retāḥ* (MS. *retā iṣṭakā svargo lokāḥ*) MS. ApŚ.: *sūr aśi svar aśiṣṭakā svargo loka* KS. 'Thou art... the brick, the world of heaven (in the world...).' Probably KS. is orig., and MS. has attracted to the case of *iṣṭakā*.

*ayam sahasram ā no dṛṣṭe karīṇām matir jyotir vidharmanī* AV.: *ayam sahasram ānaro dṛṣṭāḥ karīṇām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ. *°mā*) SV. ApŚ. MS. Mystically obscure in both versions, but we believe AV. comes closer to the orig. (cf. VV 2 §833). The nom. of SV. etc. may be due to attraction into agreement with the subject.

*vājinam tvā vājino 'vanayāmaḥ* (MS. *vājiny avanayāmi*) MS. TA. ApŚ. 'Thee, the whey, we, the strong ones, pour': 'thee, the whey, I pour into the strong (*māhāvira*-vessel).' MS. is doubtless orig.

*yā* (MS. *yā*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB.: *yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ* KS. See §449.

*mahī viśpatnī sadane* (KS. *°nī*) *ṛtasya* KS. TB. ApŚ. MS. Addressed to the firesticks. 'Ye that are two mighty queens, (come hither) to the seat of the *ṛta*': '... that are two seats of the *ṛta*, (come hither).'

*devānām sumne brhate* (TB. ApŚ. *sumno mahate*) *raṇāya* VS. MS. KS.



ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Preceded by *smair dakṣair* (TB. ApŚ. *sm dakṣe*) *dakṣopiteha sīda*. The loc., 'in the favor of the gods', is made an epithet of the subject, 'agreeable to the gods'. Caland adopts *sumne* in ApŚ., but this needlessly violates the clear intent of the Tait. school.

*santiveśane* (noun, 'at entrance') *tanvaś* (AV. *tanvā*) *cārur edhī* RV. AV.: *santiveśanas* (epithet of subject, understood as 'entering'?) *tanvai* (*tanve*) *cārur edhī* SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*yāḥ parastād rocane* (MS. *°nāḥ*) *sūryasya* TS. MS.: *yā rocane parastād sūryasya* RV. VS. KS. ŚB. 'Which, in the light-space beyond the sun': in MS., 'which bright ones, beyond the sun.' Refers to waters.

*jyotirjāyā rojaso vimāne* (KS. *°nāḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Preceded by *agam venaś codayat prñigarbhāḥ*. KS. is secondary but by no means 'absurd' (Keith on TS.); it takes the word as an epithet of the subject, meaning 'traverser' or the like, a sense familiar in RV. (see e.g. 3. 28. 7). No need to emend KS. with Raghu Vira KapŚ. p. 27, n. 2, Oertel 5.

§456. In a few cases, contrariwise, an original nom. epithet is changed in a secondary version to an independent locative:

*pūrvan devbhya amṛtasya nābhīḥ* (ArŚ. *nāma*, TA. TU. NṛpU. *nābhāyī*) ArŚ. TB. TA. TU. NṛpU. N. Preceded by *aham asmi prathamajātasya*. The nom. is original: 'I am . . . the nave of immortality.' The loc. is rationalizing.

*ukṣā samudra* (MS. KS. *°dre*) *aruṇaḥ* (RV. *aruṇāḥ*) *suparnaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In the original *samudra* is an epithet of the sun. This seems quite recherché to the redactors of MS. KS., which understand it of the real ocean; the loc. is rationalizing and secondary but perfectly sensible (the verb *avīśa* follows), and by no means to be described as a 'mere blunder' (Keith on TS.).

*āpir no bodhī sadhamādyo* (SV. *°dye*) *ṛdhe* RV. SV. In RV. the word is an epithet of *āpir*: 'be our friend, convivial, unto increase.' In SV. it may be felt as agreeing with *ṛdhe*, conceived as loc.; but Benfey takes it as an independent noun, = *sadhamāde*, 'in dem Göttermahl.'

### 5. Miscellaneous

§457. The remaining nom.-loc. variants seem hardly capable of classification, tho many of them are interesting individually:

*pumān putro jāyatām* (ApMB. ŚG. *dhīyatām*) *garbhe* (ŚG. *garbhe*) *antaḥ*

- HG. ŚG. ApMB. The double meaning of *garbha*, 'womb' and 'embryo', is responsible for this change. Similarly:  
*garbhe* (MS. *garbhah*) *sañ* (san, *san-*) *jāyase punaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. As prec.
- yaś ca kiñci jagat sarvaṃ* (MahānU. and TA. comm. *jagaty asmin*) TA. MahānU. 'Whatever (in) this whole world is seen or heard' (followed by *dṛśyate śrūyate 'pi vā*). The loc. seems to be rationalizing and secondary.
- yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti* (TS. *uditau vyeti*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. Different words; cf. VV 2 §732.
- viśvāni yo amartyo, havyā marṣya ranyati* RV.; *tvīve yasminn amartye, havyaṃ marṣa indhate* SV. 'What immortal (Agni) rejoices in all offerings among mortals'; 'in what immortal all mortals kindle oblation.'
- pibāt somaṃ mamadad* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *iṣṭayaḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Cf. VV 2 §746.
- erṣā nanaṃ* (ApŚ. *ane*) *erṣā madah* (ApŚ. *maḍe*, SV. *sutah*) RV. SV. ApŚ. 'A bull (is) the wooden (soma-vessel), a bull the exhilaration'. Addressed to soma. ApŚ. has a natural rationalization: ('thou art) a bull in the vessel, a bull in the intoxication.'
- tasya mṛtyuś* (KS. *mṛtyoś*, read with v. l. *mṛtyuś*; TB. *mṛtyau*) *carati rājasūyam* AV. KS. TB. Perhaps TB. means something like 'his coronation walks in the presence of death', i.e. proceeds in spite of the powers of destruction? Comm. *tasya rājño mṛtyau duṣṭahizā-rūpamarāṇanimittabhūte sati rājasūyam carati*.
- vījasya hi praśave* (TS. °v) *nannamīti* (TS. *namna*°) TS. MS. KS. Keith: 'the instigation of strength is propitious.' Better perhaps with active meaning (well established for *namati*): 'the impulse of strength bows (causes to bend).' MS. KS. perhaps, with intransitive meaning and indefinite subject: 'on the impulse of strength one bows.' This and the next belong to a series of mantras which show continuous play on various meanings of *vāja*.
- vīṣṇam astu draviṇaḥ vājo* (KS. *vāje*) *asme* (KS. *tasmin*) RV. BŚ. TS. MS. KS. Original: 'let all riches and wealth (or, strength) be ours.' KS. takes *vāja* as 'struggle': 'let all wealth be (mine) in this conflict.' Cf. prec.
- apriyaḥ prati muñcatām* AV.; *apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś. *†muñcatam*) AV. Kauś. Contexts somewhat different, and voice of verb varies (VV 1 §30).
- viṣṇum agan varuṇaṃ pūrvahūtiḥ* AV.; *viṣṇū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau*



(MS. °*hūtim*) VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. See §399. The loc. might here be the equivalent of the acc. of goal. But Mahidhara takes it, probably rightly, as true loc., 'at the morning prayer', and so Griffith and Eggeling. A still different interpretation is found in the comms. on ŚB. and TB., which make it not loc. but a dual adjective going with *viṣṇū varuṇā*.

*agnir jyotir jyotir agnih* SV. VS. MS. KS. etc.: *agnau jyotir jyotir agnau* KS. The contexts are different.

*ūrdhva adhvare asthāt* (VS. ŚB. 'dhvare asthāt, KS. 'dhvare sthāh, ApŚ. *adhvare sthāt*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'He (Agni) stood upright at the sacrifice': 'the sacrifice stood upright.'

*ptasya garbhaḥ* (MS. *dhāman*, KS. *dhāma*) *prathamā vyūṣuṣi* TS. MS. KS. PG. 'She who first lighted up (i.e. Uṣas) was the child (abode, or the like) of the *pta*': 'first lighting up in the abode of the *pta*.'

*ya sma krutarvaṇṇaḥ drkṣye* SV.: *yasya krutarvā bhān* RV. See §449.

*yat te susīma hṛdaye* (SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. °*yam*) KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. 'What in thy heart...': 'what heart is thine...' KBU. 2. 8 has the version *yat te susīmam hṛdayam*; see §340.

*yo antarikṣe rajaso vimānaḥ* RV. VS. VSK. TS.: *yad antarikṣam rajaso vimānam* AV. Different contexts; AV. has used a vague reminiscence of RV. 10. 121. 5c in a quite secondary way. 'He who measures out the space in the atmosphere': 'what atmosphere measures out space.'

*atha viśve aruṣṭe edhate gṛhaḥ* TS.: *adhā viśvāhārāṇa edhate gṛhe* VS. The latter; 'he (the child) flourishes unharmed at all times in the house.' TS. corrupt; *viśve* translatable only as nom. sg., cf. §731; *gṛhaḥ* seems to have been attracted to the case of the subject: 'all (?) the house flourishes unharmed.'

*prapitāmahaṇ bibharti pinvamaṇaḥ* (TA.† °*mahaṇ bibharat pinvamaṇe*) AV. TA.: *svargē loke pinvamaṇo bibhartu* ApŚ. Preceded by *sa bibharti pitarāṇaḥ pitāmahaṇ* AV., *sa naḥ* (TA. *tasminn eṣa*) *pitarāṇaḥ pitāmahaṇ* TA. ApŚ. Both *sa* and *tasminn* (with which *pinvamaṇe* agrees) refer to *utsa* of the preceding, while *eṣa* refers to *Vaiśvānara*. The loc. of TA. is almost 'absolute'.

§458. There remain a few corruptions and errors:

*vasūni jāte janamāna* (SV. *jāto janimāny*) *ojasā* RV. AV. SV. VS. N. Followed by *prati bhōgam na dūdhima* (SV. °*maḥ*). The SV. reading seems hopeless.

*tarī mandrīṇu prayakṣu* AV.: *stani mandras suprayakṣuḥ* KS.: *sa im*

(TS. १) *mandrā suprayasaḥ* (TS. *mandrāsu prayasaḥ*, MS. *mandra suprayasā stariman*) VS. TS. MS. Very dubious, and likely to be corrupt in all. Cf. VV 2 §839.

[*vargma divaḥ; nābhā prthivyāḥ* TB.: *vargman divo nābhā prthivyāḥ* ApŚ. Poona ed. of TB, correctly *vargman*; a loc. is necessary.]

[*uta vīm uśaso budhi* (GB. *budhiḥ*, but Gaastra with all mss. but one *budhi*) RV, GB.]



## CHAPTER XIX

### ACCUSATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

#### I. Associative-instrumental : complementary accusative

§459. Among variations of the accusative and instrumental we find first a group of cases in which an associative-instrumental varies with an accusative which is parallel with and complementary to another accusative. Such variants occur also between the instrumental and other cases (§§55-7). The meaning is virtually the same. Thus:

*aathī majjānaṃ māsaraiḥ* (MS. °*ram*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Followed by *kārotareṇa dadhato gvaṃ tvaci*. 'Putting upon the cattle's hide his (soma's) bone and marrow, with (the drink) *māsara* and the straining-cloth.' In MS. there is no real difference of meaning, tho *māsara* is there made an additional direct object, parallel with *aathī* and *majjānaṃ*.

*tapāṅgy* (MS. *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā patamgān* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *asandito vi sṛja vigvaḥ ulkāḥ*. The original correlates *tapāṅgy*, *patamgān* and *ulkāḥ* as objects of *vi sṛja*. MS. substitutes *tapobhir* for the first, probably as an associative instr., tho it might also be one of means, correlated with *juhvā*.

*rūpāir apīṣad* (TB. °*rūpāni piṣan*) *bhuvanāni viśā* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. (both) N. 'He shaped all beings along with their forms': 'shaping all forms and beings.'

*sādhā ranaṣpatīḥ priyāḥ pātho na bheṣajam* (MS. °*jaiḥ*);

*sādhā somam indriyam* (MS. °*yaiḥ*);

*sādhagnīm na bheṣajam* (MS. °*jaiḥ*), all VS. MS. TB. The words *hata yajya*, 'let the hotar worship', are understood with all, and it seems that the instrs. of MS. must be understood as associative. Without the comparison of the two forms of the variant, we might be tempted to interpret them differently, as instrs. of means or cause ('with' or 'by reason of', . . .).

*hastyaśvāśvatarai rathaiḥ* RVKh. Cone. (Auf.). *hastyaśvāśvatarai ratham* RVKh. Scheft.; *bahuvāśvāśvatarai ratham* MG.

*sapta ca mānuṣīr* (AG. ŚG. MG. *sāruṣīr*, PG. *sāruṣair*, v. l. °*ṣīr*) *imāḥ* (PG. MG. *imāḥ prajāḥ*) ApMB. HG. AG. ŚG. PG. MG. Followed by:

*sarvāś* (ApMB. HG. *tiśraś*) *ca rājabāndhavaś* (PG. °*vaiś*, MG. °*vyaś*, ApMB. °*bandhavaś*, HG. °*bandhavaś*) ApMB. HG. AG. ŚG.† PG. MG. (Conc. puts *prajāś* with the second *pāda* in PG. MG.) The preceding verb is *apa jāhi* in all but the plainly corrupt MG. (see Kaauer's note). The instrs. are associative, equivalent to correlative objects.

*māsureṇa pariśrutā* (TB. *pariṣkrīdā*, KS. *pariśculam*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by *gobhīr na somam āśvinā*, and followed by *sam adhātān sarasvatyā, svāhendre sutam madhu*. *Parisrut* is the name of a kind of liquor, and is one of a series of gifts made by the *Āśvins* to Indra. Some (*somam, sutam, madhu*) are made direct objects in all, others associative instrs.; *parisrut* is treated in both ways in different texts. In TB. *pariṣkrīdā* must be meant as nom. dual with *āśvinā*; this is a reminiscence of *māsureṇa pariṣkrīdāś* (so VS. TB., in MS. *parisrutā*), which shortly precedes in the text.

*vī kumāraṁ jarāyujā* AV.: *vī garbham ca jarāyu ca* TS. KS. The verb, continued from *pāda a*, is *bhinadmī*: 'the child with (that is, here, 'from') the afterbirth': 'the embryo and the afterbirth (I separate).' *idam aham rakṣo 'bhi* (MS.\* *rakṣobhiḥ*) *sam dahāmi* (MS. KS. MŚ. *sam ādāmi*) TS. MS. (bis) KS. MŚ. The instr. occurs in the *brāhmaṇya* passage corresponding to the mantra *rakṣo 'bhi*; it seems as if this latter must be intended both times (VV 2 §382). Yet it is strange that, to judge from the editor's silence, there is no v. l. At a pinch *rakṣobhiḥ* could be associative, with *idam* felt as the direct object.

*gaṇān me mā vī tīrṣaḥ* (MŚ. °*ṣat*, Vait. *vy artriṣaḥ*) TS. Vait. MŚ.: *gaṇair mā mā vī tīrṣata* MS. 'Cause not my troops (me with my troops) to thirst.'

§460. Peculiar are the following two cases; it seems doubtful whether the acc. in them is of quite the same character as in the preceding: *sam mā sṛjāmy adbhīr* (TS. *apa*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. If TS. means 'I unite myself, [unite] the waters, with the plants,' as it seems to on its face, it is rather bathetic. Keith, both here and in the following, seems to understand *apaś* as a secondary acc., as if of goal (cf. the use of the locative in §462); at least he renders 'I united [unite?] myself with waters and plants', which is the meaning of VS. MS. KS. Is it, literally, 'I unite myself unto waters, with plants'? Cf. §59.

*sam tvā nahyāmy adbhīr* (TS. *apa*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* TS. MŚ. MG. As prec.

§461. Sometimes, especially where a verb of joining occurs in the



phrase, there is an interchange of acc. with instr. and of instr. with acc., the two case-forms changing places:

*tvastā rūpeṇa samanaktu yajñam* AŚ.: *tvastā rūpāṇi samanaktu yajñaiḥ* ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. 'Let Tvastar unite the sacrifice with form' or 'forms with sacrifices.'

§462. In at least two such cases a locative appears to be involved. In the first it, rather than the instr., varies with the one acc. after a verb of joining, while the other variant has instr. plus acc.:

*aṅgāny ātman* (MS. *aṅgair ātmānam*) *bhīṣajā tad āvinā* VS. MS. KS. TB. 'The physician Aśvins joined his limbs upon his body (self)', or '... his body with his limbs.' MS. is evidently influenced by the following *pāda*: *ātmānam aṅgaṭṭh samadhāt sarasvatī* (in all).

§463. In the other, where there is no verb of joining, the locative nevertheless is bracketed with the acc. in one form, while in the other we have acc. plus instr.:

*samudre yasya rasām id āhuḥ* AV.: *yasya samudram* (MS. KS. Ppp. *simudram yasya*) *rasayā sahātuh* RV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Whose, they say, is the ocean, together with the (stream) Rasā.' AV. as it stands would mean '... the Rasā in the ocean', which may be defended; but note that the meter needs an extra syllable, which the instr. *samudreṇa* would furnish. If we dared emend AV. thus, we should have a double interchange exactly like that of §461.

## 2. Other accs. and instrs., substantially equivalent

§464. The associative instrumental, as we have seen, may in theory vary with any other case as a correlative to another form in that case. We now come to other variants in which, in one way or another, an acc. and an instr. may be nearly or quite equivalent in meaning. We here approach a sphere in which the uses of these two cases converge more specifically; to be sure, among the variants last quoted, especially those containing expressions of joining two entities, we already entered a more restricted region where we should scarcely expect to find, normally, other cases than these two (altho curiously we found the locative also cropping up).

§465. We now take up, first, some cases in which what is sometimes called a 'cognate' or 'inner' accusative varies with an instrumental of means or manner, both meaning much the same thing. The type is exemplified by such expressions as 'sing songs' or 'sing with songs', 'walk a path' or 'walk on (in Sanskrit, 'by') a path.' Thus:

*phṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam* AV.: *taṁ arkair abhy arcanti vatsam*

TB. 'They sing with ghee a song unto the young': 'they sing with songs unto the young.'

*yam putrina ākramante viśokāḥ* AB.: *yenākramante putriṇo (ye) viśokāḥ* ŚŚ. Preceded by *epa panthā urugāyah suśenah* (ŚŚ. *vitato devayānah*). '(The path) which they tread' or 'by which they tread'.  
*tantum tātam peśasā saṁvayanti* VS.: *peśavati tantunā saṁvayanti* (KS. TB. *samvayanti*) MS. KS. TB. Dawn and Night are referred to as 'weaving a thread' or 'weaving (rolling up) with a thread.'  
*yena tsābadhūti* (KŚ. *mā*°, TS. ApMB.\* *yam abadhūti*, MŚ. MG. *yaj jagrantha*) *savitā suśenah* (AV. °*sāh*, TS. ApMB.\* *suketaḥ*, MŚ. MG. *satyadharmā*) RV. AV. TS. MŚ. KŚ. ApMB. (bis) MG. '(the bond) with which he bound thee...' or 'which he bound...' Note that the 'inner' acc. is not used with the acc. of the person.

§466. Quite close to the preceding are cases of a sort of 'resultative' accusative, varying with an instrumental, of the offering made, after forms of roots *hu* and *yaj*:

*tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota* (TB. ApŚ. *juhomi*) VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *tasmā indrāya haviṣi* (TB. *haviṣi* ā) *juhota* MS. TB. 'Offer (with) the drink (oblation) to Indra here.'

*śrucājyāni juhvataḥ* AV.: *śrucājyena juhvataḥ* TB. (so Poona ed. for the corrupt *śrucānyena juhvata* of Bibl. Ind. ed.). 'Offering (with) ghee with a spoon.' Preceded by *medasvatā yajamānāḥ*; the instr. *medasvatā* (which because of gender cannot agree with *śrucā*, and seems to need a noun) may have caused the change to *ajyena*, which we believe is clearly secondary.

§467. With a verb of motion an acc. of goal is a very natural construction. If however there is contained in the verb also the notion of joining, that is if it means something like 'go to join', an instrumental is equally admissible:

*marya ita yuvatibhiḥ sam arṣati* (AV. *ita yogāḥ sam arṣase*) RV. AV. SV. 'He rushes as a male to join the maidens', RV. (Grassmann, 'mit jemand eilend zusammenkommen'). The AV. comm. reads *yogāḥ*, instr., and Whitney calls the construction with *yogāḥ* 'lame', which seems to us unjust. The acc. of goal is surely quite natural; indeed with this verb the instr. strikes us as more recherché, tho comprehensible (suggested by the associative idea in *sam*).

*śunam kīnāśa abhi* (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS. *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaiḥ* (AV. TS. *vāhān*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Prosperously let the plowmen (plowman) go along with (after) the draft-animals.'

*trayo dharmā anu relā āguḥ* AV.: *trayo dharmāso anu jyotiṣāguḥ* (MŚ.



KS. *retasāguh*) TS. MS. KS. ApMB. 'Three cauldrons have followed (with) the seed (light).' In a mystical passage; the real meaning is obscure.

*achāyam eti śavaśā ghṛtēna* (AV. *ghṛtā cit*) AV. Ppp. VS. MS. TS.: *achāyam yanti śavaśā ghṛtācīh* KS. In the sequel, as we have shown §399, both AV. and KS. seem to be secondary. In VV 2 §824 we have treated AV. *ghṛtā cit* as secondary to KS. *ghṛtācīh*. We now think, however, that *ghṛtā cit* may well be the original reading: 'here comes (Agni) with might unto the ghees (offerings).' It is perhaps easiest on this basis to explain both *ghṛtācīh* (agreeing with *aruco* which is made the subject in KS., 'the ghee-filled ladles,' see §403) and *ghṛtēna*, which would be at least partly due to form-assimilation to the case of *śavaśā*. It would be harder to understand the change from either of these to *ghṛtā cit*, a lectio difficilior.

§468. To these may be appended the following, in which the verb is not one of motion but one of speech; we may however remember that such verbs in Sanskrit have constructions parallel to verbs of motion, taking an acc. of the goal of speech. In this variant that case varies with an associative instr., if the reading is acceptable:

*grāśā valed* (KS. Conc. with v. 1. *grāvāśādīd*) *abhi somasyāśāsum* (ApŚ. *śūnā*) KS. ApŚ. Followed by *indram* (KS. ed. *endram*, Conc. with v. 1. *indram*) *śikṣeṇendunā sūtena*. Caland assumes the KS. reading for ApŚ.: 'may the pressing-stone cry out in greeting to the shoot of soma; may we present Indra with the pressed drink.' But it seems that the instr. can stand: 'may the pressing-stone cry out along with the shoot of soma,' etc.

§469. Other instances, in which the associative idea of 'joining' is hardly felt in the instr., which nevertheless interchanges with an acc., are: *devair ukta* (Ppp. *urjā*, KS. *nutā*, ApŚ. MS. *nyuplā*) *vyasarpō mahitvām* (Ppp. KS. ApŚ. MS. *śtā*) AV. Ppp. KS. ApŚ. MS. In AV., 'thou didst expand unto might.' In the others, with quasi-adverbial instr., 'thou didst expand with might (mightily).'

*ye taprathetām* (AV. ArS. *īhām*) *amitebhir ojobhīh* (AV. *amitā yojanāni*, ArS. *amitām abhi yojanam*) AV. ArS. TS. MS. KS. 'Who have spread out unto unmeasured leagues': 'who have spread out with unmeasured strengths.' The change in the noun is connected with the change of case. Add to VV 1 §331.

*prā rūdhast* (SV. *rūdhāst*) *codayāte* (SV. *śyate*) *mahiteva* RV. SV. 'Let him promote (he promotes) us with favor (unto favors), with might;' or, SV. might mean 'he sends favors unto us with might.'

See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 287 f., against Grassmann's suggestion that SV. is original.

*pra śmaśru* (SV. *śmaśrubhīr*) *dādhuvat ūrdheathā bhūt* (SV. *\*dha bhuvat*)

RV. SV. 'Shaking (with) his beard.'

*sa virājān* (KS. *\*jā*) *pary eti* (MS. *etu*, KS. *pari yāti*) *prajānan* TS. MS.

KS. 'He goes about knowing majesty': 'he goes about with majesty, intelligent' or 'intelligent with majesty'. The VS. parallel has *śinemi rājā pari yāti vidvān*, which is evidently based on a misunderstanding of KS., taking *virājā* as nominative.

*aham* (AB. AŚ. *idam*) *tad* (MS. *tam*) *asya manasā kivena* (MS. *\*ghṛtena*)

VS. MS. (bis) KS. AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *tenāham adya manasā eutasya* KS. The contexts are the same; both are followed by *somam rājānam iha bhakṣayāmi*. The pronouns *tad* (*tam*, *tena*) refer back to the preceding '(what is left over of the juicy draft, of which Indra drank mightily,) that (with that) of him with auspicious mind—I here partake of King Soma.' KS. *tena* seems to be a rationalizing reading, avoiding the harshness of *tad* followed by *somam*, both really referring to the same thing. For a similar reason MS. changes *tad* to *tam*, to agree with *somam*.

[*vanema pūrūr aryo manīṣāh* (p.p. *\*ṣd*) RV. The s.p. has *manīṣā agnīh* . . ., implying *manīṣāh*, which is vigorously defended by Oldenberg *Proleg.* 385, *SBE.* 46. 71, *RVNoten* on 1. 70. 1: 'may we, the poor, succeed in many pious thoughts.' The p.p. must understand an instr.; it is followed by Geldner *Ved. St.* 3. 87, 89.]

3. Acc. of *bahuvrīhi* : instr. of *karmadhāraya* (or separate instr.)

§470. The nature of the instr. is such that in a *karmadhāraya* cpd. it may express the same idea which may be elsewhere expressed by a *bahuvrīhi* cpd. agreeing with a noun, which might in theory be in any case at all. We found above (§413) such variations between instr. and nom. forms; here we record one of instr. and acc., as well as another somewhat similar case in which instead of the instr. *karmadhāraya* we have the cpd. broken up into its parts, an adjective (acc.) with dependent instrumental:

*rākāṁ aham suhaviṁ* (AV. *\*vā*) *suṣṭuṭi huve* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. SMB.

ApMB. N. Comm. on AV. and Ppp. read *\*vām*; if *\*vā* can stand, it has been attracted to the case of *suṣṭuṭi*. 'I call upon Rākā of good call (with good call), with fair praise.'

*adhṛṣṭān dhṛṣṇojasam* (SV. *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV. AV. SV. Epithets of Indra; 'endowed with resistless might' or 'resistless with might.'

The meaning is practically identical. Cf. VV 2 §818.



## 4. Adverbial accusatives and instrumentals

§471. The adverbial accusative, called 'accusative of specification', is precisely equivalent to the instrumental of the same meaning, and varies with it sometimes without difference of meaning:

*juhūr, upabhr̥d, dhruvāsi ghytācī nāmnā* TS. (intending *juhūr asi ghytācī nāmnā, upabhr̥d asi...*, etc.): *ghytācy asy upabhr̥n nāmnā* (VSK. *nāma*) VS. VSK. ŚB. (also with *dhruvā* and *juhūr* for *upabhr̥d*): *juhūr asi ghytācī nāmnā* TB.: *dyaur asi janmanā juhūr nāma...* MS. (also with *prthivy, dhruvā...*, and *antarikṣam... upabhr̥n...*)

*pra hatasīmsa tṛpalam* (SV. °tā) manyum (SV. *vagnum*) ūcha RV. SV. The RV. *tṛpalam* is apparently an adverb, 'joyfully'. In SV. if the p.p. is correct it must also be considered an (instr.) adverb (but *tṛpalam*, 'joyful,' n. pl. adjective, may be intended by the s.p.).

§472. In other cases only one of the varying case forms is adverbial, while the other has various non-adverbial constructions:

*yad vo "kuddāh* (VSK.† °*dhah*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK. *jaghānaitad*) *idam vaś taś chandhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *yad akuddhah parā jaghāna tad va śena śundhantām* KS. In the latter *śena* is hardly adverbial: 'by this (procedure).' In VS. etc. it seems to be represented by *idam*, which is apparently an out-and-out adverb: 'Whatever of yours the impure have (has) defiled, that here do I now (*idam*) purify': 'whatever the impure has defiled, as to that for you thru this let them purify themselves (or, let them purify that for you thru this).' In MS. *yad vo "śubhā ślebhe tañ śundhadhvam* there is no such pronoun.

*vas te rājan varuṇa devaṇi pāśas tañ ta śenāśayaje* (KS. *ta etad awayaje*) MS. KS. In KS. *etad* is a pure adverb: 'I now (or, here) sacrifice that (fetter) of thine away.' In MS. *śena* (as in the preceding) means 'by this (rite).' See also the similar entries surrounding this in the Conc., and those beginning *vas te deva varuṇa*, which occur in TB. and have *śena*.

*priyeṇa dhāmnā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *nāmnā*, VSK. *nāma*) *priyam sādā śīda* (VSK. TS. TB. ApŚ.\* *priye sālasi śīda*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. (bis): *sādasi priyeṇa dhāmnā priyam sādā śīda* (VSK. *priyeṇa nāma priye sālasi śīda*) VS. VSK. ŚB. In TS. etc. texts *priyeṇa nāmnā* = 'with thy dear name', associative instr. Conc. suggests reading *nāmnā* in VSK., but this is unnecessary; 'with that which is dear by name' is good Vedic thought.

*yad aham dhanena prapaṇāś carāmi* ApMB.: *yad vo devāḥ prapaṇam carāmi* HG.: *yena dhanena prapaṇam carāmi* AV. *yad* is used as a conjunction; *yena* with *dhanena*.

## 5. Case attraction

§473. We come now to cases in which there is a more pronounced reinterpretation of the variant passage, and first to instances in which the change seems to be due to more or less external attraction to the case-form of an adjoining word (a motive which, as we have seen, is frequently perceptible in the variants listed above).

*vyaciṣṭham annai* (TS. MS. KS. *annam*) *rabhasam dṛśānam* (TS.† KS. *vidānam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In the original *annaiḥ* is instr. of means with either *vyaciṣṭham* or *rabhasam*, which refer to Agni: 'broadly extended by food, impetuous, beautiful.' In TS. MS. KS. it seems to be mechanically assimilated to the case of these adjectives, becoming thus a complementary object along with *agnim* of pāda a. Keith takes *annam* as object of *vidānam*; but the position seems to be against this, and certainly in MS. no such construction is possible.

*haviṣā yajña* (TB. *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS. °*yaiḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by *tam indram paśavaḥ sacā, āśvinobhā sarasvatī, dādihānā abhyānūṣata*. In most texts *indriyam* is a collateral object: '... (praised Indra), his heroism, with oblation, at the sacrifice.' In VS. it is attracted to the case of *haviṣā*: '... with oblation, at the sacrifice, for his heroic deeds.' In TB. in a similar way the loc. *yajñe* is attracted to the case of *indriyam*: '(praised Indra) with oblation, (praised) the sacrifice, his heroism.' In such ritualistic rigmarole it makes little difference how the words are construed; this is a striking example, and proves little about the use of cases, but much about ritualistic psychology and style.

*agner jihvām abhi* (MS. *jihvābhī*, p.p. *jihvāḥ, abhī*; AV. KS. *jihvayābhī*) *ṭṣṇatam* (AV. *grṇata*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *dairyā* (AV. *daivā*) *hotārā* (AV. °*ra*) *ūrdhvam* (KS. *hotrordhvam imam*, MS. *ūrdhvam imam*) *adhvaram naḥ*. The instr. of AV. KS. is original: 'greet our high oblation with the tongue of Agni.' In the others the preceding accs. have attracted *jihvayā* into their case: 'greet the tongue of Agni, our high oblation...' On MS. see §174.

## 6. Other miscellaneous variants

§474. The rest contain miscellaneous reinterpretations, sometimes accompanied by rather radical reconstructions of the material:

*vidhes team asmākaṁ nāma* (AB. AŚ. *nāmnā*) MS. KS. AB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. Preceded by *ridhema te nāma*; in AB. AŚ. the words *dyām gacha* are added, and with this phrase the instr. is construed. 'Let us



reverence thy name; do thou reverence our name': (in AB. AŚ.)  
'...do thou do reverence, with our name go to heaven.'

*taved u stomam* (SV. *stomaiś*) *ciketa* RV. AV. SV. The root *cit* governs either acc. or gen., so that it is permissible for SV. to reinterpret *tava* (originally possessive) as object of *ciketa*. 'I have thought only on thy praise': 'I have thought only on thee with praises.'

*cakṣus cit sūrye sacā* RV.: *cakṣuṣā sūryam dṛśe* SV. In RV. *cakṣus* is governed by *ā dade* of the preceding: 'he unites our eye to the sun,' cf. Bergaigne, *Rel. véd.* 1. 184. The SV. has a lect. fac.: 'that we may see the sun with our eye.'

*pratiprasthātāḥ paśunhi* KŚ. ApŚ.: *pratiprasthātāḥ paśum upakalpayanta* MŚ. 'Come with the cow': 'bring the cow near.' Change of verb.

*yajñam yad yajñavdhasaḥ* AV.: *yajñair vā* (TB. *vo*) *yajñavdhasaḥ* RV. TS. TB. The context of RV. TS. is wholly different from that of AV. TB. In RV. TS. followed by *viprasya vā matinām, marutāḥ śṛṅgulā havam*; for the interpretation see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1. 86. 2. In AV. TB. followed by *śikṣanto nopa* (TB. *āśikṣanto na*) *śekima*. AV. makes *yajñam* object: 'in so far as we, O sacrifice-bearers, desiring to effect the sacrifice, have not been able to effect it.' TB. is variously interpreted; the comm. is worthless. To us it seems to mean, if anything: 'seeking power by sacrifice to you, O sacrifice-bearers, we have not succeeded.' But the real explanation is that TB., in repeating the AV. stanza, has contaminated it with the similar *pāda* from a totally different context, which is remembered from RV., or more likely from TS.

*atomaḥ (giro) vardhanty atrayaḥ, gīrbhīḥ (gīraḥ) kumbhanty atrayaḥ* RV. (both). 'The Atris increase (the god) with praises, the Atris decorate (him) with songs': 'the Atris increase songs (for the god), ...decorate (i.e. fashion) songs (for him).' The first is preceded by an acc. referring to the god, the second by a dat.

*divyaṁ suparṇam vāyasam* (AV. *payasam*, VS. TS.\* KŚ. ŚB. *vayasā*, TS.\* MS. *vayasam*) *bṛhantam* RV. AV. VS. TS. (bis) MS. KŚ. ŚB. AŚ. Suparṇ. The original *vāyasam* 'bird' is changed into the instr. *vayasā* 'with strength', from a wholly different stem.

*pra tad viṣṇu (viṣṇuḥ, viṣṇus) stavato vīryeṇa* (AV. *vīryāni*, TB. ApŚ. *vīryāya*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. NrpU. The original means: 'Viṣṇu is praised here for his deed of heroism', *stavato* having passive force. In AV., unless *pra stavato* is understood in its later sense of 'begins' (which seems unlikely), it must

apparently be taken with active force: 'V. here praises his (own) heroic deeds.' Instead of this foolish perversion, TB. ApŚ. have another one, with a dative of result: 'V. is praised unto (so as to perform) heroism.' Cf. §558.

*ghṛteṇa teṁ tanvaṁ* (TS. *tanvaṁ*) *vardhayaśva* RV. VS. TS. MŚ. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N.: *ghṛtasyāgne tanvā saṁ bhava* KS. MŚ. Kauś. MG. Parallels rather than true variants, tho the contexts are in some texts the same.

*nīcād uccā svadharyābhi pra tasthau* Ppp. TS. KS.: *nīcāir uccāiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV. The meaning of the always troublesome word *svadhā* is doubly doubtful in this obscure verse of an obscure hymn. AV. *svadhā* is generally taken as acc.: 'he set forth unto the sacrificial drinks (? cf. *gharmā* of the preceding verse).' The others: 'he set forth according to his own will (?).' Bloomfield in a note suggests that *svadhā* may be nom. sg. in spite of the sandhi, which in more than one connexion is problematic. Macdonell, *Ved. Gr.* 251, notes that this word, originally apparently a stem in radical *ā*, sometimes appears in the nom. sg. without *s* in the p.p. but with hiatus in the s.p., and refers to RPr. 2. 29. TPr. 10. 13 teaches the sandhi *svadhā asi*. If nom., the word would mean here '(the first-born's) will set forth...' The variant may be partly phonetic in character; it suggests the use of *y* as 'Hiatus-tilger' (VV 2 §§338 ff.; this might have been mentioned in §342). *viśvā dādā pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyāḥ* VS. TS.: *viśvā* (MŚ. *vy*) *amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣibhiḥ* (KS. °*sebhyaḥ*, MŚ. °*ṣāṇām*) AV. MŚ. KS. See §573. The VS. TS. reading has all the earmarks of a lect. fac.; with *mānuṣīr* understand *kr̥ṣṭāḥ*: 'freeing men from fear'. Cf. VV 2 §§783, 832.

*udagrābhāṣya namayan vadhasnāiḥ* (SV. °*snam*) RV. SV. There seems to be no object for *namayan* in RV.; SV. feels it necessary to specify who is 'brought low', and makes it 'the weapon-bearer', doubtless thinking vaguely of demoniac enemies.

*dame-dame suṣṭutir* (°*iyā*, °*tir*, °*ti*) *vām iyānā* (*vārdhānā*, °*nau*), see §413. The instr. is clearly original, acc. secondary.

[*mā me* °*vān nābhīm atigāḥ* TS. KŚ. MŚ.: *mām evā gnābhīr abhigāḥ* Vait. Read in Vait. *mā me* °*vāg nābhīm*.]

## 7. Phrase inflection

§475. We find a single case which seems to belong in this group (§§21-2):



*tuvidyumna yaśasvatāḥ* (RV.\* °*ratā*) RV. (both) AV. See *RVRep.* on 1. 9. 6.

### 8. Transfer of epithet

§476. Of the instances of transfer of epithet (§14) causing a shift between acc. and instr., all but the first involve change of number or gender, or both, as well as case:

*iha tvā goparīṇasā* (SV. °*sam*) RV. AV. SV. Followed by *mahe mandantu rādhasē*. 'Here thee with (soma-)juice, supplying *sutena* with Grassmann) rich in milk': 'here thee rich in milk'. Oldenberg suggests as an alternative *goparīṇasāḥ* (sc. *somāḥ*), nom. pl., implying that RV. p.p. is incorrect.

*yaṁ nirmanthato aśvinā* RV. ApMB. HG. MG.: *yābhyāṁ nirmanthalām aśvinau devau* ŚB. BṛhU. Preceded by *hiranyayī arañī*, and followed by *taṁ te garbhāṁ haviṁmahe* (*dadhāmahe*). In the first *yaṁ* refers to *garbhāṁ*, in the latter *yābhyāṁ* to *arañī*.

*pathā madhumatā bharan* (MS. *madhumad ābharan*) VŚ. MS. TB. Followed by *aśvinendrāya vīryam*. The adjective goes alternatively with *pathā* or *vīryam*.

*yebhīr vācam vīścarūpebhīr* (TB. °*rūpām*) *anyayan* (TB. *samavyayat*) KS. TB. The adjective is transferred from *yebhīr* (TB. comm. *yaṁ karmakauśalāḥ*) to *vācam*.

*ava bādhe pṛtanyatāḥ* (ApŚ. °*tā*) MS. ApŚ. And others, see Cone. Preceded by *indreṇa manyunā yujā*. In MS. *pṛt*° means 'enemies'; in ApŚ. '(friendly) champion', agreeing with *indreṇa*. Caland translates the MS. reading without comment; we see no reason to abandon the text of ApŚ., tho it is of course secondary and based on MS. For *pṛtanyatī* with Indra as subject and a hostile object cf. RV. 1. 54. 4. The next following word in both is *ghnatā*, agreeing with *indreṇa*.

*yayāṇiṣā dampatī vāmam aśnutāḥ* AV.: *yaṁ āśirā dampatī vāmam aśnutāḥ* TS.: *yad āśirdā dampatī vāmam aśnutāḥ* VS. The original *yayā* is transferred to agree with *vāmam*; on the gender-change cf. §809.

*abhi tvādhām sahīyasā* RV. ApMB.: *upa te 'dhām sahīyasīm* AV. Preceded by *upa* (AV. *abhi*) *te 'dhām sahamānām*. 'I have laid under (AV. over) thee the strong (plant), I have covered thee with the stronger (thing; AV. I have laid under thee the stronger [plant]).' The instr. in the original does not go with the plant, as the gender shows (§808); by a natural shift it is transferred to it in AV.

§477. There are also a couple of instances of the type described in §15,

in which a word which in the original is not properly an 'epithet' at all is altered in form so as to become a true 'epithet' of another entity: *hastacyuti* (SV. °*cyutah*) *janayanta* (SV. † °*yata*) *prastastam* RV. SV. KS.

KB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The original form is a Vedic Instr., 'by hand-motion'; like the parallel *didhitibhiḥ* in the preceding, it goes with *janayanta*, whose object, Agni, is modified by a series of acc. epithets (of which *prastastam* is one). In SV. *hasta*° is made into another epithet of Agni.

*savātarau na tejasā* (TB. °*si*) VS. TB. The word *savātarau* (said by the scholiasts to mean 'having a common calf', with *dhenū* preceding) is one of a series of epithets of *uṣe* 'dawn and night' (in *hotā yakṣad uṣe*...). VS. *tejasā* is an Instr. of means with the following verb (*vatsam indram avardhatām*), of which *savātarau* may also be considered the subject: 'they two have increased Indra with splendor'. It can hardly be doubted that TB. *tējasī* is a simple case of form-assimilation to the fem. dual; the comm. takes it as an adjective (*tejasvinau*), but the accent shows that it is rather a noun, 'the two brilliances'.



## CHAPTER XX

### ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE

#### 1. After verbs of motion and the like

§478. Among the cases in which accusative and dative constructions approach one another, doubtless the most striking and familiar are those in which after a verb of motion an accusative of goal may vary with a dative. In the Veda, this dative is, as a rule, perhaps not to be regarded as a psychological equivalent of the accusative; Delbrück (AIS. 143) has made out a plausible case for the theory that it regularly contains a suggestion of the interested party, rather than the goal of motion, pointing out that it generally occurs with persons. Or, in other cases, the dative may be final in character (Delbrück 147 f.), approaching, or even attaining, the status of an infinitive. We shall not enter into these questions, contenting ourselves with recording the variants which occur. *kāmena mā* (TA. *me*) *kāma āgan* (TA. *āgāt*) AV, TA. 'By love love has come to (for) me.'

*ado māgachatu* MS. KS. MŚ.: *ado ma āgachatu* ApŚ. (Delete ApŚ. 4. 13. 8 under the former heading in Conc. and add it under the latter.) If ApŚ. has anything other than a peculiar sandhi variation (cf. VV 2 §990), it would belong here.

§479. Examples of a more strictly final dative varying with an accusative of goal after a verb of motion are:

*sā paprathe prthivī pārthivāni* (KS. MŚ. °*rdya*) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'This earth spread out unto the earthly (regions)' or 'so as to reach the earthly (region).'

*sindhur avabhṛtham avapraṇan* TS.: *sindhur avabhṛthāpyodyatah* VS. 'Sindhu going down into the purification-bath': 'Sindhu lifted up for the p.b.' The verbal expression is changed in VS. to one which more naturally goes with a dative.

*śubhaḥ yātām* (MS. *śubhe kam*) *onu rathā arjanta* RV, TS. MS. KS. Here both *śubhaḥ* and *śubhe* may be classed as infinitives.

§480. Here may be mentioned the following, in which *svasti* is rather ambiguous; Keith takes it as an independent interjection ('hail!'); to us it seems most likely to be an adverbial acc.:

*lam* (TS. *lad*) *āśvinā pari dhattam evaṣṭi* (MŚ. °*laye*) TS. KS. MŚ. 'O Āśvins, encompass this one comfortably (unto well-being).'

§481. After a verb of sending, a dative of 'indirect object' varies with an acc. of goal tagged with the postposition *upa*:

*athem enam* (AV. *athemam enam*) *pra kipuḍḍi pitrbhyaḥ* (AV. † *pitār upa*).

RV. † 10. 16. 1d, AV. TA. 'Then send him forward unto the fathers.' AV. comm. reads *pitrbhyaḥ* but also comments upon *upa*! (as if blending the two readings).

§482. Verbs of placing, especially *dā*, may be construed with either acc. or dat. of person, with (we may suppose) different psychological turns (see §72):

*margam me lokam yajamānāya dhehi* Vait.: *svargaḥ loka yajamānam hi dhehi* (and, *dhehi mām*) TB. ApŚ. (both in each). 'Grant the world of heaven to me the sacrificer': 'place (me) the sacrificer in the world of heaven.'

§483. Verbs of revering or the like are also found with either dat. or acc. of person:

*yajñasya tvā* (MS. *te*) *yajñapate śūktoktau* (TS. *harirbhīh*, KS. *saha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *śūktarāke* (omitted in VS. MS. ŚB.) *namoḍke vidhema* (VS. ŚB. add *yat svāhā*, MS. adds *svāhā*).

*vasīrmanas* (MS. MŚ. *vasīri*°, ApŚ. *vasītu*°) *te sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *vasīrmati* (TS. ApŚ. *vasīti*°, and so TA. Poona ed. with v. 1. °*(ri)* *te sapema* TS. TA. ApŚ. We need not accept Pischel's improbable theory that *te* is acc. (see Oldenberg's judicious critique, RVN<sup>otes</sup> 1: 25 ff.). The construction of *sap* 'devote oneself to (a god)' with dat. is exceptional, but may easily have been suggested by this construction with *sac* (see e.g. RV. 8. 60. 18).

§484. Other verbs:

*abhūṣantas te* (TB. *te*) *sumutau navāyām* RV. AV. TB. The usual interpretation makes *te* a gen. with *sumutau*, which is dependent on the participle: 'presenting ourselves to thy fresh favor'. Without denying this possibility we suggest that *te* may be a dat. depending directly on the participle, used in the same sense as the simple *bhūṣ* with dat. (BR. *studere*, *colere*). For this in TB. an acc. is substituted (comm. on TB. *sarvataḥ prabāṣantaḥ*): 'attending thee in a new song of praise.'

*lam indram abhi gāyata* RV. 8. 32. 13: *tasmā indrāya gāyata* RV. 1. 4. 10. 5. 4; AV. Both: 'sing praises to this Indra.' The compound *abhi-gai* takes acc., the simple *gai* dat. RV. 8. 32. 13 = 1. 4. 10 entire.



## 2. Dedicatory expressions

§485. In formulae of dedication, accusatives and datives are variously used in substantially equivalent phrases (see §126):

*digbhyah śrotam* (sc. *alabhate*) TB.† 3. 4. 18. 1: *dikah śrotam* (sc. *anva-  
casjātāi*) AB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. '(He takes) the ear for the directions':  
'(send) the ear to the directions.'

*agnim svāhā* MS.: *agnim agnau svāhā* (here a verb of placing is under-  
stood) ApŚ. MŚ. ApMB.; *svāhāgnim* KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.: *agnaye  
svāhā* AV. etc. Likewise: *svāhā prajāpataye* (TB. *\*patim*) TS.  
KSA. TB.: *svāhā sarasvatyai* (KS. *\*ām*) TS. KS. etc.; *svāhā sīvān  
devān* KS.: *svāhā viśvebhyo devēbhyah* VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. And many  
other similar phrases. The contexts are often quite different. The  
dat. is felt as governed by *svāhā*, 'hail to...' The acc. is sometimes  
dependent on some verb supplied from the context, but at times  
no such verb is clearly suppliable, and then the acc. is commonly  
understood in a sort of interjectional fashion; however, one may  
always understand, if one wishes, a verb such as 'we worship'.  
Cf. next, and §377. The TB. comm. supplies *uddiśya*. Cf. also  
§459, *svāhāgnim*...

*akūtim* (MS. MŚ. MG. *\*tam*) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS.  
ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *akūtyai prayuje 'gnaye* (MS. KS. *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS.  
TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. Cf. *prce.*, and see especially TS. 4. 1. 9. 1,  
where the acc. form occurs in a list of several such acc. formulae,  
followed by two in the dat.

## 3. Dative of purpose : accusative (object or goal)

§486. The dative of purpose is sometimes used to express the same  
idea which is otherwise expressed by the same word in the accusative,  
either felt as immediate object or goal, or in apposition to another word  
so used. Theoretically the dative in this use might, indeed, vary with  
any other case; see §70. Thus:

*rāyas poṣaṁ vi śyatu* (RV. MS. TB.\* *śyātām*, AV. MS.\* *śya*) *nābhīm  
asme* (AV. *asya*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. (bis) TB. (bis) ApŚ.: *toṣṭah  
poṣāya viśya nābhīm asme* KS. '(Our seminal fluid, *tuṣṭam*) release  
(let him release, etc.) for increase (as increase of wealth)... for  
us (etc.).'

*mahyam sūro abharaj jyotiṣe kam* AV.: *mahyam jyotiṣe abharat sūryas  
tat* KS. 'The sun brought (it) to me in order to light': 'to me the  
sun brought that light.' The AV. (probably original) understands  
the object from the preceding pāda; KS. by a lect. fac. makes  
*jyotiṣe* the object.

*asamātim grheṣu naḥ* AV.: *grhāṇām asamartyai* TS. In AV. the acc. is governed by the preceding *abhi rakṣatu*; Bloomfield, following Sāyana: '... preserve for us (possessions) without measure [literally, unmeasuredness] in our house.' In TS. is added another *pāda*, *bahavo nā grhā asaḥ*, the two constituting an independent sentence: 'may our houses be many, for unharmedness of our house.'  
*taṁ te grhṇāmi yajñāyāḥ ketubhīḥ sāha* KṢ.: *taṁ te* (AŚ. *taḥ*) *harāmi brahmaṇā* TB. Vait. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. The preceding *pādas* are *ya āśvatthāḥ śamīgarbha āruroha tee sacā* (KṢ. *wayy api*). 'The āśvatthā ... that has grown up by thee (TB. *com. te teyaḥ nimittabhūtaḥ satyām*), that for thee I take ...' In AŚ. the meaning is essentially the same, but instead of the dative (TB. *com. tadartham*), referring to the firestick, we have an appositional acc.: 'that I take as thee (the firestick).' The firestick of course is made from the āśvatthā.

*vṛṣaṇe kuṣṁdāyāṣe varṣase* TS.: *vṛṣaṇam kuṣṁam āyāṣe varṣase kṛdhi* MŚ. Preceded by *mā mā rājan vibhīḥṣa mā me hṛdi* (MŚ. *\*dīm*) *tvīṣā* (MŚ. *dvīṣā*) *vadbhīḥ*. 'Terrify me not, O king, smite not my heart ... unto (i.e. so that I may have) manly fury, life, splendor': '... make (for me) manly fury, unto life, splendor.' It is hard to say which is original; if MŚ. be considered so, TS. could be explained by case-attraction to the accompanying datives.

[*pra tad viṣṇu* (*viṣṇuḥ*) *śānate vṛṣeṇa* (*vṛṣdyai*, *vṛṣāya*), see §§474, 555. The instr. is the original form.]

#### 4. Miscellaneous final dative : accusative

§487. There remain a few miscellaneous cases in which a final dative varies with an accusative, variously construed; other changes in the phraseology unite with this to produce a rather extensive reconstruction of the variant:

*śukrāṁ vayanīy asurāya nīrñijam* RV.: *śukrā vi vanti asurāya nīrñije* SV. 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura': 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously to adorn the Asura.' The noun of RV. becomes an infinitive in SV., perhaps by case-attraction to the adjoining *asurāya*; but cf. also *nīrñije* in RV. 10. 49. 7.

*taṁ* (MŚ. *taṁ*) *mā devā avantu bōbhāyai* (MŚ. *\*yi*) TS. MS. TA. 'May the gods aid me unto splendor.' The MŚ. form seems to be neut. acc. of a stem *\*bōbhāyin*, doubtless adverbial, 'splendidly'.

*prchāmi tvā citaye* (IŚ. *\*yam*) *devasakha* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. IŚ. The dat. *citaye* may be considered an infinitive: 'I ask thee for



understanding (i.e. that I may understand).<sup>3</sup> *LS. citayam* (repeated in the comm.) would seem to be from an unrecorded \**citaya*, an adjective agreeing with *tad*: '... thee that understandest'. Cf. next.

*kaviṁ prchāmi vidmāṁ* (AV. *vidmāṁ*) *na vidvān* RV. AV. 'I ask the sages, I ignorant, to one that knows (those that know).' The AV. is a lect. fac., attracting the adjective into agreement with *kaviṁ*. The change resembles that in the last.

#### 5. Miscellaneous dative of interest : accusative

§488. Similarly a dative of the interested party varies in miscellaneous ways with an accusative; usually there is extensive reconstruction of the passage, involving sweeping changes in other forms also:

*dyaus ca ma idam prthivī ca pracetasau* AV.: *dyaus ca naḥ* (KS. TB. *tad*) *prthivī ca pracetasā* RV. KS. TB. The RV. passage is in a different context from all the others. In KS. TB. the pronoun is object of *pipartu* 'protect'. Ppp. according to Roth ap. Whitney has *mā*, acc., for AV. *ma idam*; this latter Whitney finds 'embarrassing', but without reason as it seems to us; *idam* is object of *pipartu*, *me* dative of interest. We may render with Ludwig: 'Dyaus und Prthivī. fordern mir dies'; or we may take *pipartu* from *pṛ* 'fill' in the sense of 'fulfil, grant'.

*ajṣapatendram vājam* VS. ŚB.: (*ajṣapata*) *indram vājam* (MS. MŚ. *indrāya vācam*) *śimucyudheam* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. 'Ye have caused Indra to win the prize; (be released).' So essentially all but MS. MŚ., which mean 'ye have caused Speech to win for Indra ...'

*vānaspatīn vānaspatyān, oṣadhīr uta vīrudhāḥ* AV. 8. 8. 14ab, 11. 9. 24ab; *devān punyajānān pūrā* AV. 8. 8. 15b, 11. 9. 24d: *vānaspatībhyo vānaspatyebhya oṣadhībhyo vīrudhbhyaḥ sarvebhyo devebhya devajānebhyah punyajanebhyah* Kauś. In Kauś. a dedicatory formula, based on vaguely remembered fragments of AV. passages (used in AV. in quite other, and mutually different, contexts).

*yajñam hinvanty adribhīḥ* RV.: *yajñāya santv adrayaḥ* SV. 'They promote the sacrifice with stones': 'let the stones be for the sacrifice.'<sup>4</sup> See §419; same context, loosely rephrased.

*madhu tvā madhulā cakāra* (Ppp. *karat*, MS. *kr̥ṣṭu*, TA. ApŚ. *karotu*) RV. Ppp. MS. TA. ApŚ.: *madhu me madhulā karah* AV. Change of person in pronoun; 'the honeyed one has made (shall make) thee into honey': 'mayst thou, honeyed, make honey for me.'

*pāramāṇyaḥ* (SV. MG. \**nā*) *punantu mā* (SV. *nah*, MS. *tvā*, YDh. *te*) RVKh. SV. TB. MG. YDh. 'May they purify me (us, thee)'; 'may they purify for thee', with indefinite and unexpressed object. Cf. next.

*sa tvā* (Kauś. *no*, ViDh. *me*) *rakṣatu sarvataḥ* AV. Kauś. ViDh. In ViDh. no object is expressed, unless *me* be taken as acc. as Jolly seems to take it (cf. above, §483; we take no stock in *me*, *te* as accs.). As in the preceding: 'may he protect for me on all sides.' *kas te yunakti*, and *kas te vimuñcati*, MG.: *kas tvā yunakti*, and *kas tvā vimuñcati*, VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *ko vo yunakti*, and *ko vo vimuñcati*, ApŚ. MŚ. MG. On the 'yoking' and 'unyoking' of a rite see Caland on ApŚ. 4. 16. 10; it is simply a mystically grandiose expression for 'beginning' and 'ending'. In most texts *tvā* is used referring to the rite. In MG. twice *te* is used referring to the *devatā*, the object (the rite, as in the others) being understood. MG.: 'Who yokes (unyokes) [the rite] for thee?'

*asmin yajñe yajamānīya sūrim* AV.: *imam yajñam yajamānam ca sūrim* ApŚ. Preceded by *indrāya bhāgaṁ pari tvā nayāmi* AV., *indrasya bhāgaḥ swite dadhātana* ApŚ. Both unintelligent and scarcely translatable; *yajamāna* and *sūri* ought to refer to the same person, but only Ppp. (as reported by Roth ap. Whitney, . . . *yajñapatiś ca sūriḥ*) has them in the same case (the nominative; in other respects Ppp. is hardly more intelligent).

*tanā* (SV. *tmanā*) *kṛṇvanto arnate* (SV. \**taḥ*) RV. SV. Preceded by *sugā tokāya vājinaḥ*. Subject is the soma-drops, with which *vājinaḥ* agrees in RV.: 'creating welfare uninterruptedly for the offspring, they the swift ones, and for the steed.' SV.: 'the swift ones, creating welfare and horses for the offspring by themselves', or 'creating welfare and swift horses. . . ?'

*amā ma edhi mā mṛthā na* (AŚ. *ima*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG.: *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB. 'Do not abandon us (me)'; 'do not die for us' (!). See VV 2 §78.

*abhi tvādhām vakṣyasā* RV. ApMB.: *upa te dhām vakṣyasim* AV. See §476.

*agnau vā tvā gārhapatyē bhiceruḥ* AV.: *yām te cakrur gārhapatyē* AV. The latter: 'what (spell) they have made for (against) thee. . .', while in the former *tvā* is object of *abhicerur* 'bewitched'.

*samidhah* (ApŚ. MŚ. *samidhyyah*) *preṣya* ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. In all texts addressed by the *adhvaryu* to the *maitrāvaruṇa*: 'order (the hotar to recite the formula) for the firesticks.' The dative is usual with



the stereotyped *preṣṣa* to denote the *devatā* to which offering or prayer is made, the acc. to denote the rite or action ordered (e.g. *śama* or the like; see BR. s. v. *iṣ* + *pra*). Here *samidbhyaḥ* is originally the proper form, the kindling sticks being the *devatā* of the formula which the hotar is commanded to recite. But by figurative transference *samidhah* is treated as the name of the rite: 'order (the recitation of the formula for) the firesticks.' See on this sort of 'name' Edgerton, *Mīmāṃsā Nyāya Prakāśa*, §§204, 300. *tan ma* (Vait. *mā*) *āpyāyatān punaḥ* GB. Vait. In GB.: 'let that be strong for me again.' Note hiatus in Vait. If it really intends *mā*, it must understand the verb in an active sense, as in Mbh. 5. 508: 'let that make me strong again.'

[*yatra vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāśaḥ* HG.: *yatrāśprkṣat tanva yac ca vāśasaḥ* (ApMB. *tanvān yatra vāśaḥ*) AV. ApMB. *tanuvai* might be gen. with ending *ai* (§144), cf. the AV. reading which is certainly gen. But since HG. is otherwise corrupt (Oldenberg adopts the AV. reading), little reliance can be placed upon it.]

#### 6. Transfer of epithet

§489. Transfer of epithet (§14) between dative and accusative forms appears in the following cases. First, some in which number and gender are not changed:

*dakṣya dakṣurtham* (TS. °*dhe*) TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *prajāpataye tvā jyotiṣmate jyotiṣmantuṁ gṛhṇāmi*. In MS. KS. the adjective agrees with *tvā*, carried over from the preceding; in TS. it is attracted into agreement with *dakṣya*.

*dyaus te* (AŚ. PG. *tvā*) *dadātu pṛthivī* (PG. adds *tvā*) *pratigṛhṇātu* AŚ. PG. HG. The dative refers to the recipient of the gift, the acc. to the gift; 'may heaven give (to) thee.' The next two are similar. *śukram te śukreṇa gṛhṇāmi* TS. KS. ApŚ.: *śukram tvā śukra śukrāya gṛhṇāmi* MS. MŚ.: *śukram tvā śukra ādhuṇomi* VS. ŚB. As in prec. and next, the pronouns refer to different things.

*śukram te* (MS. *te śukra*) *śukreṇa kṛṇāmi* (MS. omits *kṛ*) *candram candreṇāṃṣtam aṃṣtena* (MS. adds *kṛṇāmi*. . .) TS. MS. KS.: *śukram tvā śukreṇa kṛṇāmi* . . . VS. ŚB. *te* refers to the seller of the soma, *tvā* to the soma; cf. preceding two.

*athaitān aṣṭau virūpān* (TB.† 3. 4. 19. 1 *athaitān arūpebhya*) *ālūbhatē* VS. VSK. TB. In VS. VSK. the adjective refers to the eight 'malformed' men who are dedicated (in these texts) to Prajāpati; in TB. the same eight are dedicated to *devatās* called 'formless'.

*dhātām rayīm sahasīrām* (ApMB. *dalavīrām*) *vacasya* RV. ApMB.: *rayīm dīhī sarasīrām vacasyam* AV. The epithet *vacasya* is attracted in AV. into agreement with *rayīm*; in the original it referred to the recipient of the gift.

*yajñāya stīrṇabarhiṣa vi vo made* RV. AS.: *yajñeṣu stīrṇabarhiṣam virakṣase* SV. In the original the adjective agrees with *yajñāya*, in SV. with *tvā* of the preceding (*hotāram tvā vṛṇīmahe*).

(*indrāya tvā bṛhadvate vayasvata ukthāyase* (VSK. MS. \**yavam*, VS. ŚB. KS.† *ukthāyam*, VS. VSK. ŚB. \**am grhṇāmi*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The acc. goes with *tvā*, the dat. with *indrāya*. Add to VV 2 §805 (stems *ukthāyu* : *ukthā-ai*).

§490. With change of number and gender as well as case:

*līḡeṣā tā mahe* (ApŚ. *mahī*, v. l. *mahe*) *vṛṣan* SV. ApŚ. Followed by *dyāuḥ hotrāya pṛthivī* (ApŚ. \**vīm*; see §746). In SV. the adj. agrees with *hotrāya*, in ApŚ. (if *mahī* be read) with *dyāuḥ*.

§491. In the following an originally independent noun seems to be attracted into functioning as epithet of another word, if we are right in taking KS. TB. ApŚ. as secondary. Cf. §15:

*ayakṣmāya tvā saṁsṛjāmi prajābhyah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayakṣmā vah prajāyā saṁsṛjāmi* KS. TB. ApŚ. 'I unite thee unto health, unto progeny': 'I unite you, diseaseless, with progeny.'

§492. Contrariwise, in the next what is in the original form an epithet is made into an independently construed noun (here, a dative of purpose) in the following:

*ūrjāsvalī rājasvalī* (MS. KS. *rājasūyāḥ*, TS. *rājasūyāya*) *citānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The waters are originally described as 'king-creating'; in TS. this adjective is replaced by the noun 'for king-crowning', which depends on *citānāḥ* ('caring for, having regard to'); cf. BR. a. v. 4 *cit*, 2. See next.

*māhā rājasūyāḥ* MS. MŚ.: *māhā rājasūyāya citānāḥ* TS.: *māhā rājasvalī* VS. ŚB. Supply *apah* in all; we have here a reminiscence of the formula just quoted, q. v.



## CHAPTER XXI

### ACCUSATIVE AND ABLATIVE

#### L. With verbs of separation, guarding, etc.

§493. The accusative and ablative approach interchangeability chiefly in connexion with certain verbs and certain prepositions. Thus, first, verbs of separation, guarding, purifying, or the like, since they suggest separation of two things or of a thing and a quality, may in principle put either of the two separated entities in either the acc. or the abl. Hence the following variants:

*īyam duruktāt* (PG. *\*īam*) *paribādhamānū* ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG.

'This (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or 'warding off slander (from its wearer).'

*āpas te tasmā jīvalāḥ* AV.: *āpas tat sarasam jīvalāḥ* ApŚ. Followed by *punantu* (ApŚ. *śundhantu*) *śucayāḥ śucīm*. 'May the pure living waters purify thee pure from that' or 'purify (thee) pure as to that all'; in ApŚ. *tat sarasam* may either be understood as a quasi-adverbial acc., or as a second direct object, so that we should then have in ApŚ. a blend of the two constructions, 'purify that (thing which is impure)' and 'purify thee (from that).'

*sakhyam te mā yoṣāḥ sakhyam te mā yoṣāḥ* SMB.: *sakhyā te mā yoṣam sakhyā me mā yoṣāḥ* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG. The root *yu* is either transitive, 'separate', or intransitive, 'be separated'. In SMB. the two clauses, one with active and one with middle verb, seem to be equivalent in meaning (transitive in both!): 'Withhold not thy friendship.' The others: 'may I not be separated from thy friendship, nor thou from mine.'

#### 2. With prepositions

§494. Similarly both cases are used after various prepositions, with or without difference of meaning. Notably *ā* in the meaning 'up to, until' may take either acc. or abl., while in the meaning 'from' it takes only the abl., never the acc. Also *pari* is used with both cases, tho with different meanings:

*ūrjo mā pāhy odṛcam* MŚ.: *ūrdhvo mā pāhy odṛcaḥ* TS.: *ūrdhvo mā pāhy*

*atthasak*, *āsya yajñasyodraś* VS ŚB. *ā-udraś* (\**cam*) in all means 'until the end (of this sacrifice).' The variant *ārjo* for *ādhro* (obviously a silly blunder if not a misprint) should be added to VV 2 §160.

or: *antarikṣam* ŚŚ.: *āmāt sadhasthād* or: *antarikṣāt* TB, ApŚ. Here the contexts are quite different, and the preposition has different meanings, 'to' with acc., 'from' with abl. Probably not true variants.

*ye jātās tanyas* (PB, \**cam*) *pari* RV, MS, PB, ŚB, TA. 'Who are born from the body (of Aditi)': 'who are born about (near) [her] body.' But Caland is doubtless right in assuming that PB has a mere corruption of the RV. reading.

### 3. Miscellaneous

§495. Of the rest—barring those classified under 'transfer of epithet'—there is little to be said. They concern miscellaneous reinterpretations of the passages, usually with other changes besides the one with which we are concerned, and oftener than not yielding very poor sense in the secondary version, so that the term 'corruption' begins to apply. In not a few cases the variation is between *n* and *t*, suggesting possible graphic variation (VV 2 §871).

*rūpaṁ varṇaṁ paśūnām mā nirmṛkṣam* ApŚ.: *rūpād varṇaṁ mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ. 'May I not wipe out the form, the color of the cattle': 'may he not wipe away the color from the form.' ApŚ. is a little less banal than MŚ.

*yakṣmā yanti janād* (AV, ApMB: *janān*) *anu* RV, AV, ApMB. In RV, abl. of source: 'from the (malicious) folk'; *anu*, *yanti*, 'follow'. AV, ApMB. construe *anu* as postposition with acc. *janān*. Altho Bloomfield (*The Atharvaveda* 50) mentioned this as an instance of a superior AV. reading as compared with RV., we think he would perhaps retract this opinion now; see Oldenberg, *RVNeden* on 10. 85. 31. If there is a single case in which AV. shows itself superior to RV. in a variant reading, we do not know of it.

*āvadhyaṁ vātām* (MS: *vātān*) *sabvaṁ* (TB, Poona ed. *sabvaṁ*) *tad ārāt* VS, MS, KS TB. Preceded by *apāmatīm dūmatīm bādhamānāḥ*. 'Driving away undigested food, wind, and digested food' (? but *sabvaṁ* is quite uncertain). Does MS. *vātān* mean '(arising) from wind,' referring to *āvadhyaṁ* and *sabvaṁ*? Or is it to be taken as abl. with *bādhamānāḥ*, or with *ārāt* felt as an adjective (a sort of 'case attraction')? In any event it is secondary and poor.



*śīṇak cid antāt upamām* (TA. *upa mām*, RV. *antān upamān*) *ud āna*. RV. AV. SV. TA. Some AV. mss. read *upa mām* with TA.; and Whitney adopts this. Benfey, Glossar, defines *upamām* as 'nabe' (adverb), but he translates 'zu allen Himmelsenden drang er aufwärts,' which seems to imply *antān*. The RV. alone is easily interpretable: 'he has attained unto the utmost bounds of very heaven.' The others perhaps: 'even from the bounds of heaven he has attained unto me (? unto the highest).'

*ta dvayāstran sodanād ṛtasya* (TS. *sadanāni kṛtā*, KS.\* *sadanāni rūtē*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. (his) N. 'They have turned hither from the abode of the *ṛta* (having established their abodes, etc.).' Add to VV 2 §§421, 665.

*rudrasya gāṇapatyaṇ* (VS. ŚB. *°gaṇ*, KS. *°ga*) *mayobhār cī* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In TS. *°patyaṇ* is certainly intended; this is read not only in the p.p. but in the pratika 5. 1. 2. 3, which see for the rather forced interpretation required by the form. But for this we should assume that *°patyaṇ* is acc. pl., which is probably the intention of MS. (whose p.p. would seem to read so, judging from the silence of von Schroeder; see §§526, 705).

*antān prthivya dīṇak* TB. ApŚ.: *tad antāt prthivyā adhi* MŚ. Preceded by *yad gharṇaḥ paryavartayat* (MŚ. *paryāte*). *pārī-ṛt* caus. probably = 'has brought hither.' The TB. ApŚ. stanza is very obscure; its last half is different from that of MŚ.

*ślebhānād ṛṣṭībhīr yātudhānāt* RV.: *utārebhāṇān ṛṣṭībhir yātudhānān* AV. Preceded by *utālabdham* (AV. *utārabdhān*) *spṛṇuḥi jātavedaḥ*. 'Win away, O J., him who is seized from the sorcerer who has seized him with spears.' So RV. The secondary AV. takes *spṛṇuḥi* zeugmatically as meaning 'win away' = 'set free' in a, but 'win' = 'conquer' in b: 'win away both those who are seized, and (conquer) the sorcerers who have seized (them) with spears.'

*viduḥ prthivyā divo janitram* (PB. *°trāt*) RV. PB. Followed by *kenvanti* (PB. *°iv*) *dya adha* (PB. *°dhah*) *kṣurantiḥ*. RV.: 'they know the birthplace of earth and heaven.' In PB. *janitrād* would seem to be felt as abl. of source with *kṣurantiḥ*, 'flowing from the birthplace.' But this leaves *viduḥ* apparently without object. Caland calls it incomprehensible and adopts the RV. reading.

*yato* (KS. *yad id*, TS. *yadī*) *bhūmih janayan vīśvakarmā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. On KapŚ. cf. Oertel 16. For the abl. pronoun KS. (and TS.) have adverbial forms used as conjunctions.

§496. Yet more dubious, or certainly corrupt, or based on misunderstandings or misquotations, are the following:

*atrā* (AV. *tatra*) *yamaś śādanā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *krnotu*) RV. AV.† TA. 'Here let Yama fix a resting-place for thee.' The TA. reading (comm. *śhāpananimittam*) can hardly be anything but a phonetic blunder (VV 2 §405).

*jāmim itū mā vicitśi lokān* TA.: *jāmim itū māva patsi lokāt* AV. The latter is original: 'having gone to my relatives let me not fall from heaven.' TA. Poona ed. *jāmi mibā . . . lokāt* (v. l. *lokān*). The comm., tho he reads *lokāt*, seems to understand an acc.: *lokam . . . naiva lapsyasi*. In any case TA. is scarcely interpretable. See VV 2 §198 (besides §871).

*yat tvemahe* (SMB. *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś. *prati nas taj*) *juṣaṣva* RV. TS. MS. Kauś. SMB. PG. ApMB. On SMB. see VV 2 §§365, 835, where three different commentarial explanations of its seemingly impossible reading are quoted.

[*yamād ahañ vaivisvatī* RV.: *yan me yamañ vaivanutam* PB. So Conc.; but the facts are obscured both by this comparison and by Caland's remarks on PB. 1. 5. 18, which Caland identifies with RV. 10. 60. 10. The truth is that PB. 1. 5. 18 is a combination of RV. 10. 58. 1ab with 10. 60. 10cd; when this is realized it will be seen that there is no case variation.]

[*pañcadaśāt prasūtāt pitryāvataḥ* KBU.: *tan ardhamāsyāḥ prasutān pitryāvataḥ* JB. Conc., but read *ardhamāsyāḥ prasūtāt pitr<sup>o</sup>*, Oertel, JAOS. 19 (2) 112, 115.]

[*śaśānām vakṣi priyam ā sadhaṣṭham* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Conc. *sadhaṣṭhat* for KSA.]

#### 4. Transfer of epithet

§497. Transfer of epithet involving change between accusative and ablative forms (sometimes also shift of gender) has been noted mainly in cases where one of the variant forms cannot properly be called an 'epithet' but is rather a form of independent construction. The following is perhaps the only case of true 'transfer of epithet', and even in it this term perhaps requires stretching. It is in any case clear that the acc. forms of VS. MS. KS. ŚB. are original, and that they are correlative with, if not exactly 'epithets' of, the accs. of the preceding *pāda*; also that the abl. forms of TS. have been drawn into agreement with the preceding *ītas*:

*rtasya dhāmnō amṛtasya yonē* TS.: *rtasya yonīm mahiṣasya dhārām* VS. KS. ŚB.: *ghrtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim* MS. Preceded in all by *iṣam ūrjam aham ita ādam* (*ādade, ādi*).



§498. In the next group a word originally of independent construction has been drawn into agreement with another word (§15):

*prākto apācīm anayam tad enām AV.*; *prācīm arācīm aṁ yann arisṭyaṁ*

TA. The adverbial *prākto* of the original AV. is attracted to the case of *arācīm*, which in both texts agrees with *yvatīm* of *pāda a*.

*inam adhvānam yam agāma dūrāt (IŚ. dūram) RV. IŚ.*; *yam adhvānam agāma dūram AV.* Again the adverbial form of the original RV. is

made in AV. IŚ. into an adjective agreeing with *advhānam*.

*anamitram nō adharāt AV.*; *anamitram me tadharāk (KS. nō adharāk)*

VSK. KS. followed by:

*anamitram na uttarāt AV.*; *anamitram udak kṛdhī VSK. KS.* Again the original has ablative adverbs. This time the acc. forms might also be regarded as adverbs, but it is at least as likely that they are adjectives going with *anamitram*. 'Freedom from enemies... (from) below,... (from) above.'

*yakṣman īronibhyām (ApMB. īronī?) bhāsadāt RV. AV. ApMB.*; *yakṣman bhāsadyaṁ īronibhyām bhāsadam AV.* The original 'from the rump' is turned into an adjective agreeing with *yakṣman*, 'of the rump'. The verb is *vi vyāmi*. In the text of AV. there are in fact two such adjectives, synonyms; one is doubtless an ancient gloss (Whitney ad loc., and Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda*, 47).

§499. We have noted only two instances, closely parallel and in the same context, of the reverse of this, in which what is originally an epithet is changed into a noun of independent construction (§15):

*avalān mā vyathitam (VS. ŚB. °at) VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.*; *avalād vyathitam*

MS. KS. ŚB. 'Protect me distressed' or 'from distress'.

*avalān mā nāthitam (VS. ŚB. °at), same texts.*

## CHAPTER XXII

### ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE

#### 1. With verbs governing both cases

§500. Accusative and genitive touch each other most closely with certain verbs which may be construed with both cases. See in general Delbrück *AIS.* 158 ff.; our variants supplement and modify slightly, at certain points, his treatment. We shall refrain from discussing, as Delbrück does, possible differences of connotation between the two interchanged cases after these verbs, since in the nature of things there can be no proof of such distinctions; any one is at liberty to assume them subjectively if he desires.

§501. Verbs of eating and drinking and the like (partaking) constitute the largest group among the variants. Here there is, of course, no doubt that the genitive is partitive in character. Yet the accusative may also be used in cases where the partitive idea would seem to us to be especially demanded, as in the first variant, where KŚ. ApŚ. certainly cannot mean that the whole of the River Sarasvatī was drunk!

*papuh sarasvatī nadyāḥ* (MŚ. *\*tyān nadyān*, KŚ. ApŚ. *\*im nadīm*)  
Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'They drank (of, or MŚ. in) the River Sarasvatī.'

*sa bhadram akar yo nah somam* (AŚ. *somasya*) *pāyayisyati* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.  
*indra piba sūtānām* RV.: *imam indra sūtān piba* RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ.  
ApŚ.

*yaḥ indro apibac chaciḥ* VS. KS. AB. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *yasyendro apibac chaciḥ* KS.: *yam asyendro apibaḥ saciḥ* MŚ.

*vācaspataye tvā hutaṁ prāśnāmi* TS. ApŚ.: *vācaspatinā te hutasyeṣe prāśnāya prāśnāmi* (ŚŚ. *hutasya prāśnāmiṣe prāśnāya*, ŚB. *hutasyāśnāmy*...) ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*rasumadgaṇasya*. *upahūtasypahūto bhakṣayāmi* (MŚ. *upahūta upahūtaṁ bhakṣ*) TS. MŚ.

*tan me 'śīya* HG.: *tasya te bhakṣīya* (ApMB. *'śīya*) TS. ApŚ. ApMB.  
*mano jyotir* (VS. ŚB. LŚ. *jātir*) *jyotām ājyasya* (TS. TB. *ājyam*, AŚ. *ājyam me*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. ŚB. AŚ. Vait. LŚ. KŚ.

The texts that have acc. and those that have *jyotir* with gen. must



mean 'may mind and light enjoy (partake of) the butter.' Those with *jātir* and *gen.* may be construed in the same way (so Mahādhara and Hillebrandt), but other interpretations have been suggested; see Eggeling, *SBE.* 12. 215 n. 1.

*lekah salekah eulekar te na ādityā ājyam jvānā vyantu* TS.: *sailah saligah sagaras te na ādityā haviṣo jvānā vyantu svāhā* MS. KS. In the same context also passages beginning *ketaḥ saketaḥ*..., see Conc.

§502. Verbs of offering; cf. Delbrück 160, where the *gen.* construction with *ku* is noted for Brāhmaṇa prose but not for RV., altho the RV. version of the first variant seems a clear instance;

*tasmā indrāya utam ā juhota* (TB. ApŚ. *juhomi*) VS. VSK. MS. KS.

ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV.: *tasmā indrāya haviṣo* (TB. *haviṣā*) *juhota* MS. TB. See also §406, etc.

*indrāgnibhyām chāgasya haviḥ* (ApŚ. MŚ. *haviṣaḥ*) *preṣya* KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Also: *indrāgnibhyām chāgasya vapāyā medasaḥ* (KŚ. *vapām medaḥ*) *preṣya*; *indrā purodāśasya preṣya* (KŚ. *purodāśam*, supplying *preṣya*), same texts. And similar items containing *anu brāhi* instead of *preṣya*. We should render the first variant 'prompt (to the offering) of an oblation of a goat to Indra-Agni.' The *gen.* seems to be dependent on an expression of offering understood; cf. Schwab, *AITieropfer* 119. Otherwise Delbrück 161.

*apo* (TS. KS. *udno*) *dattodadhīm bhuntā* (KS.\* KapŚ. *dehy udadhīm bhindhī*) VS. TS. MS. KS. KapŚ. (Oertel 76.) Cf. §711; *apas* best taken as acc. of plurale tantum stem *ap*.

§503. Verbs of ruling:

*indro vīśvan vīśjati* AA.: *indro vīśasya rājati* SV. VS. AŚ. Svidh.

§504. Verbs of 'intellectual activity' (Delbrück 158):

*pra-tad voced amṛtasya* (Ppp. VS. *amṛtam nu*, TA. MahānU. *voce amṛtam nu*) *vidvān* AV. Ppp. VS. TA. 'Knowing immortality.' No significance can be attached to the fact that the adjectival-participle *vidvān* is used; obviously it is construed just as a finite verb form would be.

§505. Verbs of robbing are recognized as taking two accusatives, but we have found no recognition of their use with an acc. of the person and a *gen.* of the thing. In TB. the following variant seems to show such a use, unless we take *goh* as acc. pl. (1) as the TB. comm. seems to do: *yad amugñitam avasam pañim gāḥ* (TB. *goh*) RV. TB. 'When you two stole the food, (robbed) the Pañi of his cow(s).'

## 2. With nouns containing verbal force

§506. In several variants we find the acc. varying with the gen. after nominal periphrases of verbal ideas; cf. Delbrück 181, Whitney 271b; *mām anuvratā bhava* HG. ('be faithful to me'); cf. *agner* (AV. *patjyar*) *anuvratā bhūtvā* AV. TS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApMB. Tho in different contexts, AV. and HG. both use the formula in the marriage ceremony.

*apacēddaghyēnnasya* (MS. MŚ. ApŚ. *apacēddaghyēnnam*) *bhūyāsam* AV. MS. MŚ. ApŚ. 'May I not be failing of food.'

*kāntir no astu* MS.: *kāntir me astu kantiḥ* TA.: *sā mā kāntir ehi* VS. The acc. seems to depend on the verbal force still felt in *kānti*; Mahādhara *mā mām prati*.

§507. With nouns of agent in *tar*, a difference of accent is said to distinguish *dā'tā vasūni* from *dātā' vasūnām*, and according to Pān. 3. 2. 135 unaccented *tar* should denote a habitual condition, accented *tār* a specific act. The actual conditions are hard to reconcile with this theory; see Wackernagel, *AIGr.* 3. 201, 507. We find one such variant *pāda*; the phrase refers to Aryaman, who surely must be characterised as a habitual 'giver of good things' in both texts; in our opinion it would be pedantry to try to find a distinction in meaning between the two forms of the variant:

*dātā vasūnām puruhūto arhan* TS.: *dātā vasūni vidadhe tanūpāh* MS. TS. accents the second syllable of *dātā*, MS. the first, which accords with the rule of accent. The accusative cannot be taken with *vidadhé* in MS. since that word is accented, and this can only mean that it begins a new sentence.

## 3. Dedicatory expressions

§508. In many lists of dedicatory formulas we find an acc. of the deity and instr. of the offering varying with gen. (or dat.) of the deity and nom. of the offering (see §126). We content ourselves here with two examples:

*andhāhīn* (TS. <sup>o</sup>he, KSA. <sup>o</sup>heḥ but ms. <sup>o</sup>he) *sthūlagulayā* (TS. KSA. *sthūragulā*, MS. *sthūragulayā*) VS.† TS. MS.† KSA. '(We gratify) the blind-worms with the large intestines': 'the large intestines are for the blind-worms.'

*pūṣaṇam vaniṣṭhūnā* VS. MS.: *pūṣṇo vaniṣṭhuh* TS. KSA.

## 4. Descriptive or possessive genitive : modifying accusative

§509. In a considerable number of cases we find a descriptive or possessive genitive, sometimes approaching what is called the 'apposi-



tional genitive', varying with an adjective or noun or pronoun in syntactic correlation with the other (accusative) form. Such genitives may be found in principle varying with any other case, depending on the case of the noun on which they depend; see §85. The practical meaning of the two forms of the variant is in many cases substantially the same: *avyo* (SV. PB. *avyam*) *vāram vi dhāvati* RV. SV. PB. 'He (soma) flows thru the sieve of wool (woolen sieve).'

*vṛṣṭin divaḥ pavasa ritim apām* (SV. *apam*) RV. SV. 'Let stream the rain of heaven, the stream of waters (SV. the stream, the waters).' In view of the rarity of singular forms of stem *ap*, we prefer to construe *apam* thus as an acc. pl. (in apposition), rather than with Benfey as a gen. sing.

[*apāsya* (ApŚ. *apāmanan*) *nairṛtān pālān,*] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ. *mṛtyūn*) *ekāntam caye*, [*apāsya ye* [*śināḥ pālāḥ*],] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ. *mṛtyūn*) *ekasatam suve* KS. ApŚ. Also, in a different tho similar verse, [*apāspāḥ satvanāḥ pālān,*] *mṛtyūn ekasatam nude* Kauś. 'I remove from him the bonds of destruction, the 101 (bonds) of death (the 101 deaths).'

*nāsām āmitro* (TB. *nainā āmitro*) *vyathir ā dadharṣati* RV. AV. TB. 'No enemy does violence to their wandering course (to them [or] to [their] wandering course).' TB. comm. takes *vyathir* (on the meaning of which see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on I. 117, 15) as a nom. attribute of *āmitro*, which is obviously absurd.

*ūrjo bhāgam prthivā* (KS. ApŚ. 'vām) *yāty* (KS. *ety*, ApŚ. *eto*) *āprṇan* MS. KS. ApŚ. 'He (Savitar) goes filling the earth's lot with food': 'he goes (let him go) to the earth, filling it (and) its lot with food,' or the like. Here the occurrence of the verb of motion makes a complication; the acc. is doubtless felt as goal of that verb, but perhaps also as one of the objects of *āprṇan*.

*agnim* (VS. ŚB. *agnēr*) *jyotiḥ nicāyā* [*prthivā abhyābharat*] VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. 'Fire (and) light' or 'Agni's light.'

*somānam* (SV. 'nām) *svaram* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The SV. is certainly worthless; on the crucial *somānam* see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on I. 18. 1.

§510. In a couple of cases of this sort, the noun on which the genitive depends is in the other form of the variant made into an adjective agreeing with the (now accusative) form which replaces the genitive: *ava devānām yajā heda agne* (KS. *yaje hidyāni*, MŚ. *yaje hedyāni*) AV. KS. MŚ. : *agne devānām ava heda iyakva* (KS. *ikyva*) KS. ApŚ. : *ava devān yajā hedyān* TB. ApŚ. In the last variant *hedyān* is an adjective agreeing with the acc. *devān*: 'the wrathful gods' instead of 'the wrath of the gods.'

*pra samrājo* (SV. °jam) *azurasya prāstam* (SV. °tam) RV. SV. KB. Here too SV. has an adjective ('the praised lord') for the acc. noun of RV. ('praise of the lord').

§511. Essentially similar are the following cases involving pronominal forms:

*ādityā rudrā upariśprā nah* (KS. °śam mā) AV. KS.: *casaso rudrā ādityā upariśprām mā* RV. VS. TS. '(Make) me a . . . king' or 'make our king . . .'

*ā te agna idhīmahi* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *ā tādagna idhīmahi* AV. Kauś. Followed by *dyumantam devājaram*. This is one of the passages cited by Pischel (ZDMG. 35. 714 ff.) as containing acc. *te*; but see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* p. 28 (a word for 'flame' or the like is to be supplied with the following adjectives). AV. has a lect. fac.; feeling the need for expression of an accusative noun or pronoun with the adjectives, it supplies the need by changing *te* to *tā*.

*puṣyema* (AA. *puṣyanto*) *rayim dhīmahi ta* (AA. *tam*) Indra SV. AA. ŚŚ. Keith (AA. 285 n. 7) would make this an instance of variation between acc. and gen. after a verb of 'intellectual activity' (cf. §504), understanding the verb as connected with root *dhī*. He follows Sāyana in this. Most western scholars have taken *dhīmahi* from *dhā*; *te* is then possessive gen. with *rayim*, and *tam* also refers to *rayim*.

*devasya te* (AG. MG. *tā*) *asvituḥ prasave* 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām hastam gṛhṇāmy asu AG. SMB. GG. MG. 'At the command of god Savitar . . . I take hold of thy hand (of thee [by] the hand).'

§512. In the following the secondary reconstruction goes farther: *tiro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsīt* (AŚ. *santam mā pra hāsīt*) TB. AŚ. ApŚ.: *tiro me yajña āyur mā pra hāsīt* (Cone. reads *hāsīt* with one ms.) MŚ. *hāsīt* in MŚ. may be kept: 'desert not my life at the sacrifice . . .'

§513. Sometimes the acc. is the sole goal of the verb; either no goal is expressed in the variant containing the gen., or the goal of that variant is made into an associative instrumental (equivalent to a coordinate acc., §459) in the alternate form in which acc. is substituted for gen.: *etam* (GB. *etasya*) *tvaṁ prajānaya* AB. GB. The context is the same. The pronoun refers apparently to the yajamāna, who is to be 'generated' by the recitation of the Sukīrti (RV. 10. 131) and other hymns which follow. (Otherwise Keith, who seems to us to mis-



understand AB.) With the gen. of GB. is doubtless understood an acc. of *āman* and other parts of the *yajamāna*, specified in the sequel. 'Propagate him' or 'propagate his [body, etc.], or possibly 'propagate [such things] for him.' In such mystic rubbish almost anything is possible.

*gaṇān me mā vi tīrṣaḥ* (MŚ. \**ṣat*, Vait. *vy arīrṣaḥ*) TS. Vait. MŚ.: *gaṇair mā mā vi tīrṣata* MŚ.: *gaṇā me mā vi tīrṣan* VS. TS. ŚB. 'Make not my troops to thirst (etc.):' 'make not me with (my) troops to thirst': 'let not my troops thirst.'

§514. We may append here a case in which a descriptive gen. varies with a postpositional phrase containing an acc.:

*ye vā* (MŚ. omits *vā*) *vanaspathīn anu* (MŚ. NīlarU. *vanaspathīnām*) VS. TS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB. 'Or (serpents) which are of the trees (among the trees).'

##### 5. Partitive genitive : modifying accusative

§515. Quite similarly a limiting genitive which is 'partitive' in character ('genitive of the whole', 'des geteilten Ganzes') varies with a coordinate acc., as with other cases (§84):

*imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyaṁ me* (TB. *kṣatriyāṇām*) AV. TB. Kauś. 17. 28 (only *pratika* in Kauś. 14. 24). 'Increase this kṣatriya for me': 'increase him of (all) kṣatriyas.' TB. *comm. kṣatriyāṇāṁ madhye*.

*imam mā hīnste ekaśapham* (also, *dṛipādam*) *paśum* (TS. KS. *paśūnām*) VS. TS. MŚ. KS. ŚB. 'This whole-hoofed (two-footed) animal (one of animals).'

*virudhāḥ* (AV. \**dhām*) *balavattumām* (AV. \**māḥ*) RV. AV. (bis) ApMB. 'Most mighty herb (of herbs).'

*atho jīva śaradaḥ śatam* VSK.: *adhā jīvema śaradāṁ śatāni* AV. Others similar, see Conc.

§516. The following is in reality doubtless only a case of sandhi, or perhaps better of orthography:

*oṣiḥśaḥ carṣaṇīśaham* (TB. \**śaham*) VS. TB. Preceded by *dīvo varṣman samidhyate*, and followed by *ete ājyasya*. 'Upon the height of heaven is kindled the mightiest of the rulers of men; let him taste the butter.' An acc. is quite impossible; yet both *edd.* and the *comm.* have the same reading in TB. The *comm.* seems to regard the acc. as equivalent to a partitive gen.: *tān uddīṣya teṣām* (*devānām*) *madhye*. Final *m* and *n* before *s* in the Veda might both be pronounced alike, as a nasalization (Wackernagel 1 §§281a, 283e);

thus confusion between the two may have arisen, and the TB. may have incorrectly restored *n* instead of *m*. This variant might have been mentioned in VV 2 §944, tho the original final is clearly *m*, not *n*.

§517. In a few others an acc. direct object varies with a partitive gen. depending on a relative word:

*yat tvā* (KS. *te*) *kruddhah parvapa* (AV. *kruddhah pracakruh*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ApS. MŚ. In KS.: 'whatever of thee I in anger have rejected.' The others: 'whatever (to whatever extent) thee I in anger (these angry men) have rejected', or possibly with *yat* as conjunction, 'if I in anger have rejected thee'.

*yat tvā* (ApS. *te*) *kikvah pāśvadhū* AV. ApS. Followed by *takṣā hastena nīyā*. 'Inasmuch as (or, to whatever extent) the skilful smith has struck thee off...': 'what of thee the skilful smith has struck off...'  
*yatrāsprkṣat tanva yac ca vāśasū* (ApMB. *tanuvāṣi yatra vāśah*) AV. ApMB.: *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvāṣi yatra vāśah* HG. 'Wherever on thy body; whatever of thy garment it has touched': 'wherever it has touched thy body, thy garment.' On HG, see §144.

#### 6. Phrase inflection

§518. Phrase inflection (§§21-2) occurs in the following:

*bhindhī darbha sapatnānām* (*sapatnān me*) AV. (both). Initial pādas of consecutive verses; different constructions required by what follows.  
*kṛtyākṛtām valaginām* AV.; *kṛtyākṛto valaginah* AV. Different contexts.  
*sumatiḥ satyudharmanah* (TS. ApMB. *satyardharasaḥ*, VS. *satyarddhāsam*, AV. *vīśvarūdharaḥ*, AŚ. *vājiniyataḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. ApMB. N. The VS. form is in a different context.

#### 7. Miscellaneous

§519. There remain a considerable number of variants between acc. and gen. which involve miscellaneous, and often quite radical, reconstructions of thought:

*indrasya vāyoh* (SV. *vāyūm*) *sakhyaṁ kartave* (SV. *vardhayan*) RV. SV. 'For doing a friendly act for Indra (and) for Vāyu': 'increasing Vāyu unto the friendship of Indra.'

*sakṛd yat tvā* (KS. *te*) *manasā garbha* (KS. *\*bham*) *āśayat* TS. KS. The word *garbha* shifts in meaning; 'an embryo has entered into thee,' 'it has entered into thy womb.'

*vājo naḥ* (MS. *me*, KS. *mā*) *sapta pradiśah* VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *calasro vā parāvataḥ*, *vājo no* (MS. KS. *mā*) *vīśair devair, dhana-*



*sātān* ('*tā*) *ihāntu*. KS. makes the pronoun in *pāda* a object of *avatu*, anticipating *mā* in *pāda* c; MS. makes it possessive gen. with *vijō*; the others, with *nah*, are ambiguous and may be taken either way.

*ṛṣayasopā yajamānash sacantām* (TS. \**mānasya santu*) AV. TS. MS. MŚ.

'Let increase of wealth attend the sacrificer (be the sacrificer's).'

[*yo aīya saumyo vadho 'ghāyānām udīratī*] *viśākuham iva dhamvanā* [*ṛṣasyāḥ paripanthīnām sudasarpataye namah*] AŚ. : [*yo 'dya saumyo vadho 'ghāyānām udīratī*] *viśākuhasya dhamvanā* [*pa tān varuṇo dhamat*] PB. The obscure word *viśākuh(a)* seems proved to refer to some hostile power by LŚ. 3. 11. 3. This makes PB. (rendered by Caland '...blow them away by means of the bow of Viśākuha') seem corrupt, as it suggests that V. is a friendly power. AŚ. thus seems more plausible. But the word cannot be interpreted with any confidence.

*tad āsata* (Ppp. N. *atrasata*) *ṛṣayāḥ apṭa sākam* AV. Ppp. N. : *taṛyāsata ṛṣayāḥ* (TS. TAA. \**sate harayāḥ*) *apṭa āre* TS. ŚB. BṛhU. TAA. In AV. *tad* is direct complement of *āsate*, in place of the more usual loc. (cf. BR. s. v. 2 ās, 1); the loc. *āre* has this construction in the other texts, and *taṛya* (substituted for *tad*) depends on it. 'Sit upon it (its bank)...' Ppp. and N. have the loc. adverb *atra* instead.

*apān na yanti ārmayāḥ* RV. : *apo nayanta ārmayāḥ* SV. Preceded by *pra somāso vipāścitah*. RV. : 'the somas rush forth like waves of water.' SV. by a false word-division (VV 2 §829) produces 'the somas, (as, i.e. in) waves, carry forth the waters.'

*imam rātan* (SV. *aspa rātan*) *sutam pīḁa* RV. SV. In RV. *imam rātan* agrees with *sutam*; in SV. *rātan* is a different word from *rātum*: 'at this man's offering.'

*dhīnām antaḥ sabardughah* RV. : *dhīnām antaḥ sabardughām* SV. We take it that *dhīnām* depends on *sabardughah*, *antaḥ* being an adverb. That SV. is botched is shown by the false accent of *dhīnām*, on the final syllable; but doubtless *dhīnām* (dependent on *antaḥ*) was meant. Even the RV. passage is obscure; for a different interpretation see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* ad loc.

*rtur janitrī lasyā apas* (GB. *apasas*, but Gaastra *apas*) *pari* RV. GB. See VV 2 §810.

#### 8. Transfer of epithet

§520. Transfer of epithet (§14) between accusative and genitive forms occurs in the following. In the first group there is no change of gender or number;

*amanmahī mahatā* (MS. KS. *mahad*) *ṛtasya nāma* TS. MS. KS. TB.

The gen. agrees with *ṛtasya*, the acc. with *nāma*.

*manyuṃ janasya dūḍhyah* (SV. °yam) RV. SV. KS. 'The wrath of the evil-minded man': 'the evil-minded wrath of man.' The ed. of KS. has *manyam*, doubtless by misprint.

*brhaspatistasya tā* (KS. omits *tā*) *indo (inda) indriyātataḥ patnīvantam* (KS. °vato) *graham gṛhṇāmi* (MS. *rādhyāsam*, KS. *graham rīdhyāsam*) TS. MS. KS.: *brhaspatistasya deva soma tā indar (inda) indriyātataḥ patnīvato grahāt rādhyāsam* VS. VSK. ŚB. *patnīvant-* modifies *graham* in TS. MS., *te* (unexpressed) in KS. and probably *te* in VS. VSK. ŚB. (so Eggeling; otherwise BR.).

*pāñcajanyaḥ bahudhā yam indhate* AV.: *yam pāñcajanyaḥ bahavaḥ sam indhate* TS. MS. KS. In the YV. texts *pāñca*<sup>6</sup> is drawn into agreement with *yam*, which refers to Agni; in AV. it agrees directly with *agner* of the preceding pāda, so that the real sense is the same.

*praharṣiṇaṃ mādirasya māde mṛṣāś asti atha teḥ hoṣyāmi* KS.: *praharṣiṇo mādirasya māde mṛṣāś asti* ApŚ. Von Schroeder emends KS. to *praharṣiṇo*; and indeed it seems scarcely possible to construe the word with *teḥ*, which would be necessary if we keep the text.

§521. The rest involve variation of number or gender as well as

case:

*vasuṃ* (SV. TS. *vasoh*) *sūnuṃ sahaso jātamedasam* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Good son of strength': 'son of good strength.' This seems the simplest interpretation of *vasoh*. The preceding pāda is *agnīṃ hotāraṃ manye dāsvantam*; Benfey and Keith make *vasuḥ* a noun depending on *dāsvantam*, despite the pāda division. A third alternative would be to make it a noun correlative with *sahaso*: 'son of good(s), of strength.'

*vasumatāḥ* (VS. ŚB. °matīm *agne*) *te chāyām upastheṣam* VS. MS. ŚB. 'May I enter the shadow of thee, the rich one (thy rich shadow, O Agni).'

*bardhāney agne ajarāṇi* (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ. *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. 'O Agni, thy ageless troops (i.e. flames) as thou burnest': 'O Agni, the troops of thee, ageless, burning.' For ApŚ. cf. VV 1 §27.

*pātho* (Ppp. ŚŚ. *pātam*, TS. *rītam*) *ghṛtasya guhyāni* (AV. *guhyaṣya*) *nāma* AV. Ppp. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. 'Ye protect (etc.) the secret names of ghee'—so most texts; AV. seems to take *pātho* from *pā* 'drink' (so Ludwig and Whitney), and makes *guh*<sup>7</sup> agree with *ghṛtasya*: 'ye drink of the ghee that is secret by name.'



*indrasya vām vīryakṛto bāhū abhīyupānuharāmi* (VSK. *vām bāhū vīryakṛtā upā*) VS. VSK. ŚB. 'I draw you down, two arms of prowess-working Indra (two prowess-working arms of Indra).' Also: *indrasya te vīryakṛto bāhū upānuharāmi* TB. (here the king, identified with Indra, is addressed).

*parīmanā yajamānānāṁ rāyo manuṣyānām* VS. ŚB.: *parīmanā rāyo manuṣyam* KS. See §§402 etc.

§522. There remain two cases of the sort referred to in §15, in which a word originally of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, becoming an 'epithet' thereof, in a secondary version; in both either gender or number varies as well as case:

*āṅgīśānām avāsānta vānī* RV.: *āṅgīśānam avāsānta vānī* SV. In RV., 'the music of the hymns'; in SV. an epithet of Soma (*vr̥ṣāṇam*) has been extracted from the genitive.

*paramaṁ padam aśi bhāti* (VS. ŚB. *bhāri*) *bhāri* (TS. *bhāreḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Preceded by *atrāha tad urugḍasya viṣṇoḥ* (RV. N. *vr̥ṣṇaḥ*). In the original *bhāri* is best taken as an adverb: 'The bull's (Viṣṇu's) highest footstep shines down mightily.' TS. makes the word an epithet of *viṣṇoḥ*: 'of mighty Viṣṇu.'

## CHAPTER XXIII

### ACCUSATIVE AND LOCATIVE

#### *Acc. and loc. of goal*

§523. By far the largest and most important group of variants showing syntactic contact between these two cases is that concerning the accusative and locative of goal. After verbs denoting motion (in a wide sense), both cases are familiarly used. Many interpreters try to distinguish between them. Thus Delbrück, *AIS.* 122, says that the loc. is used 'wenn es sich um ein Ankommen bei, ein Eindringen in u. s. w. handelt, während in den A. das Ziel tritt, dem man zustrebt, z. B. *devaya gachati* er geht unter die Götter, aber *devān gachati* er geht zu den Göttern hin.' Others, whether consciously or unconsciously, seem anxious to avoid admitting the loc. of goal at all. Thus Whitney on AV. 6. 48. 1-3 renders *svasti mā sam vahāya yajñasyodrei evāhā* 'carry me along to welfare at the close of this offering', whereas it obviously means 'carry me prosperously to the end of this rite' (cf. Bloomfield *JAOS.* 18. 3, 23); this would be clear even without the ŚS variant *svasti mā sampārayāya yajñasyodream*, with acc. instead of loc. Even worse is Whitney's rendering of AV. 7. 40. 1b *vasya vrata upa-tiṣṭhanta āpaḥ* 'in whose course stand the waters'; to avoid recognizing the loc. of goal (all the parallel texts *vratam!*) Whitney ignores the established meaning of *upa-sthā* (approach, always of motion, never 'stand'). Clearly we must render 'into whose control the waters enter.'

§524. In other cases the matter is less clear, and there is more reasonable ground for distinguishing between the two cases. Yet we feel that it is a false and specious conservatism which insists on rendering a loc. by something like English *in*, or German *in* with dative, wherever the meaning can possibly be twisted in that direction. We believe that in not a few cases where at first glance this meaning seems quite plausible, a closer examination will reveal grounds for holding the loc. to be substantially equivalent to an acc. Take for instance the variant *sūryasyaikā carati niṣkr̥teṣu* (MS. KS. *niṣkr̥tāni*) TS. MS. KS. PG. We shall not stress the fact that MS. KS., generally the older and better YV. texts, have the acc.; after all, even if TS. PG. are secondary, they may



quite well have interpreted the passage in a new way. So there seems on the face of it to be no objection to the rendering 'one moves among the seats of the sun' or the like (so Stenzler, Oldenberg, and Keith, on PG. and TS.). But note that a preceding verse in the same context, dealing with the same situation, has the *pāda triṇītal wasāra upayanti nīkṛtam*, with the acc. *nīkṛtam* in all alike. To our minds this, combined with the indubitable fact that the loc. is used of the goal of motion, suggests that it is at least likely that TS. PG. mean by *carati nīkṛteṣu* about the same thing that is meant by *carati nīkṛtāni* in MS. KS. Naturally, no one would claim certainty for such an interpretation.

§525. While, therefore, we should not deny that some such distinction as that suggested by Delbrück may have been concerned in the origin of the locative of goal, and while we freely admit that in some instances of shift between the two cases a distinction may, nay at times even must, have been felt, we nevertheless believe that our variants tend as a whole to indicate similarity, rather than distinction, between them. It is easy to be over-subtle in such matters; we shall for the most part try not to impose our views upon the materials, preferring to let them speak for themselves. At the same time we shall occasionally call attention to what seem to us significant features, particularly when they support the view we hold, namely that scholars have failed to recognize with sufficient clarity the close similarity between these uses of the acc. and loc. Special attention may be called here to the *pāda vayanāni ya dvicēda ya nirgeṣu* MS. KS. ApŚ., in which the acc. *vayanāni* and the loc. *nirgeṣu* occur in two precisely parallel phrases; surely no one would suggest that there can be the slightest difference in meaning between them.

#### 1. With verbs of going, entering, mounting, and the like

§526. We begin with verbs meaning something like 'go, enter, mount', and list first cases in which the acc. and loc. seem most nearly akin in meaning:

*avastī mā sām vāhāya yajñasyodreī vāhā* AV.: *avastī mā samprāyāṣya yajñasyodrecam* ŚŚ. See §523.

*yasya vratam* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz, Ppp. KS. <sup>2</sup>*te*) *paśavo yanti sarve* RVKh. AV. Ppp. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'Into whose control go all cattle.' Cf. next.

*yasya vratam* (AV. *vratā*) *upatiṣṭhanta āpah*, same texts, immediately after preceding. See §523.

*tiṣṭhā ratham* (TB. *rathe*) *adhi tam* (VS. ŚB. *yam*, TB. *yad*) *rajrahasta* (TB. <sup>2</sup>*taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB. 'Mount upon (*adhi-sthā*) this chariot.'

*endrasya jathare* (SV. °*raṣi*) *viśa* RV. SV. 'Enter the belly of Indra.'  
*sva ruhāṇā adhi nākam uttamam* (TS.† MS.† KS. *nāka uttame*) VS. TS.

MS. KS. ŚB. 'Mounting to heaven, to the highest sky.' The verb is *adhi-ruh*.

*uttamaṁ nākam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *rohayainam*, TA. *rohemam*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*akṣaram brahma saṁmitam* TA. TAA. MahānU.: *akṣare brahmasaṁmite* MG. Preceded by *āyātu varadā devī* (MG. *āyāhi virajā devī*).

*ya āviṣṭo vayasū* (Ppp. *yo viṣṭo vayasī*) *yo mṛgeṣu* AV. Ppp.: *vayāṁsi ya āviṣeṣa yo mṛgeṣu* MS. KS. ApŚ. See §525.

*ā mitravaruṇā bhagam* RV.: *ā mitre varuṇe bhage* SV. Followed by *madhrah* (*madhoḥ*) *pavanta ūrmayah*. The SV. comm. reads acc. like RV., and Benfey renders 'In Mitra . . . fließen . . .'

*viśo-eiṭaḥ pravivishāṁsam imahe* AV.: *viśasyāṁ viki pravivishāṁsam* (KS.† *pravivishānam*) *imahe* TS. MS. KS.

*prāṇāpānayo* (ŚG. °*nā*) *uruvyacīs tayā* (ŚG. *trayā*; so AG. must intend, and so Stenzler translates it) *prapadye* AG. ŚG. 'I . . . take refuge with (flee to) *prāṇa* and *apāna* with thee.'

*upa dyaṁ upa vetasam* AV. Vait.: *upa jmann upa vetase* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verb *avatara* 'descend into' is found in the following *pāda* in all but AV. Vait. TS., and in these some such verb is understood.

*yajñam dadhānāḥ* (ApŚ. *vidānāḥ*) *sukṛtasya lokam* (ApŚ. *loke*) KS. ApŚ. Preceded by *te yantu prajānantāḥ*.

*purīṣam vasānāḥ sukṛtasya loka* (MS. KS. *lokam*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *purīṣam vasānāḥ svām yonīm yathāyatham* ApŚ. Preceded in MS. KS. ApŚ., followed in VS. ŚB., by *tatra gacha yatra pūrve paretāḥ*. The acc. is certainly one of goal of motion. Mahīdhara on VS. rightly takes *loka* as loc. of goal; Griffith and Eggeeling construe it with *vasānāḥ* as loc. of situation. They also, most violently and against Mahīdhara and all probability, detach *sukṛtasya* from *loka* and make it depend on *purīṣam*.

*rudrasya gāṇapatyaṁ* (VS. ŚB. °*patyam*, KS. °*patye*) *mayobhūr ehi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Come, gladdening, to the lordship of Rudra's troop' VS. ŚB. KS.; on TS. MS. see §§495, 705.

*keṣv* (LŚ. *kih svīd*) *antaḥ puruṣa ā vīṣeṣa* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

*sudughendre* (MS. °*dram*, p.p. °*dre*) *†sarassatī* VS. MS. Followed by *akvīnā bhīṣajāvataṁ* (VS. °*taḥ*). See Neisser's illuminating treatment of *av* (Zwisch. d. RV., s. v.), which establishes the fact that it



is fundamentally a verb of motion. This receives new support from our variant, where the loc. can only be interpreted as equivalent to the acc. of goal: 'strive towards Indra.'

§527. In the next group the loc. can be, or has been, with more plausibility interpreted as one of situation, differing psychologically from the acc. We nevertheless believe that in some of these variants, as in the preceding, there is little if any real difference between the two cases: *sūryasyaika carati niṣkṛteṣu* (MS. KS. *niṣkṛtāni*) TS. MS. KS. PG.

See §524.

*viṣṇu agan varunā pūrvahūtau* (MS. °*hūtim*) VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'It has gone to Viṣṇu and Varuṇa, to (at) the first oblation.' The generally old and primary MS. may be taken as a kind of commentary on the others; yet the loc. of situation is possible. A still different interpretation of *pūrvahūtau* is offered by the comms. on ŚB. and TB., which take it as a dual adjective agreeing with *viṣṇu varunā*.

*anagā devāḥ śakuno grheṣu* (AV. *grham naḥ*) RV. AV. Ppp. MG. Preceded by *śivaḥ kapota iṣito no astu*. 'Favorable for us be the dove, harmless the bird, sent to our home, O gods.' So essentially Grassmann, taking *grheṣu* closely with *iṣito*; the AV. supports this. But Ludwig 'im Hause.'

*dīvas (divaḥ) prṣṭham (PB. prṣṭhe) bhandamānaḥ (PB. mand°) suman-mabhiḥ* RV. PB. TA. ApŚ. Preceded by *vaiśvānaraḥ prātṛnathā nākam āruhat* (PB. *āruha*). In the original *prṣṭham* is acc. of goal with *āruhat*, parallel with *nākam*. In PB. *prṣṭhe* could be so construed, as loc. of goal; but here we incline to agree with Caland in taking it with *mandamānaḥ*, 'rejoicing upon the back of heaven.'

*satyadharmāṇo adhvaram* (TS. °*re*) RV. TS.: *vāmaḥ prayaty adhvare* VS. MS. ŚB. Preceded in RV. by *ṛtadhītaya ā gata*, in the others by *ā to devāsa imāhe*. RV.: 'come to the sacrifice, O (gods) of inviolable statutes.' The loc. may also be one of goal: 'we come to you...to the sacrifice.' But a loc. of situation is also possible; not indeed with *satyadharmāṇo*, 'ye that have true ordinances at the sacrifice' (Keith), since this would require accentless *advhare* (Whitney 314d), but rather: 'we approach you at the sacrifice, O gods of true ordinance.' Cf. also (*kaviṃ agniṃ upa stuhi*) *satyadharmāṇam adhvare*, in a different context; here the loc. is clearly one of situation.

*prātaryādevāno adhvaram* RV. VS. TB.: *prātaryādvabhir adhvare* SV. See the whole verse, quoted §415. The acc. is certainly one of goal

with *prātaryāvēāṇo*: 'coming betimes to the offering.' The loc. may be taken in the same way, or (with Benfey) with a *śidatu*, and parallel with *barhiṣi*, 'at the offering'.

*devasya savituh save* (SV, *sarām*) RV, AV, SV, TS, etc. etc. This common phrase ordinarily contains a loc. of situation: 'at the instigation of God Savitar.' The acc. *sarām* occurs once in SV, in a verse found also in AŚ, ŚŚ, Vait., all of which read *sarā*; it is preceded by *āvir maryā ā vājān rājino agman*, and followed by *svargam* (AŚ, ŚŚ, °gān) *arvanto jayema* (*jayatah, jayata*). Clearly SV. has acc. of goal with *agman*: '...have come into the instigation (control) of Savitar.' In the other texts, however, we must doubtless understand the usual sense: 'at the instigation of...' Cf. next.

*tasya pūṣā prasave* (TS, °vam) *yāti vidvān* (TS, KS, *devah*) RV, VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB. Similar to preceding.

*antarikṣe* (KS, °kṣam) *viṣṇur* (MS, *viṣṇur antarikṣe*) *vyakrahata*... VS, MS, KS, ŚB, ŚŚ: *traigubhena chandasāntarikṣam anu vi krame* TS: 'Viṣṇu strode thru (durchschritt; or, strode forth in) the atmosphere.' Similar formulas with *dīso* (*dikṣu*), *prthivīm* (°vyām), *divam* (*dīvi*), and different meter names. See also: *deva viṣṇa urv adyāmin* ..., §549.

§528. In another group we find different words used, either different governing verbs or different variant nouns, resulting in a shift between acc. of goal and loc. of situation; in these cases we no longer feel doubt that the force of the two cases is quite distinct:

*priyeṇa dhāmnā* (TS, TB, ApŚ, *nāmnā*, VSK, *nāma*) *priyam sada āśda* (VSK, TS, TB, ApŚ, \**priye sadasi āśda*) VS, VSK, TS, ŚB, TB, ApŚ, (bis): *sedam priyeṇa dhāmnā priyam sada āśda* (VSK, *priyeṇa nāma* [for *nāmnā*?] *priye sadasi āśda*) VS, VSK, ŚB. It seems to us impossible to consider it an accident that the simple *śad* is here construed each time with loc., the compound *ā-śad* with acc. Evidently the addition of the preverb is felt as reinforcing the motion-idea in the verb sufficiently to require the acc.; instead of 'sit on', it means 'take one's seat upon'. It is true that both verbs are otherwise found with both cases, so that this variant might be put with §527; but the concomitant variation of case and verb-form seems to us surely significant.

*yā* (MS, *yā*) *ātasthatur bhuvanāni vīṣva* (TB, *bhuvanasya madhye*) AV, MS, TB. 'Who entered into all beings (took their stand in the midst of the universe).'

*ukṣā bibharti bhuvanāni* (SV, ArŚ, *mimeti bhuvaneṣu*) *rājayuh* RV, SV, ArŚ.



*jīvanā* (ApMB, *jīvānā*) *rudanti ei mayante adhvarā* (AV. *mayanty adhvarā*) RV. AV. ApMB. The AV. clearly has a loc. fac., but the original is quite obscure in meaning; cf. Bloomfield *AJP.* 21, 411-9, Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc.

*antarikṣasya tvā sāndr avagūhāmi* (KS, °*kṣasya sānūpeṣa*) TS. KS. ApS.: *divah sānūpeṣa* MS. MŚ. The MS. p.p. absurdly divides *sānū*, *peṣa*; von Schiroeder rightly understands *sānu*, *upa-īṣa*, 'zu des Himmels Rücken strebe auf.'

§529. The following case is like those of the last section in that *agram* is acc. of goal with *rohataḥ*, a verb of motion, while *agre* is loc. of situation with *kṛīdataḥ*; it receives separate rubrication because it leads over to the next following group:

*agram vṛkṣasya rohataḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TA.: *agre vṛkṣasya kṛīdataḥ* (VSK. ŚŚ. *kṛīṭ*) VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

## 2. Adverbial acc. : loc.

§530. In another group of variations between these two forms *agram* and *agre*, it is possible at times to doubt whether both or either are felt as expressions of the goal. In some instances, at any rate, it seems hard to avoid construing them as vaguely adverbial, 'in the beginning' or the like:

*agra imam yajñam nayatāgre yajñapatim dhātā* TS.: *agra imam adya yajñam nayatāgre yajñapatim sudhātum yajñapatim devayunam* VS.: *agram yajñam nayatāgram yajñapatim* MS. 'Lead forward this sacrifice...' But here, with the verb *nayata*, the word may be felt as 'to the front'.

*ahnān ketur uṣāśm ety* (AV. † *ēṣy*) *agram* (TS. *agre*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. N. Here too, with a verb of motion, the idea of goal may be present in the acc. form, at least: 'As banner of the days he goes (thou goest) at (to?) the head of the dawn.'

*jayantīnām maruto yante agram* (TS. *agre*, AV. MS. KS. *yantu madhye*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Let the Maruts go at (to?) the front of the conquering armies.'

*tena devā devatām agra* (VS. MS. KS. *agram*) *āyan* AV. VS. KS. MS.: *tapasā* (TS. *tayā*) *devā devatām agra āyan* TS. TB. TA. MahānU. 'By this (by *tapas*) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning.' Since *devatām* expresses the goal, it seems that *agram* can hardly be anything but an adverb.

*agnir agra* (SV. *agram*) *uṣāśm aboci* RV. SV. Perhaps motion is felt in the verb *ā-buci*: 'Agni was enkindled at (unto?) the beginning of the dawn.'

§531. Similarly *dārum* or *dāre* may be used in a quasi-adverbial way with a verb of driving, which yet permits the idea of goal to be involved: *bādhasva* (AV. *bādhekām*) *dāre* (AV. *dāram*, TS. Ppp. *draso*) *nirṛtiṃ pardeśiḥ* RV. AV. Ppp. TS. 'Drive perdition afar off.'

§532. We have noted one other variation of strictly adverbial acc. and loc., in a *pāda* where the absence of any verb of motion makes it impossible to feel an idea of goal:

*ye aruṇ madhya* (TA. omits *madhya*) *uta eḍ purāṇam* (TA. °*ne*) AV. TA. 'Whoever in recent times, in middling times, or in ancient times.'

### 3. With verbs of placing, establishing (chiefly root *dha*)

§533. The root *dha* and its synonyms are familiarly used either with the acc. of the person and the loc. of the thing ('set, establish... in'), or with the dat. of the person and acc. of the thing ('establish... for', 'give... to'); see §482, where this variant is quoted showing both idioms:

*vargan me lokan yajamānāya dhehi* Vait.: *svargo loka yajamānam hi dhehi* (or, *dhehi mām*) TB. ApŚ.

§534. We find also several variants in which, after *dha*, the thing 'placed' is put in either acc. or loc., while the person is expressed by the pronoun *naḥ*, which might be either dat. or acc. It is commonly, and perhaps rightly, assumed that this form is felt as a dat. in the variant containing acc. of the thing, and as an acc. in the form with loc. of the thing: 'set us in' or 'establish for us.' It should however be noted that two accusatives may be used after such verbs, as the next paragraphs will show, tho this usage has not been generally recognized; so that *naḥ* with acc. of the thing might be taken as an acc. (something like 'set us unto...'):

*indraprabhā draviṇe* (MS. °*naḥ*) *no dadhātu* AV. MS.

*sa naḥ pāśako draviṇam* (AV. °*ne*) *dadhātu* AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.

*iḍ no bhūmih pūrvapeye* (MS. °*yaḥ*) *dadhātu* AV. MS.

§535. As we said in the last section, there are at least a few variants in which, with verbs of placing or the like, we find two accusatives varying with an accusative and a locative. That is, instead of the loc. of the remoter goal, that into which something is set, an acc. is used: *sutrāmendre* (MS. °*raṇ*) *sarasvatī* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *balam na vācam āśya uḍbhyaṁ dadhaur indriyam*. This, it seems, can only mean '... have put strength in Indra, speech in his mouth...' It may be however that MS. has been influenced by the following verse; a variant of this one, in which *svardhayan* (with acc.) replaces *dadhuḥ*. Similarly, in the same passage:



*bhūṣajendre* (MS. \**raṣ*) *saravati* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *prāṇam* ... *dadhur* ... See prec.

*ut sakthya* (ŚS. \**yor*) *ava gudam* (TS. KSA. ApS. *sakthyor gṛdam*) *dhehi* VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. ŚS. ApS.: *adhāma sakthyor ava gudam dhehi* Vait.

*rathantaram sāma* (also *vairājan*, *vairāpan*, and *bṛhat sāma*, and *sāk-vararavate śāmanī*) *pratiṣṭhityā antarikṣe* (KS. \**ṛṣam*; TS. \**ṛṣhityai*, om. *antarikṣe*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. A verb like *stabhātu* is supplied from the preceding, and it seems that KS. *antarikṣam* can only be construed as an acc. of remoter goal: 'let the Rathantara śāman (fix thee) for firm station in (into) the atmosphere.'

*ā gharṇe* (AŚ. \**man*) *aiśca paya uṣṛiyāyāḥ* AV. AŚ. ŚS. 'Pour the milk of the brindle-cow into the hot drink.' *ā-sic* is here construed as a verb of placing.

§536. The compound *saṁ-dhā*, as a verb of joining, is construed either with acc. and instr., or acc. and loc.; it is the loc. form which varies with the acc. in the following variant, on which see §462:

*aṅgāny ātman* (MS. *aṅgar ātmānam*) *bhūṣajā tad ātrina* VS. MS. KS. TB. Followed by *ātmānam aṅgāni samadhāt saravati*.

§537. A couple of times, in ritualistic formulas, we find reciprocal shift between loc. and acc. forms:

*varṣiyo* (VS. ŚB. *varṣo*) *varṣiyasī yajñe yajñapatiṁ dhāḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *varṣiyo varṣiyaso yajñam yajñapatāu dhāḥ* MS. KS. Addressed to the atmosphere. 'Being more extended, establish the patron of the sacrifice in a more extended sacrifice': 'being more extended than the more extended, establish the sacrifice in the patron of the sacrifice.' In such rignarole the inversion of terms makes little difference.

*asmin yajñe yajamānāya sūrim* AV.: *imam yajñam yajamānam ca sūram* ApS. See §488. Neither reading is intelligible; but the reciprocal interchange of the forms of *yajña* and *sūri* seems to be similar to that in the preceding. The verb (preceding) is *dadhātana* in ApS., *pari nayāmi* in AV.

§538. Tho the verb is a form of *dhā* in the next variant, the psychology of the variation seems to be different:

*dadhad ratnam* (AŚ. *ratna*) *dakṣapitr̥bhya* (AV. *dakṣam pi<sup>tr̥</sup>*) *āyunt* (AV. *āyānti*) AV. AŚ. ŚS. 'May he assign wealth and dexterity to the pitrs (wealth to the Dakṣapitrs), and long lives (in [respect to?] their life).' Neither the acc. *āyānti* (complementary object), nor (apparently) the loc. *āyunt* (tho its meaning is not very clear), can here be understood as the remoter goal of *dadhad*.

## 4. With various prepositions

§539. There are a few variants involving acc. and loc. after various prepositions. In the first, with *adhi*, the verb is *dadhāti*, 'assigns'; possibly the feeling that motion is involved in this verb is responsible for the secondary use of the acc. in SV.:

*nāma tṛtīyam adhi rocane* (SV. \**nam*) *dīvaḥ* RV. SV. '(Assigns) a third name upon the bright expanse of heaven.'

§540. Similarly in the next, we find in SV. an isolated use of the loc. with *acha*, perhaps owing to the fact that the RV. verb of motion (*ajanti*) is replaced in SV. by *mṛjanti* 'purify', which was felt as requiring a loc.:

*ajanti vahnīm sadanāny acha* RV.: *mṛjanti vahnīm sadaneṣu acha* SV. 'They drive (purify) the carrier unto (upon?) the seats.'

§541. A third variant shows *antarā* with acc. and loc.; only the former seems to be known to the earliest language, but the latter is familiar later:

*antarā dyāvopṛthivī apah svaḥ* (MG. \**pṛthivyop apasyuḥ*) TB. ApMB. HG. MG.

§542. Finally, one variation is due to the use of different prepositions, *anu* with acc., *adhi* with loc.:

*ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu* (KŚ. *pṛthivyām adhi*) RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. Both mean 'on (or thruout) the earth.'

## 5. With other verbs than those of motion

§543. Other verbs than those of motion may in various ways show interchange between these two cases. Thus, *sam-vaḍ* 'converse (about), discuss' governs either. In passing we may note the absence of any variant showing acc.: loc. of the person spoken to ('goal' of speech), which we might have expected on the analogy of the frequent interchange of the two after verbs of motion. In the later languages these cases are quite interchangeable in this construction, but in the Veda such a use of the loc. is perhaps hardly to be found.

*pratiprasthātāḥ pakau* (MŚ. *pakum*) *samvadama* ApŚ. MŚ. 'Prati-prasthātār, speak about the victim (with the slaughterer).'

§544. Also verbs of eating and drinking show, besides the gen. (§501), the loc. varying with the acc.:

*papuh sarasvatyā nadyāḥ* (MŚ. \**tyām nadyām*, KŚ. ApŚ. \**tim nadīm*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See §501.

*prajāvatīḥ sāyaseasāḥ* (AV. \**se*) *ruśantīḥ* (RV. and TB. comm. *riś*?) RV. AV. TB. See VV 2 §627 on *ruśantīḥ*. TB. comm. explains by



*bhakṣayantiḥ*; so also AV. comm., tho it reads *ruṣ°*. 'Grazing (shining?) on good pasturage.'

§545. A verb of beating:

*āghnānāḥ pāṇinorau* AV.; *urāḥ pāṇināḥ āghnānāḥ* AV. 'Beating upon their breasts with their hands': 'beating their breasts and thighs (7).'

§546. A verb of conquering is construed with a loc. or with (a sort of 'inner') accusative:

*teya* (omitted in VSK, TS, KS, TB.) *vayash saṁghātām-saṁghātām* (VSK, *saṁghāte-saṁghāte*; TS, TB, omit one *saṁghātām*) *jeṣma* (KS, *\*jayema*, and †*\*saṁjayema*) VS, VSK, TS, MS, KS, (bis) ŚB, TB. 'May we (by thee) conquer (in) every fight.'

§547. The root *ruc* (*rocate*, *ruce*) is normally middle and intransitive, taking no accus. except a 'cognate' or 'inner' acc. ('shine forth light' or the like). The original form of the following variant accordingly has a loc., 'on the earth'; but KS. substitutes an acc. (elliptic) dual, and must understand *ruce* as transitive (equivalent to the causative): 'He (Agni) has illumined heaven and earth as with the light of dawn.'

*kṛāman* (KS, *kṛāmā*) *ruce uṣaso na bhānunt* (MS, KS, *keturā*) RV, VS, TS, MS, KS.

#### 6. Locative absolute and accusative

§548. Several times an accusative in regular syntactic relationship varies with a loc. so loosely construed that it may not unfairly be called a locative absolute:

*nābhā prthivyāḥ samidhātne agnau* (TS, *samidhānam agnim*, MS, KS, °*na agnim*) VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB. Followed by *vāyaspoṣṭhā brhate havāmake*. 'When Agni is enkindled at the navel of the earth, we call upon (him) . . .': 'We call upon Agni enkindled etc.' On MS, KS, see §§393, 450.

*samśraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV, AV, SV, VS, TS, KS.; *samśraṣṭāu yutau indro gaṇeṣu* MS. See §607; loc. abs. in the secondary MS.; *yudha(h)* object of the agent noun *samśraṣṭā*.

*yā sapantām bodhayati* (HG, *vāpatru jāgati*) ApMB, HG. '(The she-demon) who awakens the sleeper': 'who wakes while people sleep.'

#### 7. Case attraction

§549. Most of the remaining variants are so miscellaneous as hardly to permit classification. We may group separately a few in which formal, external attraction to adjoining case-forms seems to be involved:

*haviṣā yajña* (TB. *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS. °*yajh*) VS MS. KS. TB. See the passage, discussed §473. TB. has assimilated *yajñe* to *indriyam*. *deva āśvinau madhukāśayādyaṃ yajñam* (ApŚ. °*kaśayādyaṃ yajñe*) *yajamāṇāya mīmikṣatam* PB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'O divine Āśvins, with the honey-whip mingle (?besprinkle) this sacrifice for the *yajamāna*.' Only the acc. seems sensible; ApŚ. seems to leave the verb objectless; 'mingle (what?) at this sacrifice'. It is no doubt influenced by some of the parallel formulas in the same passage, which have similar expressions with intransitive verbs and locative nouns. Most perversely, in some of these ApŚ. uses acc. forms instead of the loc. of the other texts! Thus:

*deva eiṣa ure adyāmā yajñe* (ApŚ. *eiṣas ure adyaṃ yajñam*) *yajamāṇāyādhi* (ApŚ. °*yānu*) *vikramasva* (MŚ. *yajamāṇāya vikramasva*), same texts. Here, to be sure, the loc. as well as the acc. may be defended, with *vi-kram*; cf. §530 above. But in the next the acc. seems as impossible as the loc. in the preceding, and is doubtless to be explained in the same way:

*devy adile vādityam adyāmā yajñe yajamāṇāyānuvasa* (ApŚ. *adile °nu adyaṃ yajñam yajamāṇāyādhi*), same texts.

#### 8. Miscellaneous

§550. The rest are miscellaneous, and generally involve rather radical reorganization of the passages:

*dyumnas erṣāta puṣyase* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB.: *dyumnas* (and *dyumne*) *vareta puṣyatu* KS. (both). 'Let him choose glory, that he may prosper': 'let him choose glory, let him prosper': 'let him choose (him, Netar) in glory, let him prosper.'

*erṣā punānu āyusu* (SV. *āyūṣe*) RV. SV. The ppl. is intransitive in RV. but transitive in SV.

*lakṣaṃ pitṛsu vitta* AV.: *pitṛa hy atra gachāsi* TA. 'Having found a place among the fathers': 'for thou shalt go there to the fathers.'

*sā śantāti* (SV. °*ā*, TB. ApŚ. °*ā*) *mayas karad apa śridhaḥ* RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. 'She made (for me) blissful (*śantāti*) joy (joy in bliss).<sup>2</sup> We should expect *śantātim*, 'bliss'.

*upa teā kāmā imahe sasṛgmahe* SV.: *upa teā kāmā mahah sverjmahe* RV. AV.

*nīkā ime* (AV. *ete*, MŚ. *hy ete*) *yajamāṇasya bradhne* (MŚ. °*nam*, AV. *loke*) AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'These are jewels in the sacrificer's sun (or heaven); TB. comm. the world of the Ādityas, as the fruit of sacrifice'; in MŚ. preceded by *darbhah śrāta* . . ., *bradhnām* being



object of this verb: 'Strew with darbhu-grasses. —for these are jewels—the sun (-heaven) of the sacrificer.' Caland strangely takes *bradhuc* as nom. pl. (adjective with *nigdhā*!).

*suṣadā yonau māhā vā* (TS. TB. *yonim suṣā*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *suḍhin yonim suṣadām prthivīm* (ms. <sup>2</sup>et) *māhā* KS. Preceded by *aviṣam naḥ pītun kṛnu* (KS. *kṛdhi*); Conc. quotes the whole mantra of KS. under this. We see no way to construe *suṣadā yonim*; Keith assumes *suṣadāni*, which is supported by KS. (but note there also *prthivī* in the ms. !): 'make our food poisonless, the lap pleasant to sit in.' On the loss of *amuvāra* cf. VV 2 §307. It looks as if VS. ŚB., starting from TS.'s reading, had interpreted *suṣadā* as loc. of an unknown \**suṣadī*, and changed to *yonau* to match it.

*samudre yasya rasam id āhuḥ* AV.: *yasya samudraṁ* (Ppp. MS. KS. *sam<sup>2</sup> yasya*) *rasayā bahukuh* RV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. See §463.

*cakṣuḥ cit sūrye sacā* RV.: *cakṣuḥ sūryam drāc* SV. See §474.

*tayā devāḥ sutam ā bahhūvuh* TS. KSA. TB.: *sā vo asmin suta ā bahhūva* VS. MS. See §419.

*drāhasva prthivyām* VS. KS. ŚB.: *drāha prthivīm* PB. 'Be firm on earth': 'make firm the earth.' Contexts are identical.

*ācartanam nivartanam* RV. AV.: *ācartanē nivartanē* TB. ApŚ. The forms are differently construed; cf. Caland's note on ApŚ. The latter form of the verse is radically altered.

*revati pradhā yajñapatim deṣa* MS. KS.: *revati yajamāne priyam dhā deṣa* VS.† ŚB.†: *revati yajñapatim priyadhāribhata* TS. ApŚ. 'O rich one(s), kindly approach the sacrificer': 'give what he desires to the sacrificer, approach (him).'

*upa ṛṣabhasya* (TB. IŚ. *upar<sup>2</sup>*) *retanī* (AV. *yad retah*), followed by: *upendri tava vīrye* (AV. *īyam*) RV. AV. TB. IŚ. The stanza is extensively altered (Whitney on AV. 9. 4. 23). The verb is *upa priyatām*, 'let be mingled', in all but AV., which reads *upa prīca*; this we take as active, and hence construe *yad retah* and *vīryam* as acc., not nom. with Whitney. If we are right, the acc.-loc. variation is psychologically similar to those listed §§533-8.

## 9. Corruptions

§561. The following seem clearly corrupt:

*śirṣā śiro 'pṛastpao ardayan* AV.: *śirṣā śiro* (ApŚ. *girau*) *vakyaś vakya ejayan* KS. ApŚ. The blunder of ApŚ., tho uninterpretable, is interesting because it is obviously a reminiscence of RV. 8. 45. 5 *gīrā apso na yodhiṣat*, on which see Neisser, ZWsch. d. RV. s. v.

*apsas*. The variant should be added to VV 2 §§153a (*apsas* : *vakṣas*, synonyms), 300, 732.

*ya ājagmas* (N. °*muh*) *suvāne mā* (TS. KS. *savanedam*, N. *savanam idam*, VS. MS. ŚB. *ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Whitney renders AV. (p.p. *suvane, mā*) 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation', but observes that it is a corruption of *suvane 'mā* (°*nā* + *imā*), which the comm. reads. So also Conc.

*ime catvāro rajaso vimānāḥ* (MŚ. °*ne*) KS. MŚ. Other versions of the pāda (see Conc.) all end with *devayānāḥ*. All Knauer's mss. read *vimāno*; for this K. emends 'ne, 'im Dunsikreis.' But it would be at least as simple, and more in accord with the parallels, to emend to *vimānāḥ*.

## 10. Transfer of epithet

§552. Nearly all the cases of transfer of epithet (§14) between acc. and loc. involve also change of number or gender:

*amuṣya tvā prāṇe* (ŚB. KŚ. *prāṇam*) *sādayāmi* TS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ.: *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyanaṣya prāṇo sādayāmi* MS. In ŚB. KŚ. *prāṇam* (the life of an enemy) defines *tvā*: 'I put thee down, the life-breath of so-and-so;' cf. the next mantra, *amuṣya tvā prāṇam apidadhāmi*. These texts magically identify the soma-vessel addressed with the life of an enemy, making *prāṇam* appositional to *tvā*. The others: 'I set thee (this) upon the life-breath of so-and-so. . .'

*nī tad dadhīṣe 'varuṃ param* (AV.\* Ppp. 'rare pure) *ca* RV. AV. (bis) Ppp. Followed by *yasminn āvithāvasō dūrṇe*.

*ahhi yonim ayohatam* (SV. VS. °*te*) RV. SV. VS. Followed by *drṇe* (RV. *drund*) *sadhasatham āsadat* (RV. *āsnuṣe*). The adjective is switched from *yonim* to *drṇe*.

*varūthyam* (SV. °*ye*) *varuṇe chandīyam vacah* RV. SV.

[*yasyām karmāṇi kurvate* (ApŚ. *kṛvate*) KS. ApŚ.: *yāni karmāṇi cakṛire* AV. Preceded by *anāptā yā* (AV. *ye*) *rah prathamā*. Obscure; the forms of *pāda* a are neut. pl., going with *karmāṇi*, so that AV. *yāni* really corresponds to KS. ApŚ. *yā* of *pāda* a; AV. *ye* of *pāda* a of course goes with the subject. What *yasyām* refers to is not evident. AV. p.p. mss. have *anāptā* but *prathamāḥ*; the latter would be possible, going with the subject.]

§553. What is originally a word of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, as its epithet (§15), in: *yatraiṇān* (AG. Kauś. SMB. HG. MG. *yatraiṇān*) *veittha nihitān parāke*



(SMB. *parīcah*) VS. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. *parīcah* with *etān*; *parīke* adverbial, 'far away'.

*a te vācam āsyām* (HG. *āsyā*) *dade* HG. ApMB.: *tāni te vācam āsya ādātte* (read *ādade*?) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG. Followed in HG. ApMB. by *ā* (HG. om.) *manasyām hṛdayād adhi*. Kirste suggests *āsyād*; more likely *āsyām* is intended, with one ms., as in ApMB. If PG. is original ('in the mouth'), then HG. ApMB. have made *āsye* over into an adjective, 'of the mouth', agreeing with *vācam*; cf. *manasyām* which must certainly be taken as an adjective from *manas*.  
*athena anyā upare vicakṣanam* (AV. \**ne*) RV. AV. PraśU. Followed by *saptacakre śudara āhur arpitam*. In the original *vicakṣanam* (referring apparently to the cosmic year) is object of *āhur*. AV. stupidly attracts it into agreement with the following locatives, leaving the object (still the same entity) to be supplied from the preceding line. Ppp. as RV.

§554. Conversely, in the following what is originally an epithet is changed so as to be construed independently (§15):

*imam rātam* (SV. *asya rātau*) *aulam piba* RV. SV. 'Drink this presented soma': 'drink the soma at this man's offering.'

*agnim iḍe pūracittim* (TS. \**cittau*) *namobhih* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'I revere with homage Agni whose is the first (ancient?) devotion (TS., at the first devotion).'

#### 11. Phrase inflection

§555. Occurs once:

*rtasya pade* (RV. \**padam*) *kavayo nī pānti* RV. (both) TA. JUB. The *pāda* with the loc. is preceded by an object *manṣām*; different contexts.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### INSTRUMENTAL AND OTHER OBLIQUE CASES

#### A. Instrumental and dative

##### 1. As equivalents, with names of desirable qualities

§556. With nouns meaning something in the nature of a boon or desirable object or quality, a final dative often varies with an instrumental. Thus: *sam tam siñcatu rādhase* RV. Vait., 'may he pour it (anśu, or the like) together unto bounty,' becomes in KS. ApŚ. (in a different context, yet closely modelled on the same original) *sam tat siñcatu rādhase*, 'may he pour it together with bounty (bounteously).' The practical meaning of the two versions is the same, and both types of expression are very common; correspondingly common are variants showing both in different passages. They constitute the one large block among the variations between these two cases. The nouns in question mean regularly something like 'strength, support, aid, sustenance, food, bounty.' The instrumental seems at times to be felt clearly as one of means, sometimes as one of accompaniment, but often it shows a rather vague and undifferentiated adverbial function.

§557. In some instances, which deserve separate rubrication, the presence of a dative of purpose in the vicinity seems to be responsible for the alteration of an original instrumental into a dative:

*kratvā varigṣham vara āmurim uta* RV. AV.: *kratve vare ethemany āmurim uta* SV. Preceded in all by *jajanus ca rājase*. In RV, *kratvā* seems best taken with *varigṣham*, 'the most extended in power (wisdom, magic power)'; yet it might even there be felt as going with the preceding verb ('created [Indra] unto rule, by [magic] power, the most extended...'). Certainly the dative of SV, must be taken with the preceding, and evidently it is assimilated to *rājase*: 'created (Indra) unto rule, unto (magic) power...'

*svarṇeyāya* (VSK. *sva*°, VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *svarṇyāya*) *śaktiā* (TS. °*yai*, MS. *śaktiāye*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. '(We strive) unto the heavenly, unto (by) might.'

*āpa undantu jīrase* (AV. *varcasā*, AG. *varcase*) AV. TS. KS. AG. ŚG.



SMB. GG. ApMB. HG. MG. 'Let the waters wet (the beard) unto (with) long life (splendor).' In most texts including AV. a dative phrase, *dirghâyutâya cakṣuse* or *varṣuse*, occurs in the vicinity. Delete in Conc. the AG. reference for *âpa us<sup>o</sup> jñase*.

*prajāpates tvā (\*teṣ tvā) prāṇenābhiprāṇinī pūṣṭuḥ poṣena* (MŚ. *poṣāya*) *mahyam dirghâyutâya*... TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I breathe upon thee... with (unto) Pūṣan's prosperity, ...unto long life ...'

*prā nu rāyā parijayā* (SV. *rāye parijayase*) RV. SV. KB. Followed by *ratāi vājāya panthām*. 'Break forth a path for us by riches and plenty (unto wonderful riches), unto strength.'

§558. In the rest we have not noted any special influence determining the alteration in case:

*tam hi vārdjam vṛgabham tam ojase* (SV. *ojasā*) RV. SV. AV. Followed by *dhigane niṣṭataksatuh*. 'For the two vessels (heaven and earth) have created him (Indra), the independent bull, unto (with, by) strength.'

*pra tat viṣṇu (viṣṇuḥ, viṣṇus) stavate vīryeṇa* (TB. ApŚ. *vīryāya*, AV. *vīryāni*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. NrpU. See §474. *sapṛaṣṭayās tapase* (AV. \**śā*) *ye niṣeduh* RV. AV.

*sarasvatī ananod indriyāya* (LŚ. \**yēṇa*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. 'Sarasvatī pressed (the soma) for (by) strength.'

*vaikṣṇaro na ūtaye* (TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. *ūtāyā*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *ā pra gātū parāvataḥ*. 'Unto (with) aid.'

*rāye* (TB. ApŚ. *reṣoj*) *jātaḥ bahaso* (TB. ApŚ. \**śā*) *vṛddhaḥ* KS. TB. ApŚ. 'Born unto riches (richly), increased unto (by, with) strength.'

*tās teṣ devīr* (AV. om. *devīr*, SMB. MG. *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB. HG. \**śā*) *sam vyayantu* (PG. *vyayanta*) AV. SMB. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. 'May these goddesses wrap thee up unto (with) old age.' On PG. see VV I §70.

*ā mā somā anṣṭatvena* (TS. \**tvāya*) *gamyāt* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*andhasam brahmaṇā* (TB. HG. ApMB. \**ṇe*) *tvā kṛṇomi* (TB. HG. ApMB. *karomi*) AV. TB. HG. ApMB. 'I make thee guiltless by my charm', AV. For *brahmaṇe* Ohlenberg on HG. says 'before the Brahman'; rather something like 'unto holiness' or 'holy power'. TB. comm. *parivṛdhāya jātakarmādīsamkārāya*.

*lena te vapāmi brahmaṇā* (MG. \**my āyuṣe*, ApMB. \**my asāv āyuṣā varcasā*) VSK. SMB. PG. ApMB. MG.: *lena ta āyuṣe vapāmi* AG.: *lenāyāyuṣe vāpa* ApMB. In the texts which have *āyuṣe* or *āyuṣā*, the dative is one of a series of datives, the instrumental one of a pair of instrumentals.

*tendamai yajamānāyora* (MS. KS. *yajñāpalaya uru*) *rāya* (TS. *rāyā*) *kṛdhī* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Hereby make broad (room) for this sacrificer unto (by, with) wealth.'

*apām stoka abhyapaptad rasena* (ApMB. *\*lac chivena*, HG. *abhyapatac chidāya*) AV. ApMB. HG.

*apām ula praśastiṣu* (RV.† *praśastaye*, AV. VSK. *\*tibhiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *aiś* (*devā*) *bhuvata* (*\*tha*) *vājinaḥ*. 'Unto (by, in) praising of the waters, O horses (gods), are (be) ye strong.' Here the locative is also brought in, without essential difference.

*batam bhavāsy ūtibhiḥ* (SV. VS.\* *ūtaye*) RV. AV. SV. VS. (bis; add in Conc. SV. 2. 34c, VS. 27. 41c, with *ūtaye*) MS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

*kāmena* (TS. MS. *kāmāya*) *tvā prati* (TS. om. *prati*) *grhṇāmi* AV. TS. MS. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. 'I receive thee with (unto) affection.'

*maghavañ* (*\*vañ*) *chagdhī tara tan na ūtibhiḥ* (SV. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. *ūtaye*) RV. AV. SV. PB. TB. TA. MahānU. ApŚ.

*yam mitram na praśastiḥ* (SV. *\*taye*) RV. SV. Followed by *martāso dadhīre purāḥ*. 'Whom like a friend mortals have magnified with (advanced unto) praise.'

*iha priyam prajāyā* (AV. *prajāyāi*) *te sam ṛdhyatām* RV. AV. AG. ApMB. *sādā pśhy abhiṣṭaye* (*\*tibhiḥ*) RV. (both). See RVRep. on 1. 129. 9. *vanemā te abhiṣṭibhiḥ* (SV. *\*taye*) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'May we win by (unto) thy aid.'

*atho arishtalāyā* (RV.\* AV.\* *\*tibhiḥ*) RV.\* AV.\* PB.

§559. Both the dative and the instrumental have a tendency, in the ritualistic language of the Veda, to become formulaic and rigmarole in such instances. Even some of the above variants approach such a classification, which becomes more definitely applicable in the following; here little really intelligible sense can be got out of either form:

*pretinā dharmānā* (MS. *pratyā dharmāṇe*) *dharmān jinva* VS. MS. This is one of a long series of formulas used with the laying of the stomabhāga bricks. 'With advance by righteousness (for righteousness) quicken thou righteousness.' VS. (and ŚB.) vary between dat. and instr. in different formulas of the series; MS. has the dative consistently thruout. To the same group belong: *sandhināntarikṣeṇāntarikṣam* (MS. *sandhināntarikṣāyāntarikṣam*) *jinva* VS. MS.; *viṣṭambhena vṛṣṭyā* (MS. *vṛṣṭyāi*) *vṛṣṭim jinva* VS. MS.; *anvityā divā* (MS. *divo*) *divam jinva* VS. MS. ŚB.; *prasaṃyāhnā* (MS. *prasaṃyāhne*) *\*har jinva* VS. MS.; *pratidhinaḥ pṛthivyā* (MS. *\*ryai*) *pṛthivim jinva*



VS. MS.; and others. Cf. *unite asti dīve teḍa divam jīva* TS. KS. GB. TB. Vait., and other formulas in these texts corresponding to those of VS. MS.; they seem to confirm the originality of the datives of MS.

*śukraṁ te śukreṇa gṛhṇāmi* TS. KS. ApŚ.: *śukraṁ tvā śukra śukrāya gṛhṇāmi* MS. MŚ. 'I take thy bright one (thy brightness?) with brightness (with a bright one?): 'I take thee, the bright one, O bright one, unto brightness (unto a bright one?)'

*smāha maruḍbhīḥ* (MS. <sup>2</sup>*bhyab*) *parīśrayasva* (VS. ŚB. <sup>2</sup>*śrayasva*) VS. MS. ŚB. 'Hail! be encompassed by (for) the Maruts.' The comms. on VS. and ŚB., where the verse is addressed to the chief caulfron (*mahāvīra*), say that 'by the Maruts' means 'by us, the people', having in mind the proportion Indra : Maruts = king : *viśaḥ*.

## 2. With expressions of uniting

§560. A special case of this interchange which seems to deserve separate mention, tho it is not essentially different from the variants quoted above, concerns passages containing expressions of union, where the final dative varies with the associative instrumental (cf. §59):

*susandbhṛtā* (MŚ. <sup>2</sup>*te*) *tvā sma bhavāmi* TS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I unite thee with (unto) good union.'

*nyakṣmāya tvā samerjāmi prajābhyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *nyakṣmā tvā prajāya samerjāmi* KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I unite thee unto diseaselessness, unto offspring': 'I unite you, diseaseless, with offspring.'

*samśedanaz* (RV. AV. <sup>2</sup>*ne*) *tanuvai* (AV. *tanvā*, SV. KS. MŚ. *tanve*, RV. *tanvā*) *citrur elhā* RV. AV. SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Be happy in union (or, as a unit) with (of, to) thy body.' Of course the RV., with an objective genitive, is the original (see §517); but it is interesting that either an instr. (AV.) or a dat. (most texts) may be substituted for this rather unusual form. There seems no objection to taking *samśedanaz* as a nom. agentis, with comms. on TB. and TA. (*samśojayitā*); this would not alter the construction.

*samjñānam naḥ svebhyaḥ* (AV. *svebhīḥ*, TB. *sveb*), followed by:

*samjñānam aramēbhyaḥ* (AV. <sup>2</sup>*rebhīḥ*, TB. <sup>2</sup>*raiḥ*) RVKb. AV. MS. KS. TB. In AV. TB., 'harmony for us with our own men... with strangers'; in the others, 'harmony for us unto (= with) our own men' etc. The instr. is more natural in sense but metrically inferior and probably a secondary lect. fac.

*ājarasāya sam anakte āryamā* RV. SMB. ApMB.: *āhorātrābhyān sam*

*anakte aryamā AV.* 'May Aryaman unite unto old age (with day and night).'

### 3. Other syntactic shifts

§561. More real difference of meaning appears in the remaining variants. But sometimes the difference is still so slight that the variation could almost be classified with the preceding instances:

*apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamaḥ RV.:* *apo mahi ṛṇute cakṣuṣe tamaḥ SV.* 'She (Uṇs) folds away (removes) the great darkness, unto seeing': 'she, the mighty one, discloses (removes) the darkness with sight.'

§562. A somewhat different understanding of the verb seems responsible for the shift of cases in the following:

*hasṭāya (SV. hastena) vajraḥ prati dhāyī darśatuh RV. AV. SV.* 'The splendid vajra was placed in (grasped by) the hand (of Indra).'

§563. Others evidently intend to express really different ideas in the two forms; other variations in the phraseology often accompany the change in case:

*vācaspataye tvā hutam prāśnāmi TS. ApŚ.:* *vācaspatinā te hutasyeṣe prāśnāya prāśnāmi (ŚŚ. hutasya prāśnāmiṣe prāśnāya, ŚB. hutasyāśnāmy ārja ulāśnāya) ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.* 'I eat (of) thee, offered to (by) the Lord of Speech.'

*yā ta iṣur yuvā nāmā tayā no mda (MS. tayā vidhema, KS. tasyai te vidhema) TS. MS. KS.* 'Thy arrow... with it (to it) would we do reverence (with it be merciful to us, TS.).'

*yah saṁgrāmān (TS. MS. °mam) nayati (KS. jayati) saṁ yudhe vaśi (TS. MS. saṁ vaśi yudhe, KS. saṁ vaśi yudhā) AV. TS. MS. KS.* 'Who brings together the hosts for fighting (conquers the hosts by fighting).' The change in verb (riming; add to VV 2 §853) conditions the change of noun case.

*prati-prasthātā dadhīgharmenānūdeha (MS. dadhīgharmāyo dadhy upakolpayama) ApŚ. MŚ.* Again a different verb makes the sense wholly different; MŚ. 'fix the curds for the curd-porridge.'

*vītam samitre (MS. °trā, KS. °tam) samitā (MS. °tam) yajadhyai TS. MS. KS.* 'Welcome (is it) for the immolator, let the immolator sacrifice', TS.: 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered by the immolator for sacrifice', MS.: 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice', KS. Cf. *vītam haviḥ samitam samitā yajadhyai VS. ŚB.*, 'the welcome offering has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice' (otherwise Mahidhara and Eggeling).

*arvāḥ devā asya visarjanena (TB. °nāya) RV. MS. TB.* The comm. on



TB. is not troubled by the dative, simply taking it as the equivalent of an abl. (which varies with the instr. after *arāḥ*, cf. Speyer VSS. §39, and below, §574). But doubtless TB. misunderstood the sense of the mystical verse and took it to mean 'the gods (came) hither (or, subsequently) unto its creation (i.e. to create it?).'

*tebhīh* (AV. VS. VSK. *tebhyaḥ*) *varāḍ asunitīm etām* (AV. *asunitir no adya*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. Followed by *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV. *tanvaḥ*) *kalpayāti* (RV. *°yassa*). The interpretation is difficult in any reading; see the commentators.

*patīm surayā* (TB. *°yai*, VS. *surayā*) *bheṣajām* VS. MS. TB. Mahidhara takes *surayā* as associative instr. A dat. or gen. seems required; see §622.

*sajūr devaṅḥ sāyamyaḥ* (ŚŚ. *devabhyah* [sāyamyaḥ] TB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. And the same with *prātaryā* (ŚŚ.† *°yāvabhyah*). 'Together with (for) the gods that come in the evening (morning).' The instr. may be suggested by *sajūr*, if the dative (dedicatory) be taken as the original; but the formula is rigmorale and anything is possible.

*namuḥ kṛtānāyātayā* (VSK. *°yatāya*, KS. *kṛtsanāyātāya*, TS. MS. *kṛtsanāyātāya*) *dhāṁte* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Certainly a dative is required, tho the variations show that the meaning was not understood. VS. comm. struggles with the instr. as an abstract noun, dependent on *dhāṁte*; he analyzes it: as from *kṛtsanāyāta* (*kṛtsanāyāta*) + *tā*, apparently assuming haplogy (or is there a misprint, for *°yatātayā*?). The original dat. is an epithet of Rudra.

#### 4. Case attraction.

§564. In a couple of cases external case attraction seems responsible for the change:

*gunajmī vāyūm antarikṣeṇa te* (MŚ. *tēna*) *saha* TS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *yukto vāto 'ntarikṣeṇa te saha* PB. 'I join wind (wind is joined) for thee with the atmosphere (wind with this atmosphere).' Formal assimilation of *te* to *tēna*, influenced by *antarikṣeṇa*.

*dr̥ṣā ca bhāṣā br̥hatā suśikmā* MS.: *dr̥ṣe ca bhāṣā br̥hatā suśukmanīh* (KS: *°krabhih*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. *dr̥ṣe* is infinitival with *suśuk\**, and *dr̥ṣā* seems due to formal assimilation: apparently 'with great appearance (and) brilliance' (on *suśikmā* see VV 2 §240).

#### 5. Corruptions

§565. A few cases seem more or less certainly corrupt:

*aghāya bhāṁsu harivaḥ parādai* (MS. *°daiḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. On MS.

('by betrayal?') see VV 2 §384; it is probably corrupt, or else a mere phonetic variant.

*dikṣayedam* (KS. *dikṣaty*\*) *haviṣ agachataṁ naḥ* KS. TB. AŚ. There is no stem \**dikṣa*, and it seems that KS. (all mss. and ed.) must be an error.

[*enāhmedam ahar aṣṭya mūhā* KS.: *idāhna id āharam aṣṭya* MŚ. ed. by em.; the mss. corruptly point to the same text as KS. See VV 2 §709.]

#### 6. Phrase inflection

§566. Phrase inflection (§§21-2) occurs:

*ṛtubhiṣ tvārtanoh* AV. HG.: *ṛtubhyas tvārtavebhyah* AV. In two different stanzas, AV. 3. 10. 10 and 5. 28. 13; one (it is not certain which) is repeated AV. 19. 37. 4 (see notes in Whitney-Lanman).

*asme kṣatrāya varecse balāya* RV.: *saha kṣatreṇa varecāṁ balena* AV. In different contexts.

*sahasrākṣāya mīdhuge* (NīlarU. *vājine*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU.: *sahasrākṣeṇa vājina* AV. The same stanza as in VS. etc. occurs in NīlarU., but has apparently been influenced (as to *vājine*) by *vājina* of the quite different AV. stanza.

#### 7. Transfer of epithet

§567. The only cases of transfer of epithet noted between dat. and instr. seem to be instances in which the variant word is a true epithet only in one of the versions, in the other having independent construction (§15):

*yo agnaye dadāsa havyadātibhiḥ* (SV. \**dātaye*) RV. SV. 'Who has done homage to Agni with oblation-offerings (to Agni the presenter of oblations).' So it seems best to take SV., with *harya*\* as a noun of agent, as in RV. 6. 48. 2 *dāsema havyadātaye*. If however we take the SV. form as a noun of action, the variant would belong in §558.

*ety arṣa caniṣṭhaya* (SV. *paniṣṭaye*) RV. SV. 'Go with sustenance most desirable', RV. The SV. is usually understood to mean 'go with sustenance unto praise' (VV 2 §86), the epithet being changed to an independent noun. If we dared take *paniṣṭaye* as an adjective, it might go with the 'folk' (*janāya*) of the preceding: *pra-pra kṣayāya panyase, janāya juṣṭo adruhe* (SV. \**hah*); this would be a genuine 'transfer of epithet'.



## B. Instrumental and ablative

## 1. Instrumental of means and ablative of source

§568. Since the source of anything may be regarded, from a slightly different angle, as the means by which it is produced or brought about, it is natural to find the ablative of source and the instrumental of means interchanging. Such variants form the largest block of variations between these two cases, of which it is to be noted that our materials seem to indicate a very marked affinity, to judge by the fact that most of the variant passages show very slight differences in meaning between the two forms.

§569. We find first a group containing a verbal form expressing source, and an ablative of source varying with an instrumental of means:

*yāś te riśas tapasāḥ* (TB. °śā) *sambubhūruḥ* AV. TB. 'Whatever clans have sprung up from (by) thy *tapas*.'

*payasā* (MS. °śā) *bukram amṣtam janitram*, followed by

*surayā* (MS. KS. *surāyā*) *mūtrāḥ janayanti* (VS.† MS. °nta) *retāḥ* VS.

MS. KS.† TB. 'By (from) milk they create(d) the bright immortal productive seed, by (from) *surā*, from urine.' Here the original clearly had abl. *mūtrāḥ* (all texts), but instr. *payasā* (all but MS.), while the form of the stem *surā* was either instr. or abl., in either case being assimilated in two of four texts to the following or preceding parallel form. MS. KS. are more apt to be original than VS. TB.

*surayā* (MS. *surāyāḥ*) *somah suta āsato madaya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

The ŚB. understands *surayā* as associative instr.; so also *caran*, on TB. and Griffith. Despite the authority of this ancient interpretation, we feel that the MS. variant, and the similar passage just discussed, make more likely this interpretation: 'Soma, pressed forth by (MS. from) *surā*, distilled unto enjoyment.' This seems supported by Mahidhara on VS.: *āsataḥ surayā tirikṛtāḥ san*.

*yataḥ prajā akhidrā* (MS. *yeṇa prajā achidrā*) *ajāyanta tasmai tvā... juhomi* TS. MS. KS.

*puṇsaḥ kartur mātari āśiṣikṭa* JB.: *puṇsā kartrā mātari mā niṣiṇca* (°cata to be read?) KBU. 'From (by) a man as creator (father) ye have implanted (implant) me in (my) mother.' On the verb-form see VV 1 §372c.

*tābhya enā nī jṇartaya* RV.: *tābhyaḥ tvā vartayāmasi* KS.: *tābhir ā vartayā punaḥ* TS. ApMB. 'From (by) them (the four quarters of the earth) bring them (we bring thee) back.' The Tait. reading is clearly secondary and poor.

§570. Similarly in other passages where no verbal expression of origination is present:

*śam yajurbhyaḥ* (TA. °bhīh) VS. ŚB. TA. 'Welfare (be to us) from (by) the sacrificial formulas.'

*pauruṣeyād daivyāt* KS.†: *pauruṣeyena daivena* TS. MS.: [*yena-yena vā kṛtām*] *pauruṣeyān na daivāt* AV. Preceded by *yad idam abhidāśati* KS., *yad idam mābhīśocati* TS. MS., *yan medam abhiśocati* AV.

*anyad evāhur vidyāyāḥ* (VSK. IśāU. *vidyayā*),

*anyad āhur* (IśāU. †*evāhur*) *avidyāyāḥ* (VSK. IśāU. *avidyayā*) VS. VSK.

IśāU. 'Different, they say, is (the fruit) arising from (by means of) knowledge and ignorance.' That the words are felt as abls., not gens., is proved by the parallel pādas *anyad evāhuḥ sambhavāt*, *anyad āhur asambhavāt*, which occur in the vicinity.

*svāhā yajñam manasaḥ* (KS.\* [2. 3] *yajñamanasaḥ*) VS. MS. KS.† (bis) ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *svāhā yajñam manasā* (KS. °ai) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. A verb such as *ā rabhe* (but with the loc. *manasi*, *visrje*—§607) is to be understood. In KS. 23. 5 *svāhā yajñam manasaḥ* (which certainly should be read also in KS. 2. 3 for ed. *yajñamanasaḥ*, cf. VV 2 §819), 'I take sacrifice from mind,' is explained by the brāhmaṇa: *manasā vai yajña ālabhyate*—a striking proof of the equivalence of the two cases in such expressions.

## 2. Instrumental of means and ablative of cause

§571. The ablative of cause is only a slight development of the ablative of source, into which it shades over imperceptibly; and it varies quite as easily with the instrumental of means. The following variants seem to contain what may best be classified as causal abls.:

*tēna* (TB. *tato*) *no mitrāvaruṇāu* (°nā) *aviṣṭam* (TB. *aviṣṭam*) RV. MS. TB. Preceded by *yad bāhiṣṭham nātvīdhe* (TB. °vide) *sudānā*, *achidraṁ śarma bhuvanasya gopā*. 'By (thru) this (ah, śarman), O M. and V., help us.'

*bhūvas team indra brahmaṇā* (MS. °no) *mahām* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'Become thou great, O Indra, by (thru, as a result of) our holy words.'

*pari satyasya dharmaṇā* (PG. *sakhyasya dharmaṇāḥ*) AŚ. PG. The PG. reading is regarded by Stenzler as corrupt, and we have followed him in VV 2 §143; the context makes it easy to assume a change from *satyasya* to *sakhyasya*, and the reverse change is not easy to understand. Yet *pari* is not very easy to construe in AŚ., while in PG. it goes very naturally with the abl. *dharmaṇāḥ*, either in



the sense of '(turning away) from the condition of friendship' (so Oldenberg), or (perhaps better) 'in accordance with the law of friendship (or of truth, if *satyasya* be read).' In the latter interpretation, the abl. of cause with *pari* would be equivalent to the instr.

§572. To this group would belong three other variants, if their ablatives were to be accepted as textually sound; they are however all suspicious for one reason or another:

*abhi śravobhīḥ prthivīm* RV.; *uta śravasā* (MS. *śravasa* [p.p. *śaḥ*] *ā*) *prthivīm* VS. TS. MS. TA. 'And (has spread over) the earth also by reason of his glory.' MS. like the others has in the preceding the parallel *mahinā* (instr.) *divaḥ*, 'over the heavens by his greatness.' If *śravasāḥ* be accepted it would have to be an abl. of cause; but see VV 2 §901.

*hiraṇyapāṇīr aminīla sukrotuḥ kṛpā* (AV. *kṛpāl*) *svaḥ* AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Whitney adopts *kṛpā* for AV., which is read by some mss. and comm. (the variant might be added to VV 2 §420). AŚ. ŚŚ. add the ūha *kṛpā* *svaḥ* for *kṛpā* *svaḥ*, which should have been recorded in VV 2 §138. Can the anomalous final *t* of AV. be explained as due to misunderstanding of a ms. reading in which *t* was inserted, interlinearly or marginally, as a substitute for *k* in *kṛpā*, and later taken as an addition at the end of the word? *satyā eṣām āśīṣaḥ santu kāmāḥ* (SMB. *kāmāt*) SMB. ApMB. HG. So Conc.; but Jørgensen reads *kāmāḥ* in SMB., with only one ms. recorded as reading *kāmāt*. Cf. §412.

### 3. With expressions of separation

§573. The instrumental is sometimes used with expressions of separation or release, of the thing separated from, by analogy with the associative instrumental used after (antonymic) expressions of joining. See e.g. Whitney, *Gr.* 283a, Speyer, *VSS.* §33. In this way it comes to be interchangeable with the ablative of separation:

*tebhīr na adya* (ApŚ. *tebhyo na indrah*) *savitola viṣṇuḥ* KŚ. ApŚ.: *tebhyo asmān varuṇaḥ soma indrah* Kauś. The verb *vi muñcantu* follows. 'May (Indra,) Savitar and Viṣṇu free us (today) from these (fettors of Varuṇa)', or the like.

*viśvā* (MS. *vy*) *amīcāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS. Ppp. *śtebhyaḥ*, MS. *śānām*) AV. Ppp. MS. KS.: *viśvā āśāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhiyaḥ* VS. TS. Followed by *śivābhir* (Ppp. VS. KS. MS. *śivebhir*) *adya pari pāhi no gayam* (VS. TS. MS. KS. *vdhe*). All evidence points

to *mānuṣibhiḥ* as the original. The AV. comm. followed by Whitney supplies *ātibhiḥ*. But the noun most naturally understood with *mānuṣī* is *viś* or *kṛtī*, 'tribe' (see Grassmann, *Wbch.* s. v.). The instr. is then probably one of separation: 'freeing all diseases from human tribes.' KS. Ppp. must be interpreted similarly, taking *mānuṣebhyaḥ* as abl., 'from men'. On VS. TS. see §474. MS. has a possessive gen.: 'freeing (removing) men's diseases.' The following pāda is a reminiscence of RV. 6. 71. 3b, *śivebhir adya pari pāhi no gayam*, where *śivebhir* goes with a preceding *pāyubhis* (the context is wholly different). Here *śivebhir* or *śivabhir* must be taken either as an adverb, 'auspiciously', or as a noun, 'with kindness'. Note that only AV. has *mānuṣibhiḥ* and *śivabhiḥ* in the same case form.

#### 4. Dependent on prepositional adverbs

§574. The prepositional adverbs *paraś*, *avāś*, *avāś* govern either abl. or instr. without difference of meaning. This use of the abl. is apparently related to the abl. of comparison, cf. Speyer, *VSS.* §39.

*para divā* (AV. vulg. *divo* by misprint, MS. *divaḥ*) *para enā prthivyā* (MS. \**yāḥ*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Higher than the heaven, higher than the earth here.' Followed (except in one of the two RV. occurrences, and AV. which repeats this) by:

*para devebhir* (MS. \**bhya*) *asurair* (MS. \**raṁ*) *yad asti* (TS. *anurair guhā yat*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*avāś ca yaḥ paraḥ śruśā* (Vait. *śruśā*, KS. *para divaḥ*) RV. KS. Vait.

*avāś teḥ parebhyo 'vidam* (VSK. *teḥ parebhyāḥ*) *para 'varebhyāḥ* (TS. *teḥ parair avidam* *para 'varaiḥ*, MS. *teḥ parebhyāḥ* *para 'varebhyo 'vidam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'I have found thee on the near side of the farther, on the far side of the nearer.'

#### 5. In adverbial forms

§575. Temporal or local adverbs are formed with the endings of both cases, usually without clear difference of meaning:

*nīcād uccā svadhayābhi prastathau* Ppp. TS. KS.: *nīcāir uccaiḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV. Here *nīcād* has distinct ablative force: '(from) below above (nach oben)', or 'below (and) above'.

*ayam paścād* (MS. *paścā*) *vidudvasuḥ* MS. KS. In this and the next two the p.p. of MS. reads *paścāt*.

*ayam paścād* (MS. *paścā*) *viśvavyacāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See prec. *maryo na yośām abhy eti paścāt* (MS. *paścā*) RV. AV. MS. TB. See prec. two.



*yad aha* (and, *rātriyā*, v. l. *rātriyā*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA, MahānU.: *yad aha* (and, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA. The comm. repeats the strange forms *aha* and *rātriyāt* (blended forms under the influence of ablatives of *a*-stems), saying that they are 'Vedic'.

#### 6. Case attraction, and miscellaneous

§576. Almost the only variants in which the two cases seem to have really quite distinct meanings are the following, in the first of which it seems likely that external case-attraction (formal assimilation) has been influential:

*sa budhnād* (AV. Ppp. *°nyād*) *āṣṭa januṣābhy* (AV. *januṣo 'bhy*) *agram* AV. Ppp. (JAOS. 37. 260) TS. KS. AS. The instr. is doubtless original; note that even Ppp. has it. 'From the bottom to the top he has reached by his nature' or the like. The isolated *januṣo* is doubtless due to attraction to the abl. *budhnyād*, now taken as an adjective: 'from the lowest generation to the top he has reached.' Otherwise Ludwig.

*vāyur na īdīta īdītavyair devair antarikṣyaiḥ* (ApŚ. *āntarikṣaiḥ*) *pātu* KS. ApŚ.: *vāyuṣ [āntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divaḥ* MŚ.

*vahjagmāno* (KS. *°nā*, MS. TB. ApŚ. *°nau*) *divā* (TB. ApŚ. *diva ā*) *prthivyā* (ApŚ.† *°vyāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. All but TB. ApŚ. have two instrs.: 'uniting with heaven and earth'. The subject is the *śukra* and (or) the manthina *graha*, either together in the texts that have a dual, or separately (in VS. ŚB., which repeat the formula with each). TB. keeps the instr. *prthivyā* (the final *ā* is fused with the next word *āyuh*), while ApŚ. (which reads *prthivyā āyuh*) understands an abl. (so Caland; less likely gen. or dat.); both must take *diva(h)* as abl. Caland renders 'Zusammentreffend von dem Himmel, von der Erde her'. The TB. comm. understands 'uniting with the earth, as far as (i.e. including) the heaven': *ā divo dyulokasahitayā prthivyā*. The secondary TB. ApŚ. reading contains the reverse of double sandhi (false vowel resolution) and should be added to VV 2 §991; the variant might also be added to VV 2 §732.

#### C. Instrumental and genitive

##### 1. Objective genitive

§577. In contrast with the ablative, the genitive shows few variants in which it is used interchangeably with the instrumental. Most of our

variants are miscellaneous in character and show quite different syntactic applications of the two cases.

§578. The objective genitive, which easily interchanges with various other cases (§§87 ff.), varies with an associative instrumental after noun expressions of union or association, with practically no difference of meaning:

*sahveśānām* (SV. °no) *vivasvataḥ* (SV. °tā) RV. SV. 'Fellow-dweller of (with) Vivasvat.'

*sahveśane tanvaś* (AV. *tanvā*) *cāruḥ edhi* RV. AV. 'In joining of (with) thy body...' Other texts *sahveśanas tanve* (*tanuvai*)..., with final dative; see §560.

*viśveṣām devānām ahaṁ* (KS. *vī° ahaṁ dev°*) *devayajyayā prāṇaiḥ* (KS. *prāṇānām*) *sāyujyam gameyam* KS. ApŚ. '...may I go into association with (of) the life-breaths.'

§579. After expressions of gratification, the objective genitive interchanges with the instrumental of means:

*tena tīrpyatam anīhau* TB. ApŚ.: *toṣya tīrmpatam ahāhahukū svāhā* ŚŚ. *juṣṭam devebhīr* (AV. *devānām*) *uṣa mānuṣebhīḥ* (AV. *mānuṣāṇām*) RV. AV. 'Accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men.'

## 2. Subjective genitive

§580. Again, the subjective genitive varies, without essential difference of meaning, with an instrumental of means or agent, after a participle or its equivalent; the difference is one between nominal and verbal psychology:

*yan mayā duṣkṛtam kṛtam* TA. MahānU. BDh.: *yan me kiṁ cana duṣkṛtam* VIDh. 'Whatever evil has been done by me (or, of me, as it were 'my deed').'

*yan me* (TA.\* BDh.\* *mayā*) *manasā vācā* TA. (both) MahānU. BDh. (both). As in preceding; the participle *kṛtam* follows.

*chandobhīr yajñaiḥ sukṛtām kṛtena* AV.: *brahmaṇā guptāḥ* (ApMB. *samprñcānas*) *sukṛtā kṛtena* ApMB. HG. 'With the deed of the righteous': 'by (with) the holy speech which is made by the righteous man.' There is no need to emend HG. to *sukṛtām* with Oldenberg.

*āpo devīḥ prathamajā ṛtena* (AV. *ṛtasya*) RV. AV. 'The divine waters, first-produced by (first-born of) the ṛta.'

## 3. Partitive genitive

§581. The partitive genitive (almost appositional at times) exchanges in various ways with an instrumental, sometimes with little difference



of meaning, as in the first instance, where the Instr. is appositional to another instrumental; in phrases of this type the gen. may exchange with any other case (§84):

*vasantena* (also *grīṣmeṇa*, *varṣābhīḥ*, *śaradā*, *hemantakṣirābhyāṃ*) *tvartunā* (KSA. °nām) *haviṣā dīkṣayāmi* TS. KSA. 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc.) season (with the spring of the seasons), with oblation.'

§582. Psychologically similar also are the uses of the two cases with verbs of offering:

*tasmā indrāya haviṣā juhota* MS.: *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV. 'To Indra here make offering with oblation (make offering of the soma).'

Others with the acc.; §§406, 502.

§583. Somewhat less close are:

*yad aśya karmaṇo 'tyarīcam* ApŚ. HG. AG. ApMB.: *yad karmaṇātyarīcam* ŚB. BṛhU. PG. 'Whatsoever of this performance (by my performance) I have done in excess.'

*akalpam agne tat tava* (AV. *tvayā*) AV. TS. MS. KS. 'That (part) of thee is easily made good': 'that is easily made good by thee'. Addressed to Agni.

*anuṣṭup* (also *triṣṭup*, *gāyatrī*, *jagati*, *paiktis*) *tvā chandasām avatu* (KS. *chandasāsatu*) TS. MS. KS. 'May anuṣṭubh (etc.) of the meters (with meter) help thee.' Formulaic *rigmarole*.

*suṣyotir jyotiṣā* (TA. ApŚ. °yām) *svāhā* VS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. 'Fair-lighted one with light (of lights).' As prec.

*teṣāṃ chidraṃ prati dadhmo yad atra* KS.: *teṣāṃ chinnaṃ sam etad* (ŚŚ. *sam imāṃ*, TS. *praty etad*) *dadhāmi* VS. TS. ŚŚ.: *tebhiḥ chidram apīdadhmo yad atra* MS. AŚ. 'Of (by) these (33 threads)...'

#### 4. Instr.-gen. of time

§584. The question whether the gen. can be used adverbially in expressions of time was formerly mooted but may now be considered as settled affirmatively; see §678, and cf. especially Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on I. 79. 6. In this sense it is therefore interchangeable with the instr. We have however noticed only a single variant, and even its form is not certain:

*madhu naktam uṣasaḥ* (KS. °sa, TS. TA. °ṣi) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. Kauś. The RV. *uṣasaḥ* has been taken (e.g. by Grassmann) as nom. pl.: 'the night and dawns are honey.' This is impossible because there is no nom. *naktam* (Wackernagel 3 p. 234); that form can only be adverbial acc., and consequently

*uṣasaḥ* is also adverbial. It might (with Wackernagel l. c. and others) be taken as acc. pl., but may at least as well be gen. sg.; in either case it means practically the same as *uṣasā* (or *\*st*), 'at dawn.'

### 5. Case attraction

§586. The rest contain miscellaneous shifts which are hardly classifiable in terms of definite syntactic relationships. We shall mention first a group in which formal, external attraction or assimilation seems to be responsible for the change:

*cakṣuṣaḥ* (KapS. *\*ṣā*) *pītā manasā hi dhīraḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. ApŚ. Raghu Vira emends to *cakṣuṣaḥ*, wrongly; assimilation to *manasā* (Oertel 18).

*viśvasyaśāna ojaśā* (SV. *\*saḥ*) RV. AV. SV. 'Ruler of all by might': 'ruler of all might.' We take it that *ojaśā* has been altered to *ojaṣaḥ* by attraction to *viśvasya*.

*samvatsareṇa savitā no ahnām* (MS. *ahnā*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'By the year of days': 'by the year, by the day'. The MS. form seems to be assimilated to *samvatsareṇa*; so in the next two. But note that in all three the formal difference consists in loss of a final nasal, and cf. VV 2 §307, where these variants might have been quoted: the change may be largely phonetic in character, since the final nasal seems to have been weakly pronounced.

*trivṛṇ no viṣṭhaya* (KS. *trivṛd viṣṭhaya*) *stoma ahnām* (MS. *ahnā*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. As prec.

*mitrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām* (MS. *\*hnā*) *cikītnā* (with varr.) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. As prec.

*traiṣṭubhena chandasendreṇa devatayāgneḥ pakṣeṇāgneḥ pakṣam upa dadhāmi* TS.: *traiṣṭubhena chandasā chandasāgneḥ pārśveṇāgneḥ pārśvam upa dadhāmi* KS.: *traiṣṭubhasya chandaso 'gneḥ pakṣeṇāgneḥ pakṣam upadadhāmi* MS. 'With the trīṣṭubh meter, with the side of Agni...', so TS. KS., original. In MS. the first phrase is assimilated to the following *agneḥ*: 'with the side of the trīṣṭubh meter, of Agni...' So also with the meter-names *jāgata*, *gāyatra*, *anuṣṭubha*, *pāñkta*.

*devasya tvā savituh prasave 'śvinor bāhubyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām sarasvatyā vācā* (VS. TS. ŚB. *sarasvatyai vāco*) *yantur yantreṇa*... *abhiṣiñcāmi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: ... *sarasvatyai vāco yantur yantriye* (VSK. *vāco yan turye turyam*) *dadhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB. Assuming that MS. KS. are original, we have assimilation of *vācā* to the preceding *sarasvatyā*(s) or *\*yai* (§143) and the following *yantur* in



the others. If, as is less likely, the gen. is original, it has been assimilated to the preceding instr. in MS. KS.

§586. In the next the formal association is of a rather different sort. Here the assimilating force is exerted by the construction of a parallel formula in the vicinity, to which the variant formula is brought into closer parallelism by the change; it is not a question of influence of another word in the same passage. The three formulas here quoted belong to the same context:

*pāsamānasya tvā stomena gāyatrasya vartanyopāñśor vīryeṇa...* MS.:  
*pāsamānena tvā stomena gāyatrasya* (KS. °tryā) *vartanyopāñśor vīryeṇa...* TS. KS.

*bṛhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā śukrasya vīryeṇa...*  
TS.: *bṛhātā tvā rathamtareṇa triṣṭubhyā* (KS. triṣṭubhā) *vartanyā śukrasya...* MS. KS.

*agnes tvā mātṛayā jagatyāś [gen.] vartanyāgrayaṇasya vīryeṇa* (KS. jagatyā vartanyā)... TS. KS.: *agneḥ tvā mātṛayā jagatyā vartanyā...* MS.

In these three associated formulas, the gens. *pāsamānasya* (MS. only) and *bṛhadrathamtarayos* (TS. only), 'with the hymn of the P.' and 'of the B.-R. (sāmāns),' are clearly secondary and modelled on the parallel *agnes tvā mātṛayā* etc. of the third formula; the instr. forms (found consistently in KS.) are original. The second phrase of all three formulas consists of *vartanyā* modified by an adjectival or appositional instr. in KS., and again this seems to be the original form. In the first formula the instr. is replaced by a dependent gen. in both TS. and MS., in the second and third formulas in TS. alone. These gens. are modelled on the next following phrase, *upāñśor* (*śukrasya, āgrayaṇasya*) *vīryeṇa*.

## 6. Miscellaneous

§587. In listing the remaining miscellaneous variants, we begin with those in which no other change, or no serious change, in addition to the shift of case-form, occurs in the variant:

*vayam nāma pra bravāmā* (KS.† °ma; add to VV 2 §446) *ghṛtasya* (TA. ApŚ. *ghṛtena*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. MahānU. (All but one ms. of MahānU. used by Jacob read *ghṛtena*, which therefore should probably be read as in TA. ApŚ., tho the comm. has *ghṛtasya*.) Caland translates ApŚ. as if gen.; but the agreement of the Tait. texts suggests that *ghṛtena* is the true reading of the school, non-sensical as it seems to us. TA. comm. says the 'name' means the praṇava (*um*).

*pra yujō* (SV. *yujā*) *vāco agriyāh* RV. SV. Followed by the verb *cakradat* (SV. *acikradat*). RV.: 'let the leader (Soma) of his associate, the song, sound forth.' *yujā* may be an adverb (so Benfey), 'the leader of the song has sounded forth together,' or perhaps better a noun, 'the leader of the song together with his associate (the song).'

*sarasvatyā* (TB. *°tyāh*) *supippalāh* VS. MS. TB. Preceded by *devō devair* (TB. *indro*) *vanaspatīh*, *hiranyaparnō aśvibhyām*. The instr. is associative; and TB. glosses the gen. by *sarasvatyāh sambandhī*.

*rasam parisrutā* (MS. *°to*) *na rohitam* VS. KS. MS. TB. The instr. depends on the verb *rayati* in the prec., felt as a verb of mixing or uniting: 'as the red sap with *parisrut*.' However, VS. comm. glosses *parisrutā* with *parisrutah* ('as the red sap of *parisrut*').

*ājō bhāgas* (TA. *'bhāgas*) *tapasā* (AV. *°sas*) *tañ tapasa* RV. AV. TA. 'The goat is (thy) portion (TA. portionless); burn him with heat': 'the goat is the portion of heat; burn him.' Whitney considers the AV. superior, but wrongly; cf. Oldenberg *Noten* on RV. 10. 16. 4.

*patirñ surāyā* (TB. *surāyai*, VS. *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. See §563.

*sam brahmaṇā* (AV. *°ṇām*) *devakṛtañ* (RV. AV. *devahitañ*) *yad asti* RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. The instr. is associative, with *sam neṣi* (*neṣa*) of prec.: 'bring together with the prayer which has been made by the gods.' In AV. it becomes a partitive gen. with *yad*: 'whatever prayers have been...', no instr. being expressed tho one must still be understood.

*vīśvā* (MS. *vy*) *amtvāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhih* (KS. *°ṣebhyah*, MS. *°ṣāṇām*) AV. MS. KS. See §573.

§588. Different words, or more extensive and radical reconstructions, are involved in the following:

*agnir āyusmān sa...tena teāyusāyusmantan karomi* (KS. *tasāyām āyusāyusmān aśtr asau*) TS. KS. PG. ApMB. 'By this life': 'by his life'. The meaning is practically the same, but different pronouns are used.

*ayanā no nabhasas patih* (TS. ApŚ. *nabhasā purah*) AV. TS. GB. Vait. Kauś. ApŚ. Followed by *samsphāno abhi rakṣatu*.

*ye barhiṣo* (MS. *°ṣā*) *namoṣṭkīñ* (VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. *namaṣṭkīñ*) *na jagmuḥ* (VS. ŚB. *yajanti* for *na ja°*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*ya indrena saratham yāti devah* AV.: *yenendrasya ratham sambabhūruḥ* MS. KS. ApŚ. See §419.



*satyā tā dharmaṇas paṭi* ApŚ.: *satyād ā dharmaṇas paṭi* (ŚŚ. *dharmaṇā*, Vait. MŚ. *dharmaṇas paṭi*, but MŚ. mss. *dharmaṇā paṭi*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. MŚ.

*sam tvā nahyāmy apa* (MŚ. MG. *adbhir*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* TS. MŚ. MG.: *sam tvā nahyāmi payasaugadhīnām* AV. Cf. *sam tvā nahyāmi payasā prthivyāḥ* (TS. *ghṛtena*), which immediately precedes this; see §460. *pūṣā sanīnām* (TS. ApŚ. *sanyā*); *somo rādhasām* (TS. °*sā*) TS. KS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. (only the first two words in ApŚ. MŚ.; delete MŚ. in Conc. under *somo rā*). In MS. KS. probably a noun, 'giver', rather than a verb of giving as v. Schroeder suggests, is to be supplied: 'Pūṣan (is the giver) of gifts' etc. In TS. *āvasṛtran* precedes: 'Pūṣan (has surrounded me) with gain' etc.

*ghṛtasyāgne tanvā sam bhava* KS. MŚ. Kauś. MG.: *ghṛtena taṁ tanvaḥ* (TS. *tanvo*) *vardhayasta* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N.

*sam it taṁ rāyā sṛjati svadhāvān* (AV.\* *rāyāḥ sṛjati svadhābhiḥ*) RV. AV. (both).

*āyurdā agne haviṣo juṣāṇaḥ* (ŚG. *haviṣā vṛdhānaḥ*) TS. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. ŚG.

*yena* (AV. *yasya*) *dyaur ugrā* (AV. *urī*) *prthivī ca dṛḍhā* (TS. *dṛḍhe*, AV. *mahī*) RV. AV. Ppp. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. In passing we note that the change from *ugrā* to *urī* is a sign of the increasingly unpleasant connotation of *ugra*.

§589. The forms themselves are doubtful of interpretation, or textually suspicious, in the following:

*ariṣṭāḥ syāma tanvā svitrāḥ* RV. AV. TS. KS.: *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāsma* LŚ. The LŚ. *tanvo* is doubtful as to form and meaning. Is it gen. with *ariṣṭās*, 'without harm to the body' (Whitney *Gr.* 296b)? Or abl. of source or cause? Or adverbial accus.? Or even nom. pl. ('may we be unharmed bodies, persons')? It may, finally, be a mere error or misprint in the unreliable edition.

*nedīya it sṛṇyāḥ* (TS.† °*yā*) *pakṣam eṇāt* (AV. ā *yavan*, TS. MS. KS. *āyat*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. Here *sṛṇyāḥ* may be variously interpreted in the RV. form; it is often taken as gen., 'may the ripe grain come near to the sickle'. But acc. pl. is also possible; likewise nom. sg. (stem *sṛṇyā*) may be considered (cf. Oldenberg, *Noten* on l. 58. 4). The AV. makes it a nom. pl.

*prthivyā* (MS.\* °*vyāḥ*) *sambhava* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. See VV 2 p. 197.

[*vācām indriyeṇāvīṣa* (TS. MŚ. *vācā mendr°*) TS. KS. MŚ. Read KS. like the others; see v. Schroeder's note on 31. 15, p. 18 n. 1.]

## 7. Transfer of epithet

§590. The only case which may be called in the strictest sense a 'transfer of epithet' is the uncertain one which follows:

*amaiṣām cittaṁ prabudhām* (TS. KS. °dhā) *vi neśat* (KS. *naśyatu*) RV. AV. TS. KS. 'At home let the plan of these clever (enemies) come to naught.' In TS. KS. *prabudhā* may be taken as personal, 'by the wise one', referring to Agni, to whom the verse is addressed; or else, with Keith, as impersonal, 'by (his) wisdom.'

§591. In the rest an originally independent word is transformed into an epithet of another word, to the case of which it is attracted (§15): *stoma yajñas ca* (TB. *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haviṣmatā* (TB. °tah) RV. TB. 'Praise and sacrifice (are) to be offered by the sacrificer.' Once the gen. has been introduced in TB. (see §449), *haviṣmatā* is assimilated to it.

*vr̥ṣṇaḥ sutasyanṛjasā* (SV. PB. °saḥ) RV. SV. PB. In SV. *ojas* is made an epithet of *soma*: 'of the bull [that is] strength, pressed out', instead of 'pressed out by strength.'

*vedam savitrā prasūtam maghonam* AG.: *vedam prasūtum savitrā maghonā* ŚG. Stenzler and Oldenberg both adopt for AG. the reading of ŚG., with no ms. authority. To us it seems that AG. is not only sound but original: 'holy knowledge pressed forth by Savitar for liberal patrons.' ŚG. has secondarily assimilated *maghonā* to *savitrā*, transposing the latter word into juxtaposition with what is now its epithet: '...pressed forth by the liberal Savitar.'

*ghṛtasya vibhrāṣṭim anu kakraśociṣaḥ* (RV. AV. VS. KS. *eaṣṭi śociṣā*) RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *ājuhvānasya sarpiṣaḥ*. The two independent words of the original are replaced by a compound epithet of *sarpiṣaḥ*.

## D. Instrumental and locative

§592. The variations between instrumental and locative are instructive in showing a much closer association between these two cases than has commonly been assumed. Speyer (VSS. §75) notes uses in which the locative vies with most of the other oblique cases, but does not mention the instrumental. And yet our variants show that they are interchangeable, often with little or no difference of meaning, in a variety of ways.

§593. 'In the instrumental is put that concept which is associated with the principal concept in the action' (Delbrück, *ATS*, p. 122). The locative designates primarily the sphere within which an action takes



place. But the sphere of the action may also be regarded as an accompanying concept of the action. Conversely, the accompanying concept may be treated as the circumstance within whose sphere of operation the action takes place. The occasion (loc.) is at the same time the means, cause, or manner (instr.) of the action. The phrase *maruṭāṃ prasave jaya* (TS. *jayata*) of TS. MS. KS. MŚ. means 'in (upon, German *auf*) the impulse of the Maruts conquer.' Is there any essential difference between this and the variant of VS. ŚB., with *prasavena*? Only a faint and elusive one, we should say; just as we imagine a Latinist would be puzzled to make a very clear distinction between *in hoc signo vinces* and *hoc signo vinces*.

§594. Adverbial expressions of time and place, as well as manner, occur with both cases. Distinctions are often drawn between them. Thus it is said that the instr. denotes the time or place thruout which the action takes place. Delbrück uses the terms *Raum-* and *Zeiterstreckung* of such instrumentals. To be sure he admits (*AIS.* p. 130), at least for time concepts, that this distinction cannot always be felt, noting that *doṣā*, instr., 'in the evening' is the precise counterpart of *uṣasi*, loc., 'in the morning'. We are very doubtful whether the distinction has any value. At any rate our variants show a number of cases in which it seems forced.

§595. We recognize, of course, that these two cases developed some quite distinct uses, and we should not claim that in all or even most of the instances in which they vary with each other, their meanings are precisely identical. To some extent we shall keep in mind the conventional terminology which speaks of instrumentals of 'manner, cause, accompaniment' etc., and of locatives of various sorts. And where it seems to us likely that the two cases had somewhat different connotations, we shall not hesitate to point them out. Yet we believe that the mass of our variants will be found to confirm the view that the two cases approach each other much more than has been generally recognized; so that it is anything but surprising that in a number of ritualistic, rigma-role formulas, either will do as well as the other (§604).

#### 1. Time expressions

§596. We have already referred to the use of the two cases in expressions of time, and noted that the distinction made by Delbrück and others is not supported by the variants (§594):

*maghāsu* (RV. *aghāsu*, ApG. *maghābhir*) *hanyante gāvah* (ApG. *gāvo grhyante*),

*phalguniṣu* (RV. *arjunyeh*, ApG. *phalgunibhyām*) *vy* (RV. *pari*) *uhyate* (ApG. *ūhyate*) RV. AV. ApG. Kauś. 'In the asterism of the Maghās (Aghās) the cows are slain (taken), in that of the Phalguni (Arjuni) the marriage takes place.' Distinction of meaning is scarcely conceivable.

*madhu naktam utoṣasaḥ* (KS. °*śā*, TS. TA. °*śi*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. Kauś. Here *uṣasaḥ* (probably gen. sg.) is the original, and is replaced by either instr. or loc.; see §584.

## 2. Place expressions

§597. The instr. is particularly frequent in expressing the 'way' with verbs of motion (Speyer, *VSS.* §42); but the loc. may equally well be used:

*samudraṁ gandharveṣṭhām anvātiṣṭhata* (KS.† °*ṣṭhatha*) *vātasya patma-neḍitā* (KS. *patmann īdītā*) MS. KS. 'On the path of the wind.' *avyo vāreṣu* (SV. *avyā vārebhir*) *asmayuh* RV. SV.; and *avyo vāre* (SV. *avyā vāraiḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and *priyam*) RV. SV. 'In (or, thru) the sieve of wool.' The verbs are *parasva*, *punānah*, *hinvanti*; the subject, soma.

*druṇā* (SV. *drone*) *sadhastham āśnuṣe* RV. SV. 'By (in) the wooden vessel thou attainest thy place.' The vessel is the 'way' thru which the soma flows.

*druṇā* (SV. VS. *drone*) *sadhastham āśadat* RV. SV. VS. As *prece.*

§598. And without the concept of motion, in simple expressions of location, the instr. may replace the loc.:

*adhi kṣami viṣurūpaṁ* (ArS. *kṣamā viṣvarūpaṁ*) *yad asti* (ArS. *asya*, MS.† *āsta*) RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. Here *kṣamā*, 'on the earth', must apparently be instr., and is well known in the RV. itself. It cannot be regarded as dependent on *adhi*, which is not found with the instr. (tho it may reinforce the loc., as probably here with *kṣami*).

*paro yad idhyate divā* (SV. *divi*) RV. SV. Here *divā* is commonly regarded as dependent on *paras*: 'beyond the sky' (so Ludwig, Grassmann *Wbch.*, and Bergaigne 2. 187). Yet it may quite well mean simply 'in the sky', with *paras* an independent adverb (so Grassmann's translation); in that case it would be the precise equivalent of *divi*.

*tīre tubhyam gaṅge* HG.: *tīre tubhyam asau* PG.: *tīreṇa yamune* (and, *tīreṇāsau*) *tava* ApMB. Preceded by *viṣṭtacakrā āśinās* HG. ApMB., *avimuktacakra* (v. l. °*rā*) *āśiran* PG. It seems scarcely



possible to take ApMB. *firena* otherwise than as an expression of location, 'sitting on thy bank.'

§599. The instrumental adverb *guhā* is used sometimes in ways which suggest that it may have been originally local. This, to be sure, is not proved by the fact that it varies twice with the locative *guhāsu*, 'in secret places':

*gandharvo dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat* (VS. *dhāma vibhṛtaṁ guhā sat*) AV.

VS.: *gandharvo nāma nihitaṁ guhāsu* TA. MahānU.

*trīṇi padāni* (TA. MahānU. *padā*) *nihitā guhāṣya* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*)

AV. VS. TA. MahānU.

### 3. Instrumental of means or cause and locative

§600. We now approach cases in which the instrumental is no longer strictly local or temporal, but is tinged with its more familiar meaning of means. Even so it often varies, with little shift of meaning, with a locative, which then ordinarily denotes the occasion rather than the literal, physical 'place'; cf. (*in*) *hoc signo vinces*, §593. As a transition case we mention first the following variant, where the loc. *kumbhe*, 'in a pot', is still used of physical location, while the instr., 'with pots', regards the noun as the means by which water is carried. It is obvious that the difference is subjective and that either way of looking at it is simple enough:

*śam u yāḥ kumbha abhṛtāḥ* AV.: *śam yāḥ kumbhebhīr abhṛtāḥ* AV.

§601. Others, in which the literal local sense is not, or not so clearly, present, are:

*nā eva śvetasyābhyācāre* (AG. *śvetaś cābhyāgāre*, HG. *śvetasyābhyācāreṇa*, MG. *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG, PG, HG, ApMB, MG. Followed by *ahir jaghāna* (PG. *dadarā*) *kaṁ* (AG, MG. *kiṁ*) *cana*. Kirste assumes that HG. is corrupt, and Oldenberg renders a loc., 'within the dominion of the white one.' The instr. is indeed bad metrically and doubtless secondary. But *abhyācāra* in the sense of *abhicāra*, 'attack of hostile magic,' is guaranteed by AV. 10. 3. 2, and there is no need to abandon it, the more since MG. has the loc. of the same word: 'by (MG. in) the hostile magic of the white one the snake has killed no one (nothing).' The other texts have different words.

*marutāṁ prasave* (VS. ŚB. °*rena*) *jaya* (TS. *jayata*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. See §593.

*apām uta prabastiṣu* (RV. † °*taṣe*, AV. VSK. °*tibhiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *asvā* (*devā*) *bhavata* (°*tha*) *vājinaḥ*.

The RV. original has a dative of purpose (§558); for it the later texts substitute instr. or loc., which are virtually equivalent; with the loc., the praising is the occasion and so the means of the becoming strong: 'Become ye strong in (by) the praising of the waters,' *śikṣā sakhibhyo haviṣi* (MS. KS. °*ṣā*) *vadhātāh* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Teach, O S., (thy seats) to thy friends at (by) the oblation.' The oblation is the occasion, and so the means, of the teaching. *vairūpe sāmān ita* (MS. *adhi*; KS. *vairūpeṇa sāmānā*) *tac chakeyam* (TS. *chakema*) TS. KS. MS. AŚ. 'May I (we) have this power in (by) the *vairūpa sāmān*.' The next pāda, which is closely parallel, has an instr. (*jagatyā*) in all.

*meṣāṃ viprā abhisvarā* (SV. °*re*) RV. SV. AV. Preceded by *nemih* *namanti cakṣasā*. 'With (in) their song of praise.'

*vasūnām tadāhītena rudrāṇām ūrmyādityānām tejasā vīkṣvātāṃ devānām kralunā maruṭāṃ ennā juhomi svāhā* TB. ApŚ.: *vasūnām ādhītau rudrāṇām kormann ādityānām celasi* (sc. *te juhomi*) MS. 'I offer thee with (in) the meditation (?) of the Vasus' etc.

*ahno rūpe* (TS. *rūpeṇa*) *sūryasya rakṣiṣu* (TS.† *raṣmibhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The verb is *grhṇāmi* or *ādhunomi*. 'I take (stir) thee in (with) the form of day, in (with) the rays of the sun.'

*svapnāḥ svapnādhikaraṇe* RVKh.: *svapna svapnādhikaraṇena* AV. 'In (with) the superintendence (incantation?) of sleep [let sleep put to sleep all the people].' Cf. Edgerton, *AJP.* 35. 438 f.

*somasya kuṣmaḥ surayā* (MS. *surāyām*) *śulasya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. 'The power of soma pressed out by (in) *surā*.'

*svargeṇa lokena saṃprorṇvāthām* Vait.: *svarge loke prorṇvāthām* (VSK. *prorṇvāthām*, MS. *prorṇvāthām*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB.: *svarge* (KS.† *svarge*) *loke saṃprorṇvāthām* (KSA.† °*rṇvāthām*) TS. KSA. TB.

'Wrap yourselves up with (in) the heavenly world.' *agnir ukthēna vāhasā* VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir uktheṣv anhasu* AV. Contexts essentially the same.

§602. Several times, at the end of pādas, the loc. sg. ending *e* varies with the instr. pl. *aīḥ*. While both forms are interpretable just as in the preceding, we have little doubt that phonetic moments (*e* : *aī*, and the light pronunciation of final visarga) are involved; see VV 2 §§381, 706, to which the first two variants should be added:

*bodhāmasi teḥ haryasva yajñaiḥ* (MŚ. *yajñe*) RV. SV. MŚ.

*mīlāvaruṇā rakṣatam ādhīpatyaiḥ* (AŚ. °*tye*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*ghṛtaraśi savitar* (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhīpatye* (TS. °*tyaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.



## 4. Instrumental of manner or accompaniment and locative

§603. In the next group the instrumental comes even closer to its fundamental, original meaning, as denoting an attendant circumstance, and so varies if possible even more easily with the locative of the occasion. There is, however, of course no sharp dividing line between the instr. of association and that of means or cause, and some of the following cases might perhaps as well be put in the preceding group:

*rāyas poṣeṇa* (KS. *poṣe*) *sam iṣṭ madema* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. PG. 'May we revel with (in) increase of riches, with food.' Associative feeling is perhaps indicated by *sam*. The meter indicates that KS. is secondary.

*vicasva* (°*cann*, °*cān*) *ādityaiṣa...tasmin* (TS. *tena*) *matsva* (TS. KS. *mandasva*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. 'Delight in it.'

*ny adhur mātṛāyām* (KS. *mātṛayā*) *kwayo vayoḍhasaḥ* (KS. °*sam*) MS. KS. 'Established him in fixed order' will translate both, but KS. has an instr. of manner, MS. a loc. of situation.

*sve dakṣe* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha sīda* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. 'Be seated in (with) thine own power(s).' Add to VV 2 §706.

*sa rāye sa purandhyām* (SV. °*dhyā*) RV. SV. AV. JB. Preceded by *sa ghā no yoga ā bhuvāt*. 'May he stand by us in our work unto riches, in (with) liberality.' *purandhyā* = *liberaliter*.

*rtena* (MG. *ṛte* 'ea') *sthūnām* (ApMB. HG. °*nā*, MG. °*nā*) *adhi roha vanśa* (MG. *vanśaḥ*) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG. All Knauer's mss. *ṛtena*; Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā* ira'. If he is right, *ṛte* is loc. of the sphere of action.

*tvayā* (RV. *tee ā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ* RV. SV. 'Worshipers devote themselves to (busy themselves with) thee.' Phonetic moments are involved here; VV 2 §911.

§604. In some ritualistic formulas the sense of the rigmarole is so feeble that one case will do about as well as any other:

*prācyām diśi* (MS. KS. MŚ. *prācyā diśā*, ŚŚ. *prācyā diśā saha*) *devā ṛviṇo mārjayantām* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'The gods, the priests, shall purify (me?) in (with, by?) the eastern quarter.' In ŚŚ. *saha* proves that the instr. is associative; in MS. KS. it might also be one of means. Similarly the formulas beginning *udīcyām diśi*, *ūrdhvacīcyām diśi*, *pratīcyām diśi*, *dakṣiṇācyām diśi*, with variant instrs.

*svāyām yat tanvām* (*tanvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS. KŚ.: *svayā tanvā tanvām airayat* AV.: *svā yat tanū tanvām airayata* KS. KSA. 'Produced a body in (with) his own body.'

## 5. Instrumental and locative with verbal expressions of joining

§605. Special rubrication is deserved by a group in which a verbal expression of joining is used, now with an associative instrumental, now with a locative of goal (cf. the similar use of the accusative of goal, §467). In all but the first case the verb is one of placing or of motion, compounded with the preposition *saṃ*; in these the locative may be felt as going more closely with the notion of the verb, the instrumental with the preposition.

*brhaspate ṛyāmyām* (KS. ms. *yāmyā*) *yuṅgdhī* (*yuṅdhī*) *vācam* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Von Schroeder emends KS. to *yāmyām*, but the instr. is perfectly sound: 'yoke up holy speech in (with) *yāmī*', whatever *yāmī* may mean.

*saṃ devānām sumatyā* (AV. VS. MS. ŚB. *sumatau*) *yajñīyānām* RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. '(Bring us) together with (to, in) the favor of the sacrificial gods.'

*saṃ patnī patyā sukrteṣu* (TB. ApŚ. *sukrtena*) *gachatām* MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Let the wife with her husband come together to (with) good deeds.'

*śiveṇa* (VSK. *śive*) *me saṃ tiṣṭhasva* VSK. TB. TAA. ApŚ. 'Come together with (in, unto) luck for me.'

*aṅgāny ātman* (MS. *aṅgair ātmānam*) *bhīṣajā tad akvina* VS. MS. KS. TB. The verb is *saṃ-dhā*; see §462.

§606. In one variant involving the root *spṛdh* 'vie', the two cases are differently used. This root takes the instr. of the person vied with, the loc. of the person or thing striven for. For the exegesis of the variant see VV 2 §109.

*spardhante dhiyāḥ* (TS. KSA. *divāḥ*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA.† *sūryeṇa*) *viśaḥ* RV. SV. TS. KSA.

## 6. Miscellaneous

§607. There remains a relatively small group in which the instr. and loc. seem to be used in definitely different constructions; often different words are used or the passage is otherwise reshaped.

*garbha ivel subhṛto garbhīṇībhiḥ* (RV. *iva sudhito garbhīṇīṣu*) RV. SV. KU. 'Well borne by (well established in) pregnant women.'

*vayaṃ rājabhīḥ* (AV.\* *rājanu*) *prathamā dhanāni* RV. AV. (both). 'We along with (our?) kings, the first. . .'; 'we first among the kings.' It is not clear who the 'kings' are. The p.p. of both RV. and AV. read *prathamāḥ*; Grassmann and Geldner (*VSt.* 1. 150) understand *prathamā*, n. pl.



*samśraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *samśraṣṭāsu yutsu indro gaṇeṣu* MS. 'This Indra, mingler of the fight (*yudhas*, objective gen.?) with his band (instr. of means).' MS. has distorted the *pāda*, starting with a phonetic corruption (VV 2 §660; some AV. mss. have *samśraṣṭā*): 'Indra, in the mingled fights and bands' or 'when the fights and bands are mingled.'

*yathā prthivyām agnaye samanāman eva mahyam saṁnamah saṁnamantu* AV.: *yathāgnih prthivyā samanāmad eva mahyam bhadrah saṁnalayaḥ saṁnamantu* TS. KSA.† 5. 20. The latter seems to have an associative instr.: 'As Agni with the earth made obeisance...' But the mantra is obscure rigmorole; for a different interpretation see Keith on TS. Other parallel formulas in the same context.

*yaḥ kuśīdam apratītam* (MS. MŚ. TA. °*itām*, TA. Poona ed. °*itām* with v. 1. °*itām*, SMB. *apradattam*) *mayeḥ* (TS. *mayi*) TS. MS. TA. MŚ. SMB. 'The loan which has not been paid back by me.' In TS. *mayi* perhaps 'the unpaid loan which (rests) upon me.'

*mayā gāvo gopatinā sacadhvam* AV.: *mayi gāvah santu gopatau* AŚ.: *mayi tiṣṭhanu gopatau* MŚ. Different verbs. For the loc. with *santu* cf. §671.

*mahān mahitve tastabhānah* (KS. *mahitvā saṁstambhe*) KS. TB. ApŚ. 'Great, taking thy stand on greatness': 'great with greatness on firm foundation.'

*kruṣṭi* (SV. °*c*) *jīlāsa indavaḥ svarridaḥ* RV. SV. *kruṣṭi* is taken as instr. of an *i*-stem, 'quickly'; Benfey understands *kruṣṭe* as loc. of an *a*-stem, 'der Satzung gemäß.'

*svāhā yajñam manasā* (KS. °*si*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. Others with gen., see §570. Different verbs understood; in TS. *ārabhe*, in KS. *viṣṭje*.

§608. The change seems to be due to case attraction in the following: *vaiśvānarasya tejasā* (MŚ. °*si*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *śiras tapasyāhitam*. The preceding *tapasi* has influenced MŚ.

## 7. Phrase inflection

§609. What we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2) seems to be found in the following variants, used in different contexts:

*vaiśvānarasya daṁṣṭrayoḥ* (and *daṁṣṭrābhyām*) AV. The form with loc. is followed by *agner api dadhāmi tam*; of these two *pādas* an unmetrical recast seems to be found in *vaiśvānarasyainam daṁṣṭrayor api dadhāmi* AV.

*devī devebhīr yajate* (and °*tā*) *yajatruhi* RV.: *devī deveṣu yajatā yajutra* RV. AV. MS.

*yat te pavitrām arciṣi* (AŚ. \*ṣā) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ. LŚ. VHDh. In all but AŚ. followed by *agne vitatām antar ā*. In AŚ. followed by *kalāṣeṣu dhāvati*, which is probably meant to be part of the same formula; in that case AŚ. does not intend a pratika of the RV. verse.

#### 8. Transfer of epithet

§610. We have noted only one instance of this, and in it the original form is an independent word, which is attracted in a secondary text into a form which is an epithet of the adjoining word:

*adr̥hathāḥ śarkarābhīḥ trivṣṭapī* (MŚ. *trībḥṣṭibhīḥ*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Thou hast made thyself firm with pebbles over heaven': '... firm with three-pointed pebbles.'

#### 9. Textually doubtful or corrupt

§611. The few remaining variants are textually doubtful or corrupt: *trīṣim indre na* (MS. s.p. *indreṇa*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. Mere ritual jargon; it does not matter what is read, but MS. p.p. agrees with the others. Cf. VV 2 §826.

*varṣman kṣatrasya* (AV. *rāṣṭrasya*) *kakudī* (TS. TB. Poona ed. *kakubhi*, TB. Conc. *kakubhiḥ*, MS. *kakubhiḥ*) *śiśriyāṇaḥ* (AV. TB. *śrayāṇa*) AV. TS. MS. TB. Comm. on TB. *kakubhiḥ uttamāṅge* (intending *kakubhy ut<sup>er</sup>*). One ms. of MS. *kakubhi*. Probably MS. like the rest intends a loc.; the strange-looking form *kakubhi* would easily suggest an instr. pl. to a thoughtless copyist. Cf. VV 2 §400. 'Resting (rest thou) on the summit, on the head of royalty.'

*samudre na* (and *samudreṇa*) *sindhavo yādamānāḥ* RV. Read *samudre nā* both times; VV 2 §826.

*na māṇseṣu na snāvasu* ApMB.: *neva māṇse na pīvasi* AV.: *naiṣa māṇsena pīvari* PG. The last simulates a voc. sg. fem. *pīvari*. This initial corruption brings in its train *māṇsena*, dependent on the following participle *āyatam*. But the reading hardly deserves consideration.

[*tanūr me tanvā saha* MŚ.: *tanūs tanvā* (*tanuvā*) *me saha* (AV. *sahed antāḥ*) AV. (miss.) TS. TAA. Vait. PG. The vulgate emends AV. to *tanūs tanvāḥ me bhaved antāḥ*; but tho the end of the pāda is obscure and doubtless corrupt, we must surely keep the instrumental *tanvā* with the other texts.]



## CHAPTER XXV

### DATIVE AND ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, LOCATIVE

#### A. Dative and ablative

§612. Since most nouns do not distinguish dative and ablative forms except in the singular, it is not surprising to find few variants between these cases. They present only one well-defined group, in which a dative of interest varies with an ablative of separation with verbs meaning 'remove' or 'free'. The practical meaning of the two forms of these variants is identical. But most of them are formally uncertain, since the forms classed here as either datives or ablatives may also be considered genitives.

*sa sutrāmā sranān indro asme* (AV.\* MS. *asmat*) RV. AV. (bis) VS. TS.

MS. KS. Followed by *ārc cid dīcāḥ sanūtar yuyotu* (RV.\* *yuyota*).

'May Indra, well-saving, . . . keep very far away from (for) us all hatred.' This is perhaps the clearest case we have, since the ambiguous *asme* in such a connexion can scarcely be anything but dative, and *asmat* is unmistakably ablative.

*ud uttamam munugdhī naḥ* (MŚ, *mat*) RV. KS. TB. MŚ. 'Loose the upmost (band) for (from) us (me).' But here *naḥ* may (with the comma. on both RV. and TB.) be considered genitive.

*idam aham śandyaḥ abhīvarjyai* (MŚ. °*yā*) *mukham apohāmi* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I remove the front from (for) the hostile army.' But a genitive would be as possible as a dative or ablative ('the hostile army's front'), and is preferred by Caland; note, further, that the ending *-yai* may be considered ablative or genitive as well as dative (Chapter III).

*yāsyā apāsarjyā* (etc.) *tanūz tām asyā apajahi* ŚG. SMB.: *yāsyai* . . . *tām asyai nāḥaya mūhā* PG.: *yāsyai* . . . *tāmilo nāḥaya* HG. For full quotations of this group see §148, where it certainly belongs since the first *asyā* or *asyai* is clearly genitive. The second *asyā* occurs before a vowel but is doubtless intended for *asyā* rather than *asyai*. It may be meant as ablative ('from her'), but also as genitive ('that [form] of hers'), or even dative (§§151-2). Similarly the second *asyai* of PG. may be meant for any one of the three cases.

Only HG. has an unmistakable ablative, *ito*. Since this cannot be said to prove the intention of the other texts, their interpretation remains obscure.

§613. There remain only a couple of miscellaneous cases in which real differences of interpretation seem involved:

*iṣṭāpūrtam kṛṇutād āvir asmai* KS.; *iṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛṇutāvīr asmai* AV.; *iṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavdthāvīr* (VSK. ŚB. *kṛṇasathāvīr*, TS. TB. MŚ. *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ. *asmāt*) VS. VSK. TS. TB. ŚB. MŚ. The original: 'make clear his *iṣṭāpūrta* for him.' The abl. of MŚ. (all mss.) is rather surprising; perhaps 'the *iṣṭāpūrta* (that proceeded) from him?' (abl. of source?).

*yadi varuṇasyāsi rājño varuṇāt tvā rājño dhikṛiṇāmi* Kauś.; *yadi vīruṇy asi varuṇāt tvā niṣkṛiṇāmi* (Rvidh. *varuṇāya tvā parikṛiṇāmy aham*...) ApG. Rvidh.; *yady asi vāruṇī varuṇāya tvā rājñe parikṛiṇāmi* GG. And similarly with *yadi somasyāsi* (*sauṇy asi*, *yady asi saumī*) etc. In a pregnancy rite. 'If thou art Varuṇa's (Soma's), from King V. (S.) I ransom thee' or 'for King...' The ablative seems more natural; possibly it was changed to a dative to avoid what might be felt as an implication of hostility to Varuṇa and Soma. Some of the texts have other similar formulas.

#### B. Dative and genitive

§614. The intimate relations between these cases are well known, but our variants make them appear even closer than has commonly been assumed, for the Vedic language at any rate. Later Sanskrit allows the genitive to absorb all the functions of the dative, except perhaps that of purpose; see e.g. Speyer VSS. §§71 f. Our variants show at least one case (§627) where a gen. seems to replace a dative even in an expression of purpose (cf. Speyer, fine print at the end of §72); and they suggest that in other functions originally pertaining to the dative it is older and commoner than has been supposed. At the same time there are not wanting instances of the reverse, dative forms where we should expect genitives (cf. *taḥ puruṣāya vidmahe* etc., §634). The Prakrit languages, as is well known, have merged the two cases pretty completely, genitive forms as a rule taking over all the functions of the dative except that of purpose; but occasionally, especially in personal pronouns, old dative forms survive, usually with genitive functions; see Pischel *Gr. d. Pkt. Spr.* §361, and under the pronominal inflections.

§615. A special complication is the recognized use in Brāhmaṇa texts of the dative ending *ai* of feminine nouns in genitive function, and the



less recognized reverse of this. Undoubtedly the confusion between the endings *ai* and *ās* in feminine nouns goes far beyond anything that is found between other genitive and dative forms, so that we have felt constrained to agree with Wackernagel that some special factor must have been at work in them; this special factor may reasonably be found in the sandhi conditions of final *ai* and *ās*. Accordingly we have inclined to group variations between these endings as formal rather than syntactic variants, in §§137 ff. rather than here. Yet since not only *ai* forms as genitives but also *ās* forms in dative use are found, and since some other variants between the two cases are precisely similar to some of these, it is impossible to separate them wholly. To some extent surely the same syntactic confusion is concerned in that formal interchange, and §§137 ff. must be considered together with the sections which follow here.

1. With adjectives meaning 'pleasant' and the like

§616. We begin with a group of variants in which both dative and genitive are standard from early times, so that the variation is easy and constant at all periods. Cf. Speyer VSS. §§46, 71:

*juṣṭo vācaspataye* (MS. °*patiḥ*, KB. ŚŚ. °*pateḥ*, TB. °*patyuh*) TS. MS.

KB. JB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. 'Pleasing to V.'

*juṣṭo vāco* (GB. AŚ. Vait. KŚ. *vāce*) *bhūyāsam* TS. MS. KB. GB. JB.

AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. (2. 3. 6. 18).

*juṣṭam devobhya* (TS. *devānam*) *idam astu havyam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

*janāya juṣṭo adruhe* (SV. °*hah*) RV. SV. See the context, quoted under *vīty arṣa canīṣṭhaya* (SV. *paniṣṭaye*), §567. SV. probably takes the dat. with the verb *vīty*, rather than with *juṣṭo*.

*priyam sarvasya paśyataḥ* AV.; *sarvamai ca vipaśyate* AV. (the latter preceded by *priyam mā kṛṇu...*) Delbrück AFS. p. 146 says he knows no certain case of *priya* with dat. A whole series occurs in AV. 19. 32. 8.

*agner jihvāsi suhūr* (KS. *supūr*, VSK. TS. TB. *subhūr*) *devobhyaḥ* (TS. TB. *devānam*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. 'Thou art Agni's tongue, invoking (purifying, being) pleasant(-ly) for (to) the gods.'

*bīvas tokāya tanve* (KS.† *tanve*) *na chi* (KS. MŚ.† *edhi*, v. l. *chi*) KS. MŚ.

Kauś.: *taṁ tokāya tanuve* (SMB. *tanvai*) *syomaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG.

*tasyās* (MS. *tasyai*) *tvam harasā tapan* VS.† 12. 16c, TS. MS. KS. Followed by *jātarudāḥ bīvo bhava*. 'Glowing with warmth, be gracious

to her (the *ukhā*), Jātavedas.' So VS. comm. and Griffith; Keith on TS. takes *tasyās* as possessive with *harasā*. If this be correct for TS. it would be equally possible for all the others, and *tasyās* would be a gen. in *ai* (Chapter III). But (§141) MS. does not favor these gens. in *ai*.

## 2. With nouns of uniting

§617. Similar is the use of the dative in variation with the objective genitive (also the instrumental of association) with nouns of uniting: *samveśanas* (RV. AV. °ne) *tanuvai* (SV. KS. MŚ. *tanve*, RV. *tanvaś*, AV. *tanvā*) *cārur edhī* RV. AV. SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. 'In joining of (with) thy body', RV. AV.: 'uniting to thy body.'

## 3. Dative of interest and (possessive?) genitive

§618. Often a dative of interest (or, at times, indirect object) varies with a genitive which may frequently be felt as possessive. So especially in YV. dedicatory formulas where no verb is expressed; thus in the first quoted, 'the fox is Aryaman's' or 'the fox to Aryaman':

*aryamño* (KSA. °ne) *lopśśah* TS. KSA.  
*puruṣamṛgaś candramasaḥ* (TS. KSA. °se) VS. TS. MS. KSA.  
*eṇy ahnaḥ* (TS. KSA. *ahne*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.  
*kṣīprākhyenāya* (TS. KSA. °nasya) *varṭikā* VS. TS. MS. KSA.  
*vasūnām* (MS. *vasubhyah*) *kapiñjalāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KSA.  
*samudrīya* (TS. KSA. *sindhoh*) *śiṣumārāḥ* (KSA. † *śiśū*°, TS. *kiśū*°) VS. TS. MS. KSA.  
*somāya* (KSA. *somāya rājñe*, TS. *somasya rājñah*) *kulungah* (MS. *kulañ-gah*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.  
*himavato* (VS. MS. °te) *hastī* (TA. *hastinam*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. TA.  
*nīlamgoh* (MS. °gave) *kṛmih* (TS. *krīmih*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.  
*pikah* (KSA. *piḡah*) *kṣvīṅkā nīlāśrṇī te 'ryamne* (KSA. °nah) TS. KSA.  
*ūlo halikṣṇo* (TS. *ūlo halt*°) *vṛṣadaśśas te dhātṛe* (TS. KSA. *dhātuh*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.  
*viśvebhyo devebhyah prṣatān* (MS. also °tah) VS. MS. (bis): *viśveṣām devānām prṣataḥ* VS.  
*dhūmrā babhrunīkāśāḥ pītṛnām somavatām*, and *babhravo dhūmrānīkāśāḥ pītṛnām barhiṣadām* VS.: *pītṛbhyo barhiṣadbhyo dhūmrān babhrvanīkāśān*, and *pītṛbhyah somavadbhyo babhrūn dhūmrānīkāśān* ApŚ.  
*agnaye tvā* TS. TB. MŚ.: *idam agneḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.  
*agniśomābhyām (tvā)* TS. TB.: *idam agniśomayoḥ* VS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.  
*[pītro* (VS. MS. *pītro*) *nyaśkuḥ kakkaśas* (MS. *kakuṣhas*, TS. *kaśas*) *te*



'numatyai VS. TS. MS.: *hidro nyañkuḥ kaśas te 'numatyāḥ* KSA. So Cone.; but KSA. actually reads 'numatyā followed by a' and may just as well stand for 'numatyai; there is no p.p.]

§619. Similarly with a copulative verb and a nominal form containing the root *dā* 'give' (or *dhā* used as its equivalent, cf. VV 2 §§100 ff.): *devobhyo* (VS. *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS. *bhāgadhā*) *asat* VS. TS. MS. KS.† 'Be he a giver of portions to the gods.'

*asmabhyam su maghavan bodhī godāḥ* RV. VSK.: *asmākaṁ su maghavan bodhī godāḥ* (and *gopāḥ*) RV.

§620. The exact force of the gen. in the following is less clear, but we are inclined to feel it essentially as in the preceding two sections:

*medobhyaḥ svāhā* VS.: *medasaḥ svāhā* VS. VSK. MS. TB. The dat. is simple and regular, but occurs in a different context; there is no real variant in the passages containing the gen. With it the VS. comm. supplies *devān* as object of the verb *yaj* (the formula begins *hotā yakṣad agnīm* (VS. *indram*) *svāhājyanya svāhā* etc.): 'let the hotar worship (the gods) of marrow with hull' So with the other parallel gens. (there are no datives in the passage). But TB. comm. supplies a copula, paraphrasing: *svāhutir astu*, and this seems more likely to be approximately right.

§621. Less jejune and formulaic, but not very different in psychology, are the following, in which a dative of interest (or a dative which may be felt as an indirect object, or even, when the verb is one of motion [see the first case], of goal) varies with an adnominal (possessive or objective) genitive:

*vṛṣṇe* (KS. *vṛṣṇo*) *codasva suṣṭutim* RV. TS. MS. KS. Pāda a is *tasmai* (KS. *kasmai*) *nūnam abhidyaṁ*. KS. is anomalous both in using the interrogative stem *kasmai* (which seems due to the initial of the following stanza, *kaṁ u svid asya senayā*), and in detaching *vṛṣṇe* from the preceding pronoun with which it should agree. Its gen. *vṛṣṇo* is felt as dependent on *suṣṭutim*. 'Inspire fair praise to (for, KS. of) the bull.'

*imam ā* (MS. *u*) *su tvam asmākaṁ* (TA. ApŚ. *su tvam asmabhyam*) RV. SV. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *sanīḥ gāyatrīm navyāṁsam* (*navyāṁsam*), *agne (agnir) deveṣu prā vocaḥ (voca)*. 'Proclaim this new... song of ours (for us).'

*tasya guptaye dampatī saṁ krayethām* AV.: *tasmai gotrāyeha jāyāpatī saṁrabhethām* TA. 'For protection of it': 'for it, for the family (?)'. Comm. on TA. refuses to connect *tasmai* directly with *gotrāya*, probably rightly.

*vṛṣā vṛṣṇe* (SV. *vṛṣṇah*) *pari paritre akṣāḥ* RV. SV. Preceded by *ṛṣa sya te madhumān indra somah*. 'This honeyed soma, the bull, has flowed thru the sieve for thee, the bull (thru thy, the bull's, sieve), O Indra.'

*vaiśvednaro aṅgirasām* (AV. 'āgir°, AŚ. *aṅgirobhyaḥ*) [*stomam uktham ca cakṣat*, with varr.] AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*indrasya te bhāgam somenā tanacmi* (VSK. *tanakmi*) VS. VSK. KS. ŚB.: *indrāya te bhāgam somenātanacmi* MS. MŚ.: *somena teṣṭanaemīndrāya dadhi* TS. TB. ApŚ. 'As Indra's portion': 'as portion (curds) for Indra.'

§622. The following we have also grouped here since they may easily be interpreted as containing a real syntactic shift; but since they concern the fem. endings *ai* and *ās*, they might also be regarded as purely formal (with §§137 ff.):

*patim surāyā* (TB. *surāyai*, VS. *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS. TB. 'A remedy for (of, i.e. against) *surā*.' VS. comm. takes the instr. as associative; it seems that dat. or gen. is required, but either of them would be satisfactory.

*utlānāyā* (TS. 'yāi) *hrdayaḥ yad vikastam* (TS. *viliṣṭam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Preceded by *sam te vāyur mātariśvā dadhātu*. '...heal the broken heart of (for) thee, lying supine.'

*so 'syai* (MG. 'syāḥ) *prajāṁ muñcatu mṛtyupāsāt* AG. SMB.† PG. ApMB. HG. MG. 'May he free the offspring for her (her offspring)...

*adhāsyai* (TS. TB. MS. 'syā) *madhyam edhatām* (with varr.) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.: *adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA.

§623. The following variants still show a dative of interest varying with a possessive genitive, but other changes in the form or meaning of the variant word, or changes in the other words and the construction of the passage, make the variations somewhat different in character:

*pra sunvānasyāndhasaḥ* (SV. PB. *sunvānāyāndh°*) RV. SV. PB. Followed by *maro na vṛta (vaṣṭa) tad vacaḥ*. 'Let him accept this song of the pressed-out herb (for, on behalf of, the presser of the herb).' In RV. *sunvāna* is generally active in sense, e.g. 8. 31. 16; this is the only passage in which Grassmann assigns passive force to it. Hence the change in SV., which makes it active.

*gharmaṁ śṛiṇantu prathamāya dhāsyave* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *śṛiṇanti prathamasya dhāseḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ. 'For the first drinker': 'of the first drink.'

*asambādā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ* MS.: *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma°*, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp. *mānaveṣu*) AV. Ppp. Kauś. 'Who (earth) is unobstructed for men in the midst': 'unobstructedly



in the midst of men (Ppp. among men, in [their] midst).<sup>1</sup> Differing from Whitney, we take *asambādhan* as a neuter adverb (§404).

*indrāya bhāgam pari tvā nayāmi* AV.: *indrasya bhāgaḥ suvile dadhātana* ApŚ. The gen. is apparently felt as possessive with *bhāgaḥ*; §393. *devo devānām paritram asi* TS. MS. KS.: *devo devebhyah parava* VS. ŚB. As in prec., the gen. is possessive.

*rāyaz poṣaṁ* (KS. *tvastāz poṣāya*) *vī syatu* (RV. MS. TB.\* *syatām*, AV. MS.\* KS. *śya*) *ndbhīm asme* (AV. *asya*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. (bis) KS. TB. (bis) ApŚ. 'Let him release (release thou, etc.) [our seminal fluid, *turīpam*] as offspring for us (of it).<sup>1</sup> Ppp. has *asme*, and Whitney calls *asya* 'senseless', but this is too harsh. It refers to *turīpam* and is not harsher than many another secondary change in AV.

§624. In one variant it seems scarcely possible to interpret the dative forms except as equivalents of the possessive genitive. It is perhaps worth noting that the dative is the pronominal *tubhyam*, which is precisely one of the Sanskrit dative forms that lives on in Prakrit, with genitival function (Pischel, §420 f.); indeed, even in epic Sanskrit *mahyam* and *tubhyam* seem to be used as gens. (Speyer, VSS. §46 note): *tīre tubhyam aśau* (HG. *tubhyam gaṅge*) PG. HG.: *tīreṇāśau tava* ApMB.

Simply 'on thy bank' seems to be the only possible meaning.

§625. Conversely, one variant in which the sense seems to require a dative of interest shows now the pronominal *me*, now other forms which are unmistakably genitive. Naturally *me* is here interpreted as dative of interest; yet the only reason for taking it so, rather than as genitive, is the prevalence of the dative in this sense. On the other hand it is difficult to take the gens. *pitṛnām* etc. in any other sense; Oldenberg on HG. frankly does so, and Bühler's rendering of BDh., 'mayst thou never fail to the (manes of our) fathers,' is hardly more than an evasion of the problem (dragging in a possessive genitive by a very forced ellipsis). In later Sanskrit the gen. replaces the dat. in just such uses (Speyer VSS. §72), and we have little doubt that the unmistakably gen. forms of the variant, at least (and perhaps even *me*?), must be so interpreted:

*akṣitam asi mā pitṛnām* (ApMB. *maiṣām*, HG. BDh. also *pitāmahanām*, *prapitāmahanām*) *kṣetṛhā amutrāmuṣmīṇi loka* ApMB. HG. BDh.: *akṣitir asi mā me kṣetṛhā*... VSK. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.: *akṣito 'sy akṣityai tvā mā me kṣetṛhā*... TS. GB. Vait. MŚ.

§626. Similarly in the next, the dative depends on *prati-bhar* 'bring (as a gift)', and if the gen. is textually sound it must be an early case

of the absorption of this dat. function by the gen., as in classical Sanskrit. The SV. reads the form *naraḥ* at the end of a stanza, and the next stanza begins with *ā*; but it would probably be over-bold to suggest that it originally read *nara* for *nare*, with sandhi between the stanzas, and that this was later misinterpreted as *naraḥ*. The SV. comm. glosses with *narāya*:

*apaścāddaghvane* (SV. *apaścāda*<sup>o</sup>) *nare* (SV. *naraḥ*) RV. SV. TB. ApŚ.

#### 4. Dative of purpose

§627. As has been noted above (§614), the dative of purpose is not usually replaced by the genitive even in later Sanskrit; and when we find it varying with the genitive in the Veda, we can usually see a difference of psychology, as is to be expected. Yet in one case, at least, we find it hard to avoid the feeling that the gen. is the exact equivalent of the dative of purpose. This concerns a series of formulas beginning with *savitā tvā savānām* (*prasaśānām*) *suvātām*, and continuing with parallel formulas in which *suvātām* or the like is understood. The dependent nouns (*savānām* etc.) are all genitives in most texts, but in three of the formulas some texts have datives. The dative of purpose is what we should expect in all, and the commentators are hard put to it to explain the gens.; Mahidhara on VS. supplies *ādhipatyē*; similarly Eggeling, 'for (powers of) quickening' etc. Keith makes the gens. partitive: 'May Savitar of instigations instigate thee,' which in some of the formulas seems clearly impossible (e.g. *rudrah pakūnām*, 'Rudra of cattle!'). PG. reconstructs the initial formula thus: *agnir bhūānām adhipatīḥ sa māvatū*, which makes the gens. simple but is clearly a secondary avoidance of the difficulty. We feel that the only natural interpretation is to take the gens. as mere equivalents of the dative of purpose:

*bṛhaspatir vācām* (VS. ŚB. *vāce*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*rudrah pakūnām* (VS. ŚB. *pakubhyaḥ*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

*indro jyaiṣṭhānām* (MS. KS. *jyaiṣṭhyānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyaiṣṭhyāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

§628. The other cases involving dative of purpose are few and miscellaneous. In the first the gen. is the object of a verb of ruling; the variant is precisely parallel to those between dative of purpose and accusative of direct object (§§70, 420), except that here the verb requires a genitive object:

*kṣayantam rūdhaso* (TS. <sup>o</sup>*se*, KS. *śavase*) *mahaḥ* (TS. KS. *mahe*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Ruling over (unto) great bounty.'



§629. The next two involve the well-known construction of a dative of purpose with a dependent genitive or a second dative, on which see Delbrück *AIS*. §§103 and (with infinitives) 54:

*rāye* (ApŚ. *rāyo*) *agne mahe tvā (dānāya samidhīmahī)* SV. ApŚ. 'We kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches).'

*diras* (MS. *dire*) *tvā jyotiṣe* TS. MS. A verb like 'I place' is understood: 'thee (the brick) for heaven's light' or 'for heaven, for light.'

*samveśāyopareśāya gāyatriyai* (also *triṣṭubhe jagatyā anuṣṭubhe*) *chandase* 'bhībhūve svāhā KS.: *ariṣṭyā aryatryai samveśāyopareśāya gāyatriyai chandase* 'bhībhūve (ApŚ. *gāyatriyā abhībhūtyai*) *svāhā* KS. ApŚ.: *samveśāyopareśāya gāyatriyai* (PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatyai*, TS. ApŚ. *gāyatriyās triṣṭubho jagatyā anuṣṭubhaḥ padātyā*) *chandase* (TS. ApŚ. om.) 'bhībhūtaḥ (with varr.) *svāhā* TS. PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. On the meaning see Caland's note on ApŚ. 14. 19. 1. 'For the gāyatri (etc.) meter, for conquest': 'for the conquest (conquering power) of the gāyatri (etc.).'

§630. The next is not very different; here the dat. or gen. depends not on another dat. but on an acc.:

*vidā rāye* (AA. *rāyaḥ*) *svāryam* RVKh. (Scheftelowitz p. 135, vs. 4a) AA. Mahānāmnyah. 'Grant us hero-abundance of (unto) wealth.' But *rāyāḥ* may also be acc. pl., 'wealth (and) hero-abundance'; the variant would then belong with §486.

§631. In the next it is possible to find the influence of formal case attraction:

*akūpārasya dāvaṇe* (SV. °naḥ) RV. SV. N. Here *dāvaṇe* is an infinitive, 'unto giving, that thou mayst give.' SV. attracts it to the case of *akūpārasya*, making it a noun of agent (as often in cpds. of the type *akūo-dāvan*): 'inexhaustible giver.'

### 5. Dative and genitive with verbs

§632. The confusion between these two cases appears in a few variants in which one case is regularly construed in dependence on a particular verb, and is replaced by the other in one variant form. Cf. Delbrück §110, Speyer VSS. §72.

§633. Thus, in two pādas of one verse, the root *radh* 'be subject to', which regularly takes the dative, has the genitive in secondary texts. *drīṣantan* (AV. *sapatnān*) *mahyaṇ* (TB. ApŚ. *mama*) *randhayan* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.: *drīṣantś ca mahyaṇ radhyatu* AV.: *drīṣanto radhyantāṇ mahyam* MŚ. (Add to VV.1 §§79, 238, 349.) Followed by:

*mo aham* (AV. *mā cāham*, MŚ. *mā tv aham*) *deiṣate* (TB. ApŚ. °to, MŚ. °lān) *radham* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The verb *radh* is otherwise recorded only with the dat., for which the gen. is here clearly a substitute. TB. comm. interprets *mama* as possessive gen., 'my enemy', which would be possible but for the parallel *deiṣate*, which obviously cannot be taken so; TB. comm. takes *deiṣate* as abl., *devi° sakāśān mo radham mama hīṣām prānuvāni*, which is absurd.

§634. Conversely, the roots *vid* and *dhī*, as verbs of intellectual activity, may be expected to govern the genitive. In the case of *vid*, perhaps the nearly homonymous root *vidh*, which governs the dative, may have been influential in introducing the dative in the stray occurrence which follows. It is noteworthy that in the same context TA. and MahānU. present parallel formulas with the regular genitive:

*tat puruṣāya vidmahe, mahādevāya dhīmahi* MŚ. KS. TA. MahānU. Immediately preceded in MahānU. by *tat puruṣasya vidmahe, sahas-rākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi*, in TA. by *puruṣasya vidma, sahas-rākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi*.

#### 6. Phrase inflection

§635. In a couple of instances we find what we have called phrase inflection (§§21-2), that is the use of formulas in different contexts requiring different construction of the nouns in question:

*punānāya prabhūvaso* RV. SV.: *punānasya prabhūvasoḥ* RV.

*varuṇa mitra dātūṣaḥ* (and °ṣe) RV. (both). Sāyaṇa and Grassmann take *dātūṣaḥ* as gen. sg.; Ludwig as acc. pl.

#### 7. Miscellaneous

§636. The remaining cases are miscellaneous, involving individual reconstructions which fall into no general categories:

*pra nu vocam vidathā jātavedasaḥ* RV.: *pra no vaco vidathā jātavedase* ArŚ. *sūryo devo* (KS.\* *divo*, so read both times; once ed. reads *devo*, but there is a v. l. *divo*, and one is a repetition in a Brāhmaṇa passage of the other) *diviṣadbhyo dhātā kṣatrāya* (KS.† *kṣatrasya*) *rāyaḥ prajābhyah* (KS. *prajānām*) [*bṛhaspatīḥ tvā prajāpataye... juhotu*] TS. KS. (bis). In KS. understand *diviṣadbhyo* with each genitive: 'Let Sūrya offer thee for the sky-dwellers of the sky, Dhātār for (those) of royal power' etc. In the secondary TS. the datives are attracted to the case and construction of *prajāpataye*: 'Let... Dhātār offer thee for royal power' etc.

*mayi dohaḥ padhyāyai virājah* (MG. adds *kalpatām*) AG. HG. MG.: *mayi*



*padyāyai virājo dohaḥ* ŚŚ. ŚG. PG.: *mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB. 'In me [may] the milk of Padyā Virāj (see Okenberg *SBE*. 29 p. 97, note on ŚG. 3. 7. 5) [dwell],' most texts. ApMB. reconstructs the formula: 'Shine forth for my foot-water' or the like. Used in a foot-washing rite. Note that *padyāyai* is clearly felt as genitive; but the apparently dative form is responsible for the change to *padyāya* in ApMB.

### 8. Errors

§637. There remain a few cases which seem to involve errors, or at least seem uninterpretable:

*tuje janā* (ArS. *jane*) *ranam srah* AV. ArS.: *tujo yujo ranam* (ŚŚ. *balam*, conjecture of Hillebrandt) *sahah* AA. ŚŚ. Both forms and meanings of the words are wholly obscure.

*devasya* (ŚB.\* *devabhyas*) *tvā savituh prasave* 'śvinor bāhubhyām pāṣṇo hastābhyām ā dade' VS. TS. MS. KS. KSA. ŚB. (both) TB. TA. Kauś. The dat. form occurs at ŚB. 14. 2. 1. 6 which quotes VS. 38. 1 incorrectly; VS. has *devasya*. Note further that the latter part of the formula in ŚB. omits the word *adityai* before *rāmadai*, tho it is found not only in VS. 38. 1 but in the same phrase almost immediately following, ŚB. 14. 2. 1. 8 = VS. 38. 3. Eggeling seems right in assuming that ŚB. has a mere misquotation of its source, VS., rather than a real variant based on contamination with such phrases as *devabhyas tvā*. . . (see Conc. under these words).

[*athā* (AV. *adhā*) *mano varudeyāya kṛṣva* (AV. *kṛṣṇva*) RV. AV. Conc. *varudeyasya* for RV.]

[*nīkā ete yajamānasya ike* (KS.† *yajamānasya santu*) AV. KS. Conc. *yajamānāya* for KS.]

### C. Dative and locative

#### 1. After verbs

§638. The extent of the interplay between dative and locative in adverbial constructions has hardly received the emphasis it deserves. That both cases are used to express the goal of motion and of actions of various kinds is indeed well known (cf. Delbrück, *AJS*. §§80, 96; Speyer, *VSS*. §§76, second part, 81b); and that the dative of the interested party, and the locative as expressing that in relation to which the action takes place, may interchange, would doubtless be recognized by all. Our variants however suggest that the scope of such interchanges is greater than has ever been clearly stated. Without claiming

precise equivalence in psychology between the two cases, or even attempting to differentiate rigidly between different aspects of the use of each, we shall assort our variants according to the various verbs with which dative and locative are interchangeably used.

The roots *dhā* and *dā*

§639. In VV 2 §101 we have already referred to the use of these two cases with the roots *dā* and *dhā*, and pointed out that while both are freely used with *dhā* 'place', the simple root *dā* 'give' is not properly used with the locative (tho as we shall see some of its compounds may be so used). In the same place we showed that but for this difference of construction, *dā* and *dhā* are often genuine synonyms. Moreover the dative and locative after *dhā* are hardly distinguishable in meaning. Such a phrase as *yaso mayi dhehi* PB. Vait. SMB. is equivalent to *yaso me dhehi* (TA. *dhāh*) TA. ŚŚ., whether we prefer to translate 'put splendor in me' or 'assign splendor to me.' And so with the following variants after *dhā*:

*varco dhā yajñavāhase* (VS. ŚB. °*si*) RV. VS. MS. KS. AB. TB. ŚB. *dhehy asmabhyam* (ApŚ. *asmāsu*) *draviṇaṁ jātavedaḥ*. . ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. *dhattād asmabhyam draviṇeḥa* (TS. ApŚ. *asmāsu draviṇaṁ yac ca*) *bhadram* TS. MS. ApŚ.

*asminn* (TB. *asmā*) *indra mahi varcānsi dhehi* AV. TB.

*āyur yajñāya* (MS. *yajñe*) *dhattam* MS. TB. ApŚ.

*āyur yajñapataye dhattam* TB. ApŚ.: *āyur yajñapatay* (sc. *dhattam*) MS. *sudevam indre akvinā* (MS. *indrāyāsvihā*) VS. MS. TB. The verb *dadhur* follows.

*athā nah* (AV. *adhā nah*, TS. *athāsmabhyam*, RV.\* *taḍ asme*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (RV.\* MS. °*tana*) RV. (bis) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. But *asme* may be dative.

§640. While the preceding instances show *dhā* alone, in the next we find, beside *dhā* with both dative and locative, forms of *dā* (or rarely other expressions of giving) with dative (not locative, VV 2 §101):

*ūrjam mayi dhehi* VS. VSK. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. IŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *ūrjam me dhehi* (TS.\* *dhattam*) VSK. TS. (both) KS. GB. TB. Vait. KŚ.: *ūrjam me dehi* (VSK. TS. *yacha*) VSK. TS. PB. IŚ.

*śrotram mayi dhehi* TS. KSA.†: *śrotram me dhattam* (AV. MŚ. *dāh*) AV. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*cakṣur mayi dhehi* TS.: *cakṣur me dhehi* (VS. ŚB. *dehi*, AV. MS. *dāh*) AV. VS. MS. KS. KSA. ŚB.

*āyur mayi dhehi* VS. TS. ŚB.: *āyur me dhehi* VSK. TS. KS. KSA. MS.



JB, TB, ApŚ.: *āyur me dhattam* TB, ApŚ.: *āyur me yacha* (ApŚ.\* *yachata*) MS. KS. ApŚ. (bis) MŚ.: *āyur me dehi* VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.: *āyur me dāh* AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*tejo mayi dhehi* AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ. ŚŚ. ApMB.: *tejo me yacha* (TA. *dhāh*, AŚ. *dehi* and *dāh*) TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. (bis) ApŚ. MŚ.

*rāyas poṣaṁ cikituṣe* (AV. °ḥi) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ.: *rāyas poṣaṁ yajamāne dadhātu* AŚ.

*varco asmāṁsu dhatta* (AŚ. *dhehi*) AV. AŚ.: *varco mayi dhehi* VS. TS. PB. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *varco me dhēhi* (TA. *dhāh*) VSK. MS. KS. JB. TA. ApŚ.: *varco me dehi* (MS. MŚ. *dāh*) VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MŚ. PG.: *varco me yacha* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

§641. In other cases the *dhā* form is found only with the locative, while the dative occurs with *dā*, or occasionally with other expressions of giving:

*swas te dadāmi* MG.: *swas* (*swas*) *twai dadhāmi* ŚB. BṛhU. PG. HG.

Also with *bhūs* and *bhuvas* for *swas*, and with *bhūr* *bhuraḥ* *swas*.

*saho mayi dhehi* (AV. *me dāh* *swāhā*) AV. VS. TB. Also with *balam* for *saho*; and cf. next.

*ojo mayi dhehi* VS. TB.: *ojo me dāh* AV. VS. TB.

*payo me dāh* (ApŚ. *mayi dhehi*) MS. ApŚ.

*prajāṁ asmāṁsu dhehi* VS.: *prajāṁ me dāh* (KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *yacha*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

*indro balam balapatiḥ balam asmin yajñe mayi dadhātu* (TB. *yajñe yajamānaya dadātu*) *svadhā* ŚB. TB. KŚ. Likewise with *sarasaṣṭi* *puṣṣiṁ*, *savitā* *rāgrām*, *pūṣā* *bhagam* (*viśām*), *bṛhaspatir* *brahma*, *varuṇaḥ* *saṁrāt*, *soma* *rājā*, *mītrah* *kṣatram*, *agnir* *annādo*, *tvastā* *rūpāṇām* (*palāṇām*).

§642. The compound *ā-dhā* has the same two constructions:

*bhiyasam ā dhehi* *latruṣu* (SV. *latrave*) RV. SV.

*rāṣṭrāṇy asmā ā dhehi* (MS. *asmin dhehi*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*tāsām tvā jarasa ādadhāmi* TB. HG. ApMB.: *tāsu tvāntar jarasy ā dadhāmi* AV. (Ppp. has *jarasa*.)

#### Other expressions of placing and giving

§643. Other verbs of establishing or placing with loc. vary with expressions of bringing or giving with dat.:

*sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtām bībhartu* AV.: *sa nō rāṣṭreṣu sudhītām* (intending °tām) *dadhātu* TB. 'May he support thee well supported unto (establish us well established in) rule.'

*yasmin* (Kauś. *yasmai*) *bhūtaṁ ca bhavyaṁ ca* Kauś. HG. ApMB. The following verb is *pratiṣṭhitam* ('handed over, entrusted') in Kauś., *ṅritāḥ* in HG. and *samāhitāḥ* ('based, established') in ApMB.

§644. Other verbs of giving and the like, including some compounds of *dā*, are used with both cases:

*taṁ devebhyah paridadāmi* ApŚ.: *taṁ deveṣu paridadāmi vidvān* AŚ. MŚ.  
'I give him over to the gods.'

*astro nāmāham aami sa ātmānam ni dadhe dyāvapṛthivībhyān gopīthāya* (KS. *sa idam dyāvapṛthivyor ātmānam paridāde tayoh śraye tayoh parākrame*) AV. KS. The verbs *ni-dhā* and *pari-dā* are both used with both cases. Here the dat. is doubtless favored by the accompanying dat. of purpose, the loc. by the locs. with the two other verbs.

*ihāsmāku* (MS. *ihāsmabhyam*, TB.\* *iha mahyam*) *ni yachatam* RVKh. AV. MS. KS. TB. (bis).

*sa yajña dhukṣva mahi me prajāyām* (ŚŚ. *prajāyai*) VS. ŚŚ. 'Milk forth (= bestow bounty) generously upon my offspring.'

*ta āyajanta draviṇaḥ* (MS. KS.† *°nā*) *sam asmai* (MS. *asmin*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'They offered (sacrificed) riches to him.' But MS. v. l. *asmai*.

*rarāṇas tmanā devebhyah* (VS.† TS.† KS.† *deveṣu*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. In AV. the dat. depends on the following *svadayaṭu*; but in the YV. texts it as well as the loc. must depend on *rarāṇas* (the pāda division is here different from AV., see Whitney's note on AV.).

*saṁ padam magham śrayiṣiṣe na kāmam* (AA. *rayiṣaṇi na somah*) SV. AA. '(Grant) prosperity...to him who seeks wealth.' Keith understands *rayiṣaṇi* as loc. with copula understood, the sense being the same as in SV. Perhaps a verb like *dhā* could as well be understood.

#### Verbs of uniting

§645. Verbs of uniting may take dative or locative as well as instrumental (§59):

*apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś. *muñcatam*) AV. Kauś.: *dviṣadbhyaḥ prati muñcāmi pāṣam* (HG. *pāṣam*) SMB. HG. ApMB. '(I) fasten this (evil, bond) upon the enemy.'

*apriye* (AV.\* *dviṣate*, RV. *āptye*) *saṁ nayāmasi* RV. AV. (bis).

*yad dha krāṇā eivasvati* (SV. *°te*) RV. SV. Followed by *nābhā samdāyi* (SV. *°ya*) *navyasā* (SV. *°se*). Apparently both dat. and loc. depend on *saṁ-dā* 'unite'; cf. Ludwig 4 p. 193 and Oldenberg ad loc.



## Verbs of bringing and the like

§646. In these, which cannot be sharply distinguished from verbs of giving, the locative begins to appear more clearly as one of goal of motion.

*devebhyo* (ApŚ. *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* RV. ApŚ. Different contexts.

The variant is included here because the governing word, *havyavāhanah*, tho a noun, is clearly verbal in force.

*mahyañ vātaḥ pavalāñ* (KS. °te) *kāme asmin* (AV. *kāmāyāsmāi*) RV.

AV. TS. KS. 'Let the wind blow (the wind blows) for me to this desire.'

*yajñāya śirṇabarhiṣe vi vo made* RV. AŚ.: *yajñeṣu śirṇabarhiṣaṃ vivakṣase* SV. The governing verb is *vr̥ṇīmahe* 'we wish' = 'we call, bring' (thee to the sacrifice). Cf. §489.

*yad vo devāsa āgure* (MS. °rd) TS. MS. Followed by *havīmahe* 'we call', felt as a verb of bringing; cf. *proc.*

## Verbs of saying

§647. It is well known that either dat. or loc. (as well as acc.) may be used of the person spoken to. Whether we should render the locs. in the following by 'among' rather than 'to' may be left an open question:

*devebhyo mā sukṛtaṃ brūtāt* (ŚB. with *ūha*, *voceh*) VS. ŚB.: *deveṣu naḥ sukṛta* (VSK. *mā sukṛtaṃ*) *brūtāt* (KS. *brūta*, PB. MŚ. *brūyāt*) VSK.

TS. KS. PB. MŚ.: *sukṛtaṃ mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS.

*prā mā* (TS. ApŚ. *no*) *brūtād bhāgadām* (TS. °dhān, ApŚ. °dhām, KS. *dhavirdā* [read °dām?]) *devatāsu* (KS. °tābhyah) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

## Miscellaneous verbs

§648. The root *sthā* in the sense of 'serve, obey' governs not only the dative (Delbrück *AIS.* p. 143) but also the locative:

*jyais(hye krais(hye ca gāthindh* ŚŚ.: *dhṛtyai krais(hyāya gāthindh* AB.

Preceded by *devarātāya tashire*.

*devā devebhyo* (MS. *deveṣu*) *adhvaryanto* (KS. °rīyanto) *asthuh* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§649. The verb *jāgr* 'watch (over)' also takes either case:

*yajamānāya jāgrta* ApŚ.: *evam asyām sūtikāyām, saputrikāyām jāgratha* PG.: *evam asyai suputrikāyai jāgrata* HG.

§650. The verb *hu* 'pour, offer' takes either case, according as the offering is thought of as 'poured in' or 'offered to':

*rudra yat te krayī* (*krivi*, *kravi*, *giri*-) *param nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmin*) *hudam asi* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*prthivyaṃ* (KS. °*vyā*) *amṛtaṃ juḥomi* AŚ. KS. ApŚ.

§651. The root *ci* 'pile up, build':

*sahasrākṣa* (VS. MS. ŚB. °*kṣo*) *medhāya* (TS. KS. *medha ā*) *cīyamānaḥ*  
VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Piled up at (for) the sacrifice.' Cf.  
VV 2 §342.

§652. With the root *grah* 'take' both dative and especially locative may be felt as cases of goal:

*mayi* (ApMB. *mahyaṃ*) *grhṇāmi tvām aham* VS. ApMB. 'I take thee (the oblation) to (for) myself.'

§653. With the root *jan* 'produce' the psychology of the two cases is more distinct. The variation in the first instance may be primarily phonetic, cf. VV 2 §342:

*ratñānaram ṛta ā* (TS. *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV. SV. TS. VS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB.

*añjano amṛta martyeṣu ā* (SV. *martyāya kam*) RV. SV. 'Thou hast produced among men (for man) ...'

## 2. With adjectives and nouns meaning 'pleasing' and the like

§654. That the locative as well as the dative and genitive (§77) may be found with adjectives (and nouns) meaning 'pleasing' or the like is recognized by Delbrück *ATS*. §79:

*supṛito manuṣo viśi* (SV. *viśe*) RV. SV.

*priyaṃ mā brahmaṇi* (ApMB. °*ne*) *kuru* ApMB. HG. Parallel *pādas* have locs. in both texts. But there is no need to read *brāhmaṇe* or *brahmaṇi* in ApMB. (cf. Winternitz p. xxiv), since the dative is equally sound.

*uta śūdra utārye* AV.: *kūdrāya cāryāya ca* AV. VS. Both preceded by *priyaṃ mā kṛṇu* ...

*ahaiṃ vo asmi sakhyāya śevāḥ* MS.: *yusmākaṃ sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV.

*dhitrā deveṣu* (KS. °*indrāya*) *sūmnayā* (AV. °*yau*, VS. *sūmnayā*) RV. AV.

VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. (bis) ŚB.

*sūjavarasini manave* (RV. TA. *manuṣe*, KS. *mānuṣe*) *daśaryā* (TA. °*ye*, TS. MS. KS. *yaśasye*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. In RV. *manuṣe* is dative, like *manave*; the others (including TA. *manuṣe*) have locatives.

## 3. Miscellaneous

§655. The remaining variants are miscellaneous:

*mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājaḥ* (MG. adds *kalpatām*) AG. MG. HG.:  
*mayi padyāyai virājaḥ* ŚŚ. ŚG. PG.: *mama padyāya vi rāja*  
ApMB. See §636.



*daśame māsi sūlavā* RV. RVKh. AV. ŚB. BrhU. ApMB. MG.: *daśa-māsyāya sūlavai* (ApMB. °ve) HG. ApMB. 'In the tenth month': 'tenth-monthly' (adj.).

*pūṣṇe śarase* (MS.† *śarasi*, p.p. °sah) *svāhā* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *svāhā pūṣṇe śarase* VS. ŚB. KŚ. 'Hail to Pūṣan, to the skin of milk (MS. apparently 'to P. in the skin of milk').'

*saṁ yujyāra* (TS. *babbhūva*) *sanibhya ā* RV. TS.: *saṁ sanuyāra varīṣe ā* KS. *sanibhyaḥ* is dat. of purpose (not abl., as Grassmann takes it); cf. Oldenberg *Noten* on 1. 17. 2 and Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.* s. v. ā. On the meaning of KS., 'in the waters', see von Schroeder's note.

*iṣe rāye* (rayai) *ramasva svāhase dyumnāyorje* (VS. ŚB. †*dyumna ūrje*) 'patyāya . . . (see VV 2 p. 420) VS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. 'For splendor, for might': 'for might in splendor.'

*tanūnaptre śakmane śakvarāya śakmanā* (KS. *śakmann*) *ojīṣṭhāya* MS. KS.: *tanūnaptre śakvarāya śakmann* (VS. ŚB. *śakvana*) *ojīṣṭhāya* VS. VSK. ŚB. (see Coné. under *āpalaye tvā paripataye*): *śakmane śakvarāya śakmanā ojīṣṭhāya tvā grhṇāmi* MŚ.: *śakmann ojīṣṭhāya tvā grhṇāmi* TS.: *śakmann ojīṣṭhāya* TS. GB.: *śakmana ojīṣṭhāya tvā* Vait. The original (TS. KS. VSK.) has loc. of noun, 'in strength'; the others assimilate to the surrounding dative adjectives, 'for the strong'.

*prthivyām agnaye samanāman va ārdhnot* AV.: *prthivyai sam anamut* TS. TB.

*asambādha yā madhyato mānavebhyah* MS.: *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma*?) *mānavāndam* (Ppp. °vezu) AV. Ppp. Kauś. See §623.

*vāce svāhā* VS. etc.: *svāhā vāce* GB. AG.: *vāci svāhā* TS. In the latter the context is different and *vāci* depends on the following verb *dhāh*, not on *svāhā*.

[*uttānāyai śayānāyai* ŚŚ.: *uttānāyām śayānāyām* AV. RWh. by em., but mss. *uttamānāye śayānāyai*, intending the ŚŚ. reading.]

## CHAPTER XXVI

### ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, AND LOCATIVE

#### A. Ablative and genitive

Ablative of source or separation and genitive

§656. The only considerable group of variants under this heading shows an ablative of source or separation varying with an adnominal genitive which is its virtual equivalent. The genitive may be possessive, subjective, or partitive:

*tato mā yajñasyāśr āgachatu* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *tasya māśr avatu vardhatām* AŚ. 'From it may blessing of sacrifice come to me': 'may its blessing aid and increase me.'

*yasya* (KS. *yato*) *deva dadhiṣe pūrvapeyam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'Of (from) which (soma) thou hast taken to thyself the first draught, O god.'

*tato no dehi jīvase* RV. TB. TA.: *tasya no dhasi jīvase* AV. SV. Kauś. 'From (of) it give to us that we may live.'

*mā parā seci mat payaḥ* (ŚŚ. LŚ. ŚG. *no dhanam*, ApŚ.\* *naḥ mam*, ApMB.\* *me dhanam*) ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. (bis) MŚ. ŚG. ApMB. (bis) PG. HG. MG. 'Let not the sap from me (our wealth, etc.) be poured away.' The ApMB. reference with *mat payaḥ* should be 2. 9. 14d.

*agnir etu prathamo devatābhyaḥ* SMB.: *agnir aitu prathamo devatānām* AG. ŚG. HG. ApMB. 'First from among (of) the gods.'

*apāsman* (KS. *apāsyā*) *nairrtān pāśān* KS. ApŚ. 'Away from him (KS. literally, away his) bonds of destruction.'

§657. Once after the preposition *pari* (and with a verb of separation), where obviously only an ablative construction is possible, gen. dual forms occur in one form of the variant. They can only be taken in ablative sense. The variant is instructive for the confusion of the two cases, which is helped by the fact that in the singular the two have identical forms in most paradigms (in the context adjoining the variant *pāda* occur such forms as *gīreḥ*, *śvasuḥ* etc.):

*pari sarvebhyo jñātībhyaḥ* HG. ApMB.: *pari pitroḥ ca bhṛtōḥ ca* PG. Followed in PG. by *sakhyebhyo viśjāmy aham*.



§658. Once the ablative of comparison after a comparative varies with the partitive genitive after a superlative. The contexts are different:

*bhīṣagbhyo bhīṣaktarāḥ* AV.: *bhīṣajām subhīṣaktamāḥ* AV.

#### Case attraction

§659. Two other variants show different sorts of case attraction: *tat tvam bibhrhi punar ā mad aitoḥ* (AŚ.† MŚ. ā mamaitoḥ) TS. AŚ. MŚ.

Both mean 'until my return'; in TS. (doubtless the original) we find *mad* by attraction to the case of the ablative infinitive (cf. Delbrück *AIS*, pp. 90, 431 and our §86). See Oertel 92.

*tvam nṛṇām nṛpate* (KS. *tvam nṛbhyo nṛmanō*) *jāyase śuciḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TAA. N. Preceded by *tvam vanebhyas tvam oṣadhībhyah*. 'Thou art produced pure from trees and plants, O lord of men (KS. 'and from men, O thou mindful of men'). KS. has *nṛbhyo* by attraction to the case and construction of *vanebhyas*. . . *oṣadhībhyah*.

#### B. Ablative and locative

##### 1. Ablative as whence-case and locative as where-case

§660. The source of anything (ablative) may also be regarded as its original or typical location, and so may be expressed in the locative, as in:

*karkandhu jāñle madhu sāraghaṁ mukhāt* (MS. *mukhe*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

'Jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth.'

§661. Here there is little practical difference. Likewise, even when no idea of origination is clearly expressed, an action may be spoken of alternatively as proceeding from, or as taking place in, a place, as in: *tāḥ* (VS. ŚB. *prā*) *parvatasya vṛṣabhasya prsthāt* (TS. KS. *prsthe*) VS.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *nāvaḥ caranti* (*nāvo viyanti*) . . .

'The ships proceed from (upon) the back of the mountain-bull.'

Note that the ablative is found in the texts which read *prā* ('forth'), but also in MS. which does not.

§662. Yet more clearly does the locative differ in meaning from the ablative in such a variant as:

*yadā mahabḥ saṁvaraṇād* (KS. °*ne*) *vy asthāt* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

KB. ŚB. 'When he (the horse) stepped forth from (in) the enclosure.' (*mahabḥ* in KS. must be nom. sg.; in the others it may be this or abl. sg.; Oldenberg decides for the latter.)

§663. These examples will suggest that the psychology of the two

cases generally differs more or less, tho the extent and practical importance of the difference varies greatly, being no doubt least when used with expressions of source or separation or protection. For even with a verb of protecting the threatening danger from which protection is desired may be put in the locative, as denoting the state in which the person finds or fears to find himself:

*epā tū pātu nirṛter upasthāt* (TA. *nirṛtyā upasthe*, AV. *prapathe purastāt*)  
RV. AV. TA. 'Let this one protect thee from (in) the lap of destruction.'

§564. The following additional examples occur; we quote first those in which the practical difference between the two cases seems least:

*śivam prajābhyo 'hinsantam* (KS.† *ahins<sup>a</sup>*) *prthivyāḥ sadhashthād* (TS. MS. KS. *°sthe*) *agnim* (TS. *°gnim*) *purīṣyam aṅgirasvat khaṇāmaha* (TS. KS.† *°mi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'We (I) dig forth from (in) the abode of earth Agni...' In the same context:

*devasya tū savituh prasave 'vinor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām prthivyāḥ sadhashthād* (TS. MS. *°sthe*) *agnim* (TS.† *°gnim*)... VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Add to VV 2 §910. Cf. prec.

*apām yo madhyato* (KS. *madhye*) *rasas tam aham asmā... gṛhyāmi* KS. TB. 'I take the sap that comes from (is in) the midst of the waters...'.

*vibhrājamānaḥ sarirasya* (MS. *salilasya*) *madhye* (TA. *°yāt*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. 'Shining in (from) the midst of the waters.'

*divaḥ* (MŚ. *divi*) *kīlpam avalatam* TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*taṁ te* (TS. *idaṁ te tad*) *vī śyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt* (MS. KS. *nu madhye*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'I loose that (bond of destruction) for thee as from (in) the midst of life.'

*bāhucyuto* (VS. ŚB. *grāvacyuto*) *dhiṣaṇāyā* (VS. TS. ŚB. *dhiṣaṇayor*) *upasthāt* (KS. *°sthe*) RV. VS. TS. KS. GB. ŚB. Vait. MŚ. Preceded by *yas te drapsa skandati yas te aṅśuḥ*. Here it seems that KS. must intend a fundamentally different meaning: 'The drop (of soma) which falls from (but KS. on!) the lap of the bowl (two bowls).'

*agnih prātahsavane* (MS. MŚ. *°nāt*) *pāte asmān* AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ. ApŚ. Perhaps MS. asks for protection 'from (hostile) somn-pressings'; cf. MS. 4. 7. 7: 102. 5 ff., the brāhmaṇa dealing with this mantra, where it is stated that by the mantra the gods obstructed the savanas of the Āsuras, and so the sacrificer can obstruct those of his enemies.

*a mā sucarite* (MŚ. *°tād*) *bhaja* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Pre-



ceded by *pāhi māgne duṣcaritāt* (VS. ŚB. *pāri māgne duṣcaritād bādhasa*). No doubt mechanical attraction to the case of the preceding *duṣcaritāt* is responsible for the ablative in MŚ. Yet it can be defended in a way: 'Give us a share from (out of, of) good deeds.'

## 2. With prepositions

§665. Quite similar to the preceding are variants between ablative and locative after the prepositions *adhi* and *antar*. Both cases are found with them, but in different senses; and in the first variant *adhi* with the ablative varies with the simple locative, without *adhi*:

*tām te vācam āsya ādatte* (read *ādade*) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG.: *ā* (HG. om.) *manasyām hṛdayād adhi* HG. ApMB. 'In (from within) thy heart.'

*tasyāḥ* (TB. *tasyām*) *samudrā adhi vi kṣaranti* RV. AV. TB. ŚŚ. N. 'From (in) her the seas flow forth.'

*yam āśvinā namucē āsurād adhi* (ŚŚ.† *namucā āsure dadhi*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ. Followed by *sarasvaty āśnod indriyāya*. Cf. Bloomfield *JAOŚ*. 15. 144 ff. on the Namuci story. Some verb, doubtless a form of *su*, is understood: 'which (soma) the Āśvins (pressed out) from (in) the Āsura Namuci.' The word *dadhi* in ŚŚ. certainly contains a corruption of *adhi*.

*ye devā devege* (MS. KS. *devebhyo*) *adhi devatram āyan* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'What gods have arrived at godhood over the gods (from among the gods).' The abl. with *adhi* seems about the equivalent of a partitive gen.

*samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi* (RV.\* *°pah*) RV. (bis) SV. In different contexts. Cf. also *samudrasyādhi viṣṭapi* (SV. *°pe*) *manīṣiṇaḥ* RV. SV.

*ya usriyā apyā* (SV. *api yā*) *antar akmanāḥ* (SV. *°ni*) RV. SV. 'The cows from within (SV. the cows within) the rock.'

§666. On the other hand, *ā* with the ablative may mean 'up to' and so may interchange with the loc. (and the acc.) of goal with no difference of meaning:

*āsya yajñasyodṛcāḥ* VS. ŚB.: *svasti mā sam vahāsyā yajñasyodṛci svāhā* AV.; *svasti mā sam pārayāsyā yajñasyodṛcam* ŚŚ. See §523.

## 3. In adverbial forms

§667. Adverbially used ablatives have a tendency to pale out, so that no distinctly ablative function remains. They then become interchangeable with locative adverbs or locative phrases:

*āre* (TS. *ārū*) *te goghnam* (TS. °*na*) *uta pūruṣaghnām* (TS. °*ne*) RV. TS.

Both mean simply 'far off', not 'from afar'.

*yās te rudra purastāt* (AG. *pūrvasyām dīśi*) *senās tābhya eṣa balis tābhyas te namaḥ* (AG. *senās tābhya enaḥ*) AG. PG. Here there may be in the abl. a suggestion of 'from the east', but it is hard to be sure of it.

#### 4. Case attraction

§668. The following (cf. also *ā mā sucarite* etc., §664) seems to be an instance of mechanical case-attraction:

*āre asman* (MS. NīlarU. *asmin*) *nī dhehi tam* VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU.

One ms. and p.p. of MS. read *asman* (*asmat*). If *asmin* is sound it must be attracted to the case of *āre*: 'in this distant (place)' instead of 'far from us'.

#### 5. Phrase inflection

§669. Phrase inflection is found in the following:

(*sīse mṛdāhvam naḍe mṛdāhvam*) *agnau saṁkasuke ca yat* AV.: (*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneḥ saṁkasukāc ca yat* AV. Both times Ppp. reads *agnih saṁkusikaś ca yaḥ*. Caland KZ. 34. 456 f. considers both AV. pādas 'phrase-inflections' of what Ppp. (substantially) reads. See §§433, 450.

*tṛtīyasyā ito divaḥ* ApMB.: *tṛtīyasyām ito divi* AV. HG. Wholly different contexts.

*aṅgād-aṅgāl lomno-lomnaḥ* RV. AV. ApMB.: *aṅge-aṅge lomni-lomni* AV.

In the first passage the abls. depend on *vi vrhāmi*; the second is followed by *yas* (sc. *yakṣmas*) *te parvaṇi-parvaṇi*.

#### 6. Miscellaneous

§670. A few miscellaneous cases remain:

*mā te vyoma saṁdṛśaḥ* AV.: *mā te vyoma saṁdṛśi* (LŚ.† *saṁdāśa* [iti]) AA. TA. AŚ. LŚ. MG. 'May we not be separated from sight of thee': 'may there be no *vyoman* (lacuna? TA. comm. *chidram*) in thy sight.' In LŚ. a form of *saṁdṛś* (either °*śaḥ* or °*śe* would be possible) must be intended. If not a mere misprint, as we suspect (so Whitney on AV.), this should be added to VV 2 §631.

*varṣīyo* (VS. ŚB. *varṣo*) *varṣīyasi yajñe yajñapatim dhāḥ* TS. VS. ŚB.: *varṣīyo varṣīyaso yajñam yajñapatau dhāḥ* MS. KS. Addressed to atmosphere: 'Being more extended, establish the sacrificer in a more extended sacrifice': 'being more extended than the more extended, establish sacrifice in the sacrificer.' The latter is doubt-



less original, the former a lect. fac., with a kind of 'transfer of epithet'.

[ardhamāsyam prasutāt pitṛyāvataḥ JB. (his). Both passages have the abl.; see Oertel, *JAOS.* 19 (2d half), pp. 112, 115.]

### C. Genitive and locative

#### 1. Locative of position : adnominal genitive

§671. Most of the variants between these two cases are approximately equivalent in meaning. The person or place in which something is located may be thought of as the possessor of it (possessive gen.), or as that upon which its influence is exerted (objective gen.). Naturally the line between the two is sometimes hard to draw; in the first mentioned cases the gen. seems clearly possessive:

*mayy āśīr* (Ppp. KS. *mamāśīr*) *astu mayi* (Ppp. KS.† *mama*) *devahūtiḥ* RV. AV. Ppp. TS. KS. 'May prayer and divine invocation be in me (be mine).'

*asmākaṁ* (TS. *asmāsu*) *santv āśīyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

*yad devānāṁ* (VS. *deveṣu*) *tryāyuṣaṁ* VS. VSK. ŚG. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. Preceded even in VS. by *tryāyuṣaṁ jamadagneḥ*, *kāyapasya tryāyuṣaṁ* (with slight variations in order). VS. is isolated and so may be suspected of being secondary. Were it original we might think of case attraction to the preceding gens. in the others.

*te rāyaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.: *tava rāyaḥ* MS. MŚ.: *tava-tava rāyaḥ* MS. KS. MŚ.: *to-to* (TS. ApŚ. *to-te*) *rāyaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*yat pṛthivyām* (MahānU. °*vyā*) *rajaḥ svam* TA. MahānU. 'What *rajas* is in (of) the earth.'

*yā te patighnī tanūḥ*...HG.: *yā te patighnī...tanūr*...PG.: *yā te patighny*...ŚG.: *yāsyām patighnī tanūḥ*...ApMB. 'What husband-elaying body (form) is thine (in her).'

*dīryhaṁ yac cakṣur adīter anantam* AŚ.: *yad āhuḥ cakṣur aditāv anantam* PB. JB. (See Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases* §48. 24R.)

*mā tvam hāṣīḥ śrutam mayi* PG.: *śrutam me mā pra hāṣīḥ* RVKh.

*dhruvaidhī poṣyā* (PG. *poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh. ŚG. PG. ApMB.: *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV. 'Be steadfast...in (with, bei) me': 'let this woman be mine, prosperous.'

*vihāya rogaṁ tanvaḥ svāyāḥ* (TA. *tanvām svāyām*) AV. TA. 'Abandoning disease of (in) their own body.'

*anvātānsū trayi* (MŚ. °*tānsus tava*) *tantum etam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'He (they) spun out this thread in thee (of thine).'

*aham prajā ajanayām prthivīām* (MG. °*vyāh*, ApMB. *pīṭhām*) RV.

ApMB. MG. 'I produced offspring on (of) the earth (the fathers).'

*akāś su* (TA. *sa*) *lokaṁ sukṛtaṁ prthivīāḥ* (VS. ŚB. °*vyām*) VS. TS. MS.

KS. ŚB. 'He hath made an excellent place of (on) the earth.'

The gen. may perhaps better be called partitive than possessive.

*yasyā ḍśās* (KS. *imās*) *tanvo vītapṛsthāḥ* AV. KS.: *yasyā bahvyaś* (RVKh.

VS. *yasyām imā bahvyaś*, TB. *yasyai bahvīś*) *tanvo* (*tanvo*) *vīta-*

*pṛsthāḥ* RVKh. VS. MS. TB. 'Whose (in whom) ... are smooth-backed forms.'

*asamātiṁ grheṣu naḥ* AV.: *grhānām asamartyai* TS. See §486.

*patyau* (ApMB. *patyur*) *me śloka uttamaḥ* RV. ApMB. 'My supreme renown rests in my husband (is my husband's).'

*sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarkṣuḥ* AV.: *sarasvatyā adhi manāv* (KS.

*mānā*, v. l. *manā*; SMB. Jørgensen *manāv*) *acarkṣuḥ* (varr., VV 1

§136) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. Preceded by *madhunā samyuta-*

*taṁ yavam*. 'Barley mingled with honey they plowed on the

Sarasvatī (river)', AV. The form *sarasvatyā* has been interpreted

in all sorts of ways, as gen. 'with honey of Sarasvatī' (TB. comm.,

Stenzler, Caland), as instr. (in spite of the sandhi; Oldenberg *SBE*.

29. 338), as abl. (Jørgensen on SMB.), and as dat. (VV 1 §136).

We now think gen. or abl. most likely.

*tāsu* (sc. *dikṣu*) *tvāntar jarasy ādadhāmi* AV.: *tāsām* (sc. *dīśām*) *te*

*jarasa ādadhāmi* TB. HG. ApMB. 'I establish thee in old age within

them (unto their old age, i.e. unto as long life as the directions

possess; so rightly TB. comm.).'

§672. Peculiar and deserving of special rubrication are the following cases, in which the loc. is parallel with another loc., on which the gen. depends in the other form of the variant (cf. §85):

*asyā* (MG.† *aspām*) *nāryā gavīnyoh* (MG. °*nyām*) AV. MG. (the latter

also has a v. l. *nāryām*): *asyām nāryām gavīnyām* RVKh. ApMB.

'In this woman's two canals (in this canal of the woman)': 'in this

woman, in her canal.' Assuming that the gen. is original, we may

see case-attraction in the loc.

*kūṣam na madhye nābhyām* (MS. °*yāḥ*) VS. MS. TB. 'In the middle,

(viz.) in the navel': 'in the middle of the navel.' As prec.

*ye 'do* (MS. *amī*, KS. *vādo*, VS. ŚB. *vāmi*, NilarU. *cāmī*) *rocane divaḥ*

(NilarU. *divī*) RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB. NilarU. As

prec. The phrase *rocane divaḥ* is standard from RV. on; clearly

case-assimilation in NilarU.



*pr̥ṣṭhe pr̥thiryā* (AV. *nābhā pr̥thiryām*) *nihito davidyutat* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. As prec.; Ppp. is reported by Whitney to read *pr̥thiryāḥ*, which is standard after *nābhā* (see Cone. under this initial).

§673. To these we may append a case in which the loc. noun which governs the possessive gen. is omitted in the variant form, thus compelling the use of loc. instead of gen.:

*viśvalopa viśvadāasya tvāsaṁ juhomi* TS. GB. Vait.: *viśloka viśvadāsyē tvā samjuhomi vāhā* MŚ. 'I offer thee in the mouth of the burner of all (in the burner of all).'

§674. Essentially similar, also, is the following in which the gen. depends on an adverb (*madhyato*) which, while abl. in form, is essentially loc. in meaning; Ppp. uses a loc. of the noun instead of the gen.:

*asambādham bādhyato* (read *ma°*) *mānavānām* (Ppp. *°eṣu*) AV. Ppp. Kauś. See §623. 'In the midst of men': 'in the midst, among men.'

§675. The gen. after adjectives of nearness or similarity is doubtless to be felt as objective in character:

*syāma sumnasyaūdhriḡo* (SV. *sumne te adhrigo*) RV. SV. Preceded by *nī nedīṣṭhatamā iṣaḥ*. 'Let us be nearest to the draught, to (in) thy grace.'

*taṁ id arbhe hariṣy ā samānam it, taṁ in mahe vṛnate nānyam tvat* RV.: *toṣm arbhasya hariṣaḥ samānam it, tvān maho vṛnate* (TB. ApŚ. add *naro*) *nānyam tvat* SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. 'Him they choose alike at the small oblation and at the large': 'thee they choose alike for (equal to, equally capable of? Caland 'als gleichen für') the small' etc. For the gen. with words of likeness cf. Speyer VSS. §70c.

§676. Definitely objective is the genitive in the following cases, with nouns or adjectives containing verbal force, in which the two forms are practical equivalents:

*akīḥ śayata upapṛk pr̥thiryāḥ* (TB. *°vyām*) RV. MS. TB. N. *nanāndarī samrājñī bhava* RV. SMB. ApMB.: *nanānduh samrājñy edhī* AV. 'Be queen over thy sister-in-law.' In the same verse:

*samrājñī śvaśrvān* (*śvaśruvān*) *bhava* RV. SMB. ApMB.: *samrājñy uta śvaśrvāḥ* AV.

*prācyān āśī* (AV. *prācyā dīśas*) *tvam indrāsi rājā* AV. TS. MS. KS. In the same verse:

*utodicyān vṛtrahan vṛtrahāsi* TS. MS. KS.: *utodicyā dīśo vṛtrahan chatruho 'si* AV.

## 2. After the preposition *antar*

§677. Delbrück AIS. p. 445 f. ignores the construction of *antar* with the gen., which is however indubitable, cf. §142. In the following

variant gen. and loc. with *antar* interchange. The another loc. follows, the gen. cannot depend upon it:

*ukhāyāḥ* (TS. °yāi, MS. KS. °yām) *sudane* see VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *antar agne rucā tvam*.

### 3. Adverbial uses

§678. In several variants we have, certainly or possibly, both cases used adverbially to express time. On the gen. of time see especially Oldenberg *RVNoten* on 1. 79. 6.

*diva-diva* (AV. *divo-diva*) *ā suvā bhūri paśvaḥ* AV. KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. *diva-diva* is certainly loc. in sense, whatever be the historic origin of the form (see §295, and for the most recent theory of the form Sturtevant, *TAPA*. 62 [1931] 20).

*madhu naktam ulōṣasaḥ* (KS. °ā, TS. TA. °si) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. Kauś. See §584.

*aktor vyūṣṭau paritakmyāyāḥ* (and °yām) RV. (both). Uncertain; see *RVRep.* on 5. 30. 13 and literature there quoted, especially Oldenberg *RVNoten*.

§679. The following variant is also obscure and dubious. We are inclined to feel that both *pariṇasaḥ* and °si are adverbial (not, of course, temporal), meaning approximately 'with plenty' or 'plentifully'. Despite Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc. we incline to separate the word from *kasya*. But it may be felt as ablative rather than genitive. Ludwig's interpretation makes it adnominal gen. with *dhiyo*, which is perhaps also possible:

*kasya nūnam pariṇasaḥ* (SV. °si) RV. SV. Followed by *dhiyo jinvasi dampate* (SV. *satpate*).

### 4. Dependent on verbs

§680. Verbs of drinking take a (partitive) genitive, which varies with a locative once or twice (as well as an accusative, §501):

*papuh sarasvatyā nadyāḥ* (MŚ. °tyām *nadyām*, KŚ. ApŚ. °tīm *nadīm*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

*tava* (SV. *tvē*) *vīḥve sajoṣasaḥ* RV. SV. Followed by *devāsaḥ pītim ābata*. Here *pītim ābata* 'obtained a drink' may be regarded as a periphrasis for 'drank', and it seems to us that the gen. and loc. are both best regarded as comparable to the same cases in the preceding variant; so Ludwig construes *tava*, while Grassmann takes it as possessive, 'thy drink', and Benfey takes *tvē* here as the only new post-Rigvedic occurrence of the form.



§681. The gen. in the following, with root *rā*, seems also to be partitive; it may be influenced by the gen. in the following clause:

*yā sarawafī vebbhagīnī tasyā no* (ApŚ. *visobhagīnā tasyām me*) *rāva tasyā te bhaktivāno bhūyāma* KS. ApŚ. 'Grant us (me) [a share] of (in) her.'

§682. With the verb *adhi-i* 'think on' the gen. (or acc.) is regular. In the following variant MG. has a loc., perhaps influenced by thought of the literal, etymological meaning 'go upon' (*adhi* + loc.). It should also be noted that the following pāda (*yeṣu saumanasam mahat* in MG.) has a loc. which is approximately parallel and may have exercised some influence:

*yeṣām* (MG. *yeṣu*) *adhyeti pravasan* AV. VS. ApŚ. LŚ. ŚG. HG. MG.

#### 5. Transfer of epithet

§683. Transfer of epithet (§§14-6) is found in the following:

*śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasinā* (MS. *ahann ojasine*, KS.† *śukre ahany ojasye*, AŚ. *\*hany ojasinām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. See §447.

*svasty apsu vṛjane svarvati* (MG.† *vṛjane svarvataḥ*) RV. AB. MG. 'In the bright place'; 'in the path of the bright one.' The original has an epithet of *vṛjane*, which MG. changes to an independent form. Some MG. mss. point to the RV. reading.

#### 6. Miscellaneous

§684. The rest are unclassifiable:

*ava tara* (TS. *avattaram*) *nadiṣv ā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *avattaro nadinām* AV. Too obscure to make any interpretation of *nadinām* worth giving; see VV 2 §833.

*samśṛṣṭasū yutas indro ganeṣu* MS.: *samśṛṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KA. See §607.

*agnā u* (ŚB. also *agner*) *vasurane vasudheyasya vetu vaṅghah* ŚB. (both) AŚ. Ritualistic rigmarole; various case-forms of *agni* are used in mechanical modulations of the formula.

*asūrte* (MS. KS. *\*tā*, KapŚ. *\*tāḥ*) *sūrte rajasi nīṣatte* (MS. *nīṣattā*, KS. *na sattā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. KapŚ. N.: *asūrtā sūrtā rajaso vimāne* TS. The latter is a reconstruction containing a reminiscence of RV. 10. 123. 1, which contains *rajaso vimāne*.

*mā no* (mā) *hīnāṅ janitā yāḥ pṛthivyāḥ* (KapŚ. *\*yām*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KapŚ. ŚB. ApŚ. Raghu Vira emends to *\*yāḥ* (cf. Oertel 19), but the loc. can be construed with the following pāda.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### SINGULAR AND PLURAL

#### 1. *Generalizing singular and plural*

§685. Among the variations between singular and plural (see §§112-7 for a summary), the great majority concern the use of a generic singular, in variation with a plural which may be specific, referring to particular individuals of the class, or may itself be general, including them all. As a rule there is little real difference of meaning between the two forms. The singular tends to think of the class as a whole, the plural of the individuals which compose it. Sometimes the singular seems to be a distinct collective; but more often it merely indicates the genus, without centering the attention upon the individuals which compose it. For instance, as in military language today, 'the enemy' may mean the whole hostile army. Likewise 'the sacrifice', as an institution or type, varies with 'sacrifices' as individual acts (but usually not conceived specifically; rather all 'sacrifices' in general). And so one may say equally well 'good deed', generically, or 'good deeds'; 'food' or 'foods'; 'praise' or 'praises'; 'heroism' or 'heroisms' (that is, deeds of heroism), and so forth.

§686. In some of the cases which we shall feel obliged to list under this heading, it is very possible that the singular may have been felt specifically, of a single definite individual. So notably with the word *agni* 'fire' (§691). At times it cannot be doubted that reference was made to one particular fire, especially one of the three sacred fires, while the plural form refers to several individuals (say, to the three sacred fires). Where we find definite evidence that the change between singular and plural was of this sort, we shall classify the variant in the appropriate place below (§740). It is, however, usually hard to identify such cases,—to separate them from instances of the generic singular; and the latter is so common and so characteristic of the Vedic language that as a rule we tend to assume it in default of clear evidence to the contrary.

#### *Amredita compounds*

§687. Sanskrit has a special device for expressing clearly the notion of generalization in connection with a noun: the use of repeated



(*āmredīta*) compounds. They may be used in either the singular or the plural to denote every individual of the genus. Once a plural *āmredīta* varies with a singular modified by the word *viśva* 'all', so that the two expressions are equivalent. In another case a singular *āmredīta* varies with an obviously generalizing plural which, tho there is no word like *viśva*, can only mean substantially the same thing:

*viśo-viśaḥ praviśedānsam imahe AV.:* *viśvasyām viśi praviviśvānsam*  
(KS.† *praviviśnam*) *imahe TS. MS. KS.*

*ruho ruroha* (TB. *roham-roham*) *rohita ā ruroha AV. TB.*

§688. We now proceed to give the lists containing a presumably generalizing singular in variation with a plural, arranging them under semantic categories, beginning with:

§689. (1) *Words connected with the ritual.* Among ritual words we find first the 'sacrifice' itself (*yajña*) and its more specific designations (*havya*, *havis*, etc.):

*asmān rāya uta yajñāḥ* (KS.† *yajñāḥ*) *sacantām TS. KS. ApŚ.:* *yugmān rāya uta yajñā asācanta MS.*

*yajñam yad yajñavāhasaḥ AV.:* *yajñair vā* (TB. *vo*) *yajñavāhasaḥ RV. TS. TB.*

*tvajā rūpāni* (AŚ. *rūpeṇa*) *samanaktu yajñaiḥ* (AŚ. *yajñam*) *ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.*

*bodhāmasi tvā haryasva yajñaiḥ* (MŚ. *yajñe*) *RV. SV. MŚ. See §602.*  
*yajñāya śtirṇabarhiṣe vi vo made RV. AŚ.:* *yajñeṣu śtirṇabarhiṣam vicakṣase SV.*

*brahma yajñāḥ* (MS. *yajñāḥ*) *prthivīm dhārayanti AV. MS.*

*devebhyo havyam* (MS. MŚ. MG. *havyā*) *vahatu prajānan RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. Vait. MŚ. Kauś. MG.*

*havyā martēṣu ranyati RV.:* *havyam martāsa indhate SV.*

*jātavedaḥ prati havyā grbhāya AV. SMB.:* *jātavedo havir idam juṣasva AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. HG.*

*agnir haviḥ* (AV. VS. TS. MS. *havyam*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) *RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.:* *agnir havyāni sūvadati RV.:* *agnir havyā sūśūdati RV.*

*atarudro havyā* (SV. *havyam*) *vahasi haviṣkṛte RV. SV.*

*yajñair juhōti haviṣā yajusā* (TB. *juhōti yajusā havirbhiḥ*) *AV. TB.:* *yajñair vidhema namaśā havirbhiḥ RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.*

*purā satyād* (TB. *diṣṭād*) *āhutīm hantv asya* (TB. *āhutir asya hantu*) *AV. TB.*

*ya āhutīm* (JUB. °tir) *atyamanyanta devāḥ AV. JUB.:* *tās te gachante āhutīm* (KS. °tir) *ghṛtasya TS. KS.*

- pilara āyusmantas te svadhāyāyusmantah* (PG. *svadhābhīr āyus<sup>o</sup>*) TS. PG. §690. The words used at the sacrifice, whether spoken or sung (*stoma*, *prastā*, *arka*, *uktha*, *brahman*, *matī*, *sūkta*, *yajus*, *sāman*). Here also may be placed the variants involving the words *dhi*, *veda*, *chandas*, and several others that have to do with meter.
- taved u stomani* (SV. *stomāṣ*) *ciketa* RV. AV. SV.
- stomena prati bhūṣati* RV.: *stomebhīr bhūṣati prati* SV.
- apām ula praśastiṣu* (RV.† *praśastaye*, AV. VSK. *\*tibhiḥ*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
- tava praśastayo mahiḥ* (SV. *\*śastayo mahe*) RV. SV.
- yam mitram na praśastibhiḥ* (SV. *\*taye*) RV. SV.
- ghṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam* AV.: *tam arkair abhyarcanti vatsam* TB.
- agnir ukthena vāhasā* VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir uktheṣu anhasu* AV.
- vocat brahmāṇi* (SV. *brahmeti*) *ver u tai* RV. SV. See §269.
- sam brahmaṇā* (AV. *\*nām*) *devakṛtaṁ* (RV. AV. *devakṛtām*) *yad asti* RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. See §587.
- idam brahma piprhi saubhagāya* MS.: *imā brahma piprhi saubhagāya* VS. KS. ŚB. (Eggeling wrongly considered *brāhma* a vocative.)
- ato matir* (SV. *matim*) *janayata svadhābhīḥ* RV. SV.
- imā* (TS. *imām*) *rudrāya tavase kapardine, kṣayadvirāya pra bharāmahe* *matih* (TS. *matim*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.
- sūktā* (KS. *sūktam*) *brūhi* VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.
- ṛksāmābhyām samitaranto yajurbhiḥ* (TS. *\*bhyām yajusā samitarantaḥ*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.
- prastotah sāma gāya* MS. ApŚ.: *prastotah sāmāni gāya* MS. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. (MS. p.p. *sāma*.)
- udgātah sāmāni* (MŚ. 2. 5. 4. 25, 4. 4. 11 *sāma*) *gāya* GB. MŚ. (MŚ. 4. 2. 10 has *sāmāni*, but v.l. *sāma*.)
- tatōya savitā dhiyah* (VS. *dhiyam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.
- vedasya* (MG. *vedānām*) *nidhipo bhūyāsam* AG. PG. MG.
- chandāṇsi* (KS. *chando*) *gacha svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.
- chandasā* (MS. *chandobhir*) *haṇsah śuciṣat* VS. MS. KS. TB.
- gāyatraṁ chando anu samrabhadhvam* MS.: *gāyatrīḥ chandāṇsy anu samrabhantām* KS. ApŚ.
- dvipadā yā catuṣpadā* (VS. *yās catuṣpadāḥ*), *tripadā yā ca ṣaṭpadā* (VS. *yās ca ṣaṭpadāḥ*), *vichandā yā* (VS. *yās*) *ca sachandāḥ* (TS. KSA. *sachandā yā ca vichandāḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Supply *re* or *reah*.
- avasyuvātā brhatir nu śakvariḥ* (MS. KS. *brhatī na śakvari*, AŚ. *brhatī tu śakvari*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Followed by:
- imam yajñam avatu* (TS. *avantu*) *yā* (TS. AŚ. *no*) *ghṛtāci* (TS. *\*ciḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.: *diśam devy* (MS. *tevy*) *avatu no ghṛtāci* TS. MS. AŚ.



*vi śloka etu* (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*)  
*sūreḥ* (AV. MS.† *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*, KS.† *sūrah*) RV. AV.  
 VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU.

§691. The sacrificial fire. See above, §686. It is often impossible to say whether a single fire, or the individual god Agni, is meant by the singular, or 'fire(s)' in general:

*te asmā* (KS. 'smā) *agnaye* (ApŚ. MS. v. l. °yo) *dravināḥ* (KS. °nāni)  
*dattvā* MS. KS. ApŚ.

*agnir me hotā sa mopahvayātām* ŚB.: *agne gṛhapata upa mā hwayasva* KS.  
 ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnaya upāhvayādheam* Vait. The last no doubt refers definitely to the three sacred fires.

*agnayo viṣṭakṛte svāhā* TB. TAA. etc.: *agnibhyaḥ viṣṭakṛdbhyaḥ svāhā*  
 KŚ. The latter refers to the three fires.

*agnim* (ApŚ. *agnin*) *saṁādhehi* MS. MŚ. ApŚ.

*ihaiva san tatra sato vo agnayah* TB. ApŚ.: *ihaiva san* (MŚ. *satis*; so also  
 TB. Poona ed.) *tatra santam tvāgne* TB. AŚ. MŚ.

*raudrenānikena pāhi māgne* (VS. Vait. *pāta māgnayah*) VS. TS. MS. KS.  
 ŚŚ. Vait. 18. 8. Followed by:

*pipṛta māgnayah* (KS. *pipṛhi māgne*) VS. KS. Vait.

*ye agnayo apsv antar ye vṛtre, ye puruṣe ye āsmanu* AV.: *yo apsv antar*  
*agnir yo vṛtre, yah puruṣe yo āsmani* MS. KS. ApŚ. Ppp. also  
 intends the latter reading.

§692. Various utensils and appurtenances of the ritual.

*ukhyam* (AV. *ukhyān*) *hasteṣu bibhrataḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*saṁādham* (Kauś. HG. °dha) *ā dhehi* ŚB. ŚG. Kauś. SMB. PG. GG. HG.

*asāv etat te vāsah* GG.: *etat vaḥ pitaro vāsah* (VS. *vāsa ādhatta*) VS.  
 VSK. AŚ. SMB.: *etāni vaḥ pitaro vāsānvi* ApŚ. HG. The 'clothing'  
 is the threads, wool, or hair placed on each cake offered to the  
 Pitr̥s.

*ā me graho bhavate* (KSA. *grahā bhavanti*) *ā puroruk* TS. KSA.

*bṛhaspatizulasya. . . graham gṛhṇāmi* (KS. *graham ṛdhyāsam*, VS. VSK.

ŚB. *grahān ṛdhyāsam*, MS. *graham rādhyāsam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS.  
 KS. ŚB.

*nir āhūvān* (KS. °vam) *kṛṇotana* RV. TS. KS. Followed or preceded by:

*suh varatrā* (KS. °trān, i.e. °trān) *dadhātana*, same texts.

*kṛṇvante āpo dhiṣṇāś ca devīḥ* (MS. \* *dhiṣṇā ca devī*) VS. TS. MS. (bis)

KS. ŚB. In MS. both passages show both readings in the mss.;  
 von Schroeder finally adopted the singular in both passages.

*upāstāvah kalāṣah* (MŚ. °vāḥ *kalāṣah*) *somo agniḥ* (MŚ. *somadhānāḥ*)  
 TS. MŚ. ApŚ.

*srkṣāṇam gharman abhi vāvaśānā* RV. AV. N.: *trīn gharman abhi vāva-*

*lānā* AV. Tho the passages are obscure, there is little doubt that *gharma* is a ritualistic word, probably the pot in which the milk is heated (so Oldenberg *RVNoten*), or perhaps the hot milk itself (Bloomfield *SBE*. 42. 590 is doubtful which is meant).

[ā *dadhnaḥ kalāśair* (ApMB. *kalāśir*, MG. *kalāśam*) *aguh* (AG. ApMB. *ayan*, ŚG. *gaman*, PG. *upa*, HG. *ayann iva*, MG. *airayam*) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG. But see §412.]

§693. The drink soma and associated concepts. As for *agni* (§691), it is difficult to distinguish the drink from the god who is the drink. *ukthaśā yaja somānām* (AA.\* KŚ.\* ApŚ.\* MŚ.\* *somasya*) AA. (bis) KŚ. (bis) ApŚ. (ter) MŚ. (ter): *om ukthaśā yaja somasya* AA.

*somasyaḡgne* (ŚŚ.\* *somānām agne*) *vīhi* AB. GB. AŚ. ŚŚ. (bis) Vait. ApŚ. *suta indrāya vāyave*, ... *somo arṣati viṣṇave* RV.: *sutā indrāya vāyave*, ... *somā arṣanti* (SV. \**tu*) *viṣṇave* RV. SV. The *pāda suta indrāya vāyave* appears in PB. as a *pratīka*, and again in RV. followed by: *somāso dadhyāśirah*.

*te* (RV. \**sa*) *viśvā dāsuḡe vasu*, *somā* (RV. \**somo*) *divyāni pārthivā* RV. (bis) SV. The *trca* containing the plural is surrounded by *trcas* referring to *soma* in the sing. It may be suspected (cf. *RVRep.* on 9. 36. 4) that the plurals accompany a plurality in the ritual. *indra piba sutānām* RV.: *imam indra sutaḥ piba* RV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.

*ya ājagma* (N. \**muḥ*) *savane mū* (read in AV. *savanemā*, TS. KS. *savanedam*, N. *savanam idam*, VS. MS. ŚB. *ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣānāḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

*made suśipram* (SV. *maḡeṣu śipram*) *andhasaḥ* RV. SV. See VV 2 §839. [*pavamāna* (SV. \**nā*, misprint) *vidhharmaṇi* RV. SV.]

§694. Other materials offered, including ghee, *medas*, *māsara*, *iḡā*, *puraḡāśa*.

*toām agne pradiva āhutam ghṛtena* (RV. *ghṛtaiḥ*) RV. TB. ApŚ.

*achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtena* (AV. *ghṛtā cit*) AV. VS. TS. MS.

*ād id ghṛtena prthivī vy udyate* (AV. † *prthivīm vy ūduḥ*) RV. AV. MS.

KS. N.: *ād it prthivī ghṛtair vy udyate* TS.: *ghṛtena dyāvāprthivī vy undhi* (KS. *vyundan*) RV. KS.

*ghṛtam* (SV. *ghṛtā*) *vasānaḥ pari yāsi nirṇijam* RV. SV.

*srucājyāni juhvataḥ* AV.: *srucājyena juhvataḥ* TB. Poona ed. (Conc. with Bibl. Ind. ed. corruptly *srucānyena juhvata*).

*viśvebhya devebhya* (MŚ. \**bhyaḥ*) *usrānām chāḡnām meḡānām* (MŚ. *ch° m° usr°*) *vapānām medasām anubrūhi* (MŚ. *medaso 'nubrūhi*) ApŚ. MŚ. Also with *preḡya* for *anubrūhi*.



*candravapaṇor medasām anubrūhi* (and *preṣya*) ApŚ.: *hayasya chāgasyos-rasya candravapāṇām medaso 'nubrūhi* (and *\*śah preṣya*) MŚ.  
*medasaḥ* (VSK. *medasa*) *svāhā* VS. VSK. MS. TB.: *medobhayaḥ svāhā* VS.  
*asthi majjānaṁ māsaraiḥ* (MS. *māsaram*) VS. MS. KS. TB.  
*sajūr agnir vaiśvānara idābhīḥ* TS.: *sajūr vaiśvānara idayā* (VSK. *īlayā*)  
 VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.

*iṣam no mitravaruṇā kartaneḥām* AA.: *ūrjā mitro varuṇaḥ pinvateḥāḥ* SV.  
*avīrdhat puroḍāśena* (VSK. *\*vrdhata puroḍāśena*) VS. VSK.: *avīrdhanta*  
*puroḍāśaiḥ* (*\*lāśaiḥ*) VS. VSK. KS.: *avīrdhetām puroḍāśena* (AŚ.  
*\*ḍāśaiḥ*) MS. AŚ.

*agṛaṁ adya hotāraṁ . . . puroḍāśam* (*\*śān*) *grhnann* (*badhnann*, etc.) . . .  
 VS. VSK. MS. KS. TB. Six items, see Conc.

#### §695. Priestly personages and the yajamāna.

*somaś ca yo brāhmaṇāḥ* (TA. *\*yam*) *āriveśa* RV. AV. TA.  
*brāhmaṇaḥ* (MS. *brāhmaṇāḥ*) *bāntiḥ* MS. TA.  
*punar brahmāṇo* (AV. *brahmā*, Ppp. *brahmāṇo*) *vasunītha* (*vasuntīr*,  
*\*dhūtam*, *\*dhūte*) *yajñaiḥ* (*agne*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
*gīrbhīr viprah pramatim ichamānaḥ* (TB. *\*viprah . . . ichamānāḥ*) RV. MS.  
 KS. TB. (bis) AŚ.: *dhīrbhīr viprah pramatim ichamānāḥ* RV. MS.  
*sa indra stomavāhasām* (SV. *\*hasa*) *iha śrudhi* RV. SV.  
*mā te riṣaṇṇ upasattāro agne* (and, *upasattāro grhāṇāṁ śāle*) AV. (both):  
*mā ca riṣad upasattā te agne* VS. TS. MS. KS.  
*praitu hotuś camasaḥ pra brahmaṇaḥ prodgātīṇām* (ApŚ. MŚ. *prodgātuh*;  
 ApŚ. also *iha*, *prodgātīṇām*) *pra yajamānasya* (ApŚ. adds *pra sada-*  
*syasyā*) ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.  
*agnir dāivīnām* (ŚB. KS. *ha dāivīnām*) *viśām puractāyam* (MŚ. *\*yam*  
*sunvan*) *yajamāno manuṣyāṇām* ŚB. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnir dāivīnām*  
*viśām puracteme sunvanto yajamānā manuṣyāṇām* MŚ.  
*muñcemam yajñam muñca yajñapatim aśhasaḥ svāhā* KS.: *muñcemam*  
*aśhasaḥ* TS. TB.: *muñcemān amūn aśhasaḥ svāhā* AV.  
*śravase no maghonaḥ* (SV. *maghonām*) RV. SV.  
*tena yantu yajamānāḥ svasti* MS.: *tenaitu yajamānāḥ svasti* (KS. *\*ApŚ.*  
*svastyā*) TS. KS. (ter) ApŚ. On this plural see VV 1 p. 258.  
*nayanto garbhāṁ vanāṁ dhīyaṁ dhuḥ* RV.: *nayantaṁ gīrbhīr vanā dhīyaṁ*  
*dhāḥ* SV. See §399.

#### §696. The dakṣiṇā.

*yat pūrtam yāś ca dakṣiṇāḥ* VS. ŚB.: *yad dattam yā ca dakṣiṇā* TS.  
*dakṣiṇābhyah* (KSA. *dakṣiṇāyai*) *svāhā* TS. KSA.  
*rg vaśā brhadhrathantare garbhah praiṣanivido jarūya yajño vatso dakṣiṇā*  
 (ApŚ. *dakṣiṇāḥ*) *pīyūsaḥ* KS. ApŚ.  
*yajñaiś ca dakṣiṇā ca* (ApMB. *\*nāś ca dakṣiṇe*) ŚG. ApMB.

## §697. (2) Divine personages.

*yad devā devam ayajanta viśve* RV.: *yad devā devān haviṣayajanta* AV.

Different contexts; no specific god seems to be meant in RV.

*ādityam* (RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. *adityān*) *viṣṇuḥ sūryam* RV. AV. SV.

VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*nama ādityāya divikṣite lokasprte* (MU. \**smṛte*) KSA. MU.: *nama ādi-*

*tebhyaś ca viśvebhyaś ca devebhyo divikṣiddbhyo lokakṣiddbhyah* ChU.

*vi parjanyaḥ* (TS. \**yāh*) *srjanti* (MS. KS. *pra parjanyaḥ srjatām*) *rodasī*

*anu* RV. TS. MS. KS.

*dikṣāpālāya vanatām* (TB. \**pālebhyo 'vanatām*) *hi śakrā* TB. AŚ.

*āmanasya devā* (MS. \**va*) *yā* (MS. *yāh*, KS. *yās*) *striyāh* . . . TS. MS. KS.

*āmanasya devā* (MS. \**va*) *ye putrāh* (KS. *putrāsah*) . . . MS. KS.

*āmanasya devā* (MS. MŚ. \**va*) *ye saṁjātāh* . . . TS. MS. KS. MŚ. 'The god(s) of affection' seem to be nonce-gods, whose number of course is also invented for the occasion.

*vratāndām vratapate* (Kauś. \**layo*) *vratam acāriṣam* (MS. *acārṣam*) MS.

TA. Kauś.

*anu me dikṣām dikṣāpatir manyatām* (KS. *dikṣāpatayo manyadhvam*)

*anu* (ŚB. \**patir amanstānu*) *tapas tapaspatih* (KS. \**patayah*) VS.

TS. KS. ŚB. GB. Vait.: *anu ma idam vratam vratapater manyatām*

*anu dikṣām dikṣāpatir aṅjasa* MS.: *upa mā dikṣāyām dikṣāpatayo*  
*havyadhvam* MS.

*nīṣaṅgine* (HG. \**gibhyah*) *svāhā* ApMB. HG. *nīṣaṅgin* = Rudra; the plural = the Rudras, or Rudra's hosts.

*nīṣaṅgina upa sprṣata* HG.: *nīṣaṅgin upa sprṣa* ApMB.

*ārtavo 'dhipatir āsū* TS.: *ārtavā udhipataya āsan* VS. ŚB.: *rtavo 'dhipa-*  
*taya āsan* MS. KS. Perhaps better to be placed with §709.

*varūnām pavitram asi* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *vasoḥ pavitram asi*  
VS. KS. ŚB. KŚ.

*vasavaś cētisṭhan vasudhātaraś ca* AV.: *vasuś cetiṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca*  
VS. TS. MS. KS. The latter is original; Ppp. agrees with it (JAOS.  
42. 108).

*indraghoṣas* (MS. KS. \**ṣas*) *tvā vasubhiḥ purastāt pātu* (KS.† *tvā vasavaḥ*  
*pu<sup>o</sup> pāntu*, MS. *tvā purastād vasubhiḥ pāntu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.:

*indraghoṣā vo vasubhiḥ purastād upadadhatām* TA. The meaning of

*indraghoṣa* and the corresponding terms in the next two variants is uncertain; some sort of nonce-deity, or strained epithet of a deity.

The commentators suggest the gods that are appropriate to the directions named (Agni, Yama, Varuṇa respectively).

*manojavās teḥ pītṛbhir* (KS. *pītaro*) *dakṣiṇataḥ pātu* (KS. *pāntu*) VS. TS.



KS. ŚB.: *pitaras teḍ manojavā dakṣiṇataḥ pāntu* MS.: *manojavaso vah pītṛbhir dakṣiṇata upadadhatām* TA.

*pracelās teḍ rudraiḥ paścāt pātu* VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *rudrās teḍ pracetasah paścāt pāntu* MS.: *pracetā vo rudraiḥ paścād upadadhatām* TA.

*dhīṣaṇās teḍ devīr viśvadevyāvaśīḥ* (MS. *dhīṣaṇā teḍ devī viśvadevyavāśī*) *prthivyāḥ sadhasthe aṅgīrasvad* (TS. 'āṅgī<sup>2</sup>) *abhīndhatām* (MS.\* *abhīnddhām*, \**abhīndhātām*) *ukhe* VS. TS. MS. (bis) KS. ŚB. Cf. VV 1 p. 255.

*varātṛṣ teḍ* (KS. \**trīs teḍ*, TS. \**trayo janayas teḍ*) *devīr viśvadevyāvaśīḥ* . . . VS. TS. KS. ŚB.: *†varutṛī* (and *varū<sup>2</sup>*) *teḍ devī viśvadevyavāśī* . . . MS. (bis). Cf. *prec.*

*revatī predhā yajñapatīm ā viśa* MS. KS.: *revatī yajamāne priyaṁ dhā ā viśa* VS.† ŚB.†: *revatīr yajñapatīm priyadhāviśata* TS. ApŚ. The singular, according to ŚB., is Vāc. The plural is variously interpreted of different semi-deified entities.

[*ādakām khādena* TS.† KSA. No variant. The word is explained by TS. comm. as *bhakṣayitrī devatā*, as if 'eater'.]

§698. (3) Words meaning people, community, place, world, region, geographical terms, and the like.

*pra ṇo yacha bhuvas* (AV. *viśāṁ*) *pate* AV. TS.: *pra ṇo yacha* (KS. *rāva*) *viśas pate* RV. MS. KS.

*svastidā viśas* (AV. MahānU. *viśāṁ*) *patiḥ* RV. AV. ŚB. AdB. TB. TA. TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. VHDh.

*janāḥ ca mitro yātati bruvāṇaḥ* RV.: *mitro janān yātayati bruvāṇaḥ* (TS. ApŚ.\* *prajānan*, TB. ApŚ.\* *janān kalpayati prajānan*) RV. TS. KS. TB. AS. ApŚ. (bis) MS. N.

*janāya vṛkṭabarhiṣe* RV.: *janāso vṛkṭabarhiṣaḥ* RV.

*yakṣmā yantī janād* (AV. ApMB. *janāḥ*) *anu* RV. AV. ApMB.

*bhūmīr iti tadbhipramanvate janāḥ* (TS. *teḍ janā viduḥ*) AV. TS.: *yām teḍ jano bhūmīr iti pramandate* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*yah saṁgrāmān* (TS. MS. \**maṁ*) *nayati* (KS. *jayati*) *saṁ yudhe vaśī* (TS. MS. *saṁ vaśī yudhe*, KS. *saṁ vaśī yudhā*) AV. TS. KS. MS.

*sahsraśā sa yudha indro gaṇeṇa* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. KS.: *sahsraśāsu yutse indro gaṇeṣu* MS.

*trāyatām* (AV. *trāyantām*) *marutām gaṇaḥ* (AV. *gaṇāḥ*) RV. AV.

*akastihā vṛjanāḥ* (SV. *vṛjanā*) *rakṣamāṇaḥ* RV. SV.

*grāmān sajanāyo gachanti* ApMB.†: *grāmān sajātayo yanti* HG.

*vidmā te dhāma vibhṛtā purutā* RV. VS. ŚB.: *vidmā te sadma vibhṛtām purutā* TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

- sugā vo devāḥ sadanā* (N. *sadanam*, KŚ. Kauś. °*nāni*) *akarma* (MS. *kṛnomi*, KS. Kauś. *santu*) AV. VS. MS. ŚB. KŚ. Kauś. N.: *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS.: *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ. *sadanāni santu*) TS. ApŚ.
- ta āvayitrān sadanād itasya* (TS. *sadanāni kṛtvā*, KS.† *sadanāni rātri*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. (both) N.
- yeṣāṃ* (RVKh. *teṣāṃ*) *apsu sadas* (TS. ApMB. °*daḥ*) *kṛtam* RVKh. VS. TS. ŚB. NārU. ApMB.: *ye apsu sadānsi* (KS. °*psu sadānsi*) *cakrire* MS. KS.
- apām sadhiḥi sīda* TS.: *apām tvā sadhiḥi* (MS.† *sadhriḥu*) *sādayāmi* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.
- sadhastheṣu* (RV.\* *sadhasthe vā*) *maho divaḥ* RV. (bis) SV.
- etam sadhastha* (AV. KS. °*sthāḥ*) *pari te* (AV. KS. *vā*) *dādāmi* AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. *sadhastha* = *loka*.
- labhir vahaināṃ suktām u lokam* (TA. *vahemāṃ suktām yatra lokāḥ*) RV. AV. TA.: *vahāsi mā* (KS.† *vahānsi sū*) *suktām yatra lokāḥ* (KS.† *lokāḥ*) KS. TB. ApŚ.
- jātavedo vahemāṃ* (ŚŚ. *vahasvaināṃ*) *suktām yatra lokāḥ* (TA. *lokāḥ*) TA. ŚŚ.: *jātavedo nayā hy* (read *nayāsy?*) *enam suktām yatra lokāḥ* JB.
- śundhatām lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ* TS. ApŚ.: *śundhantām* (AV. *śumbhantām*) *lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ* AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.
- vi jihīṣva lokāṃ kṛṇu* (TA. *jihīṣva lokāṃ kṛdhi*) AV. TA.
- te brahmalokeṣu* (TA. °*loke tu*) *parāntakāle* TA. MahānU. MuṇḍU. KaivU.
- viduṣṭaro diva ārodhanāni* RV.: *videāṃ ārodhanam divaḥ* RV. KS.
- yasminn idam viśvam bhuvanam adhi śṛitam* TS.: *yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni* (MS. *viśvā bhuvanādhi*) *tasdhuh* RV. VS. MS.
- antarikṣasya dhartrīm viṣṭambhanīm diśām adhipatnīm bhuvanāndam* (MS. *diśām bhuvanasyadhipatnīm*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viṣṭambhani diśām adhipatni bhuvanāndam* TS.
- tvastēdam viśvam bhuvanam jajāna* VS. TS. KSA.: *tvastēmā viśvā bhuvanā jajāna* MS.
- sa idam viśvam* (TS. TB. *sa viśvā bhuvā*) *abhavat sa ābhavat* AV. TS. TB.: *sa viśvā bhuvā ābhavaḥ* RV. AV.
- sa viśvam* (AV. *viśvā*) *prati cakṣpat* (AV. °*pe*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.
- na tam vidātha ya imā* (TS. KS. *idam*) *jajāna* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N. *imā* = *bhuvanāni*; *idam* = *viśvam*, or the like.
- bhūtasya* (PB. *bhūtānām*) *jātaḥ patir eka āsīt* RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KSA. PB. ŚB. N.



*tena* (TS. *tayā*) *roham āyann upa* (AB. *rohān ruruhur*) *medhyāsah* AV.  
VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *roha* = *svarga*.

*svargam arvanto jayema* Vait.: *svargān* (AŚ. text, *svagān*) *arvanto jayata*  
(AŚ. *jayatah*) SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *svargān* (text *svagān*) *arvato jayati* AŚ.  
*abhimam* (TS. MŚ.† °*mām*, MS. MŚ. v. 1. °*mān*) *mahinā* (VS. °*mā*,  
delete MŚ. v. 1. in Conc.) *divam* (MS. *divah*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ.  
MŚ.

*sa rāji rocanā* (SV. *rocanam*) *divah* RV. SV.

*ye aprathethām amitā yojanāni* (ArŚ. *amitam abhi yojanam*) AV. ArŚ.

*vidānā asya yojanam* (SV. °*nā*) RV. SV.

*tredhā ni dadhe padam* (AV. MS. *padā*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS.  
ŚB. N. The adverb *tredhā* probably suggested the change to the  
plural.

*mṛtyoh padam* (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto*... RV. AV. TA. MG.

*parācīm* (RV. °*cīr*) *anu samivātam* (RV. °*taḥ*) RV. AV.

*ūrān* (SV. *ūrvam*) *dayanta gonām* RV. SV. VS.

*adhvāna skabhñta* (VS. *skabhñvantah*) VS. TS.: *vājam vājino jaya-*  
*tādhvānam* (KS. °*dhvānas*) *skabhñvanto yojanā mimānāḥ* MS. KS.  
(The MS. passage is entered in the Conc. also under *adhvānam*  
etc.): *vājino vājajito 'dhvāna* (VSK. *vājino vājam jayatādhvāna*)  
*skabhñusanto yojanā mimānāḥ kōṣṭhān gachata* VS. VSK. ŚB.

*agatyā vājy adhvānam* (TS. ApŚ. *adhvānah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.  
MŚ.

*adhvānām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me 'amin pathi devayāne bhūyāt*  
VS.: *adhvānām adhvapate svasti me 'dyāsmīn devayāne pathi bhūyāt*  
PB.: *adhvāno adhipatir asi svasti no 'dyāsmīn devayāne pathi stāi*  
(read *syāt*) ŚŚ.

*tirah purū cid arṇavam jaganvān* (SV. *arṇavān jagamyāḥ*) RV. AV. SV.

*ghṛtasya kulyām anu*... TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ghṛtasya kulyā upa* VS. VSK.

*kṣetrasya* (VS. TS. KS. *kṣetrāṇām*) *palaye namah* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*samā bhavantūdvato* (TS. °*valā*) *nipādāḥ* TV. TS. KS.

*antān pṛthivyā divah* TB. ApŚ.: *tad antāt pṛthivyā adhi* MŚ.

*vairātān anantān* (AV. *vairam anantam*) *ava sō padīṣṭa* RV. AV.

[*atrā* (AV. *atra*) *yamah sādānā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛnotu*) RV.  
AV.† TA. See §496.]

*hradās ca puṇḍarikāni* RV.: *hrado vā puṇḍarikavān* AV. 'Ponds (and)  
lotus-pools': 'a pond full of lotuses'.

*eṣa te janate rājā* MS. KS. MŚ.: *eṣa vo janatā rājā* ApŚ. This formula,  
used in the rājasūya ceremony, is meant to have the appropriate  
name of the tribe substituted for the collective *janatā*. In ApŚ.

the formula is preceded by actual formulas of the type: *ṣṣa raḥ pañcālā rājā*, and it is possible (as Keṭh suggests on TS. 1. 8. 10. 2. n. 6) that their plurals have produced the plural *janatāḥ* of this formula.

§699. (4) Words denoting living beings (plants, animals, men); and first, plants.

*antarikṣāya tvā vanaspataye* (KS. °*patibhyah*) KS. MŚ.

*vanaspatayā ulūkān* MS.: *vanaspatibhya ulūkān* VS.

*vanaspataye* (sc. *namah*) ŚG.: *vanaspatibhyah* (sc. *namah*) MG. MDh.

*vanaspataye svāhā* Kauś.: *vanaspatibhyah svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KS. KSA. TB. ApŚ.

*addhi tṛṇam aghnye viśvādānīm* RV. AV. KŚ. ApŚ. N.: *attu tṛṇāni* SMB.

GG., and cf. the other references in the Conc. under this last quotation, all of which have the plural.

*anūm* (AV. *anūn*) *babhasi* (ApŚ. *gabhasi*) *haritebhir āsabhīh* AV. KS. ApŚ.

*dūrva rohanu puṣpīṇīh* (AV. *rohanu puṣpīṇī*) RV. AV. Some mss. of AV., followed by comm. and SPP., read as RV., and Ppp. likewise, as reported by Whitney.

*śatamūlā śatāṅkurā* TA. MahānU.: *śatamūlāh śatāṅkurāh* MahānU.

The pādas refer to the *dūrva*-plant, singular or plural.

*avakām* (MS. KSA. *avakān*, but MS. p.p. *avakām*) *dantamūlāih* VS. MS. KSA. ŚB.

*aghadvijā devajūtā, vīruc chapathayopani* AV.: *atharevyujā devajūtā, vīru chapathajambhanīh* ApŚ. The ApŚ. is corrupt in this line, it undoubtedly intends a plural, as the verb of the following line shows. Caland translates as the singular, evidently using the AV. readings in part.

*adhā (athā) śatakratvo* (°*krato*, °*krato*) *yāyam*, see §229a. Plants are addressed everywhere in the plural, yet all texts have sing. *amba* in pāda 2; to this MS. KapŚ. assimilate the adjective.

§700. Animals. Here also some words denoting all living beings as a collective whole, and some pādas in which man is included in a list with other animals. The word *prajā* is placed in §702 below.

*jagatām* (MS. KS. *jagatas*) *pataye namah* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*ā vatso jagatā* (AG. *jāyatām*, PG. *jagadaiḥ*) *saha* AV. AG. PG. HG. MG.

ApMB. PG.'s *jagada* (cf. VV 2 §60) is said to mean 'attendant, companion'; then 'the calf with its companions.'

*gaur āvāh puruṣaḥ paṣuḥ* AV. TA.: *gām āvām puruṣam jagat* (AV.



*paśum*, RVKh. *āśvān puruṣān aham*) RVKh. AV. TA. MahānU.

ApMB. HG.: *gā āśvān puruṣān paśūn* MŚ.

*trayā gāni āśvān puruṣān* (HG. *gā āśvān puruṣān*) *sanema* AV. HG.

*ghṛtenāktau paśūni* (VSK. TS. KS. ApŚ. *paśum*) *trāyethām* VS. VSK.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*paśūn* (TS. *paśum*) *na gopā iryaḥ pariṣmā* RV. TS. KSA.

*oṣadhībhyah paśave no* (KS. MŚ. ApŚ. *paśubhyo me*) *janāya* (KS. MŚ.

ApŚ.† *dhanāya*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*askān gām rṣabho yuvā* KŚ.: *askān rṣabho yuvā gāh* TB. TA. ApŚ.

*yud amuṣṇītam avasān pañiḥ gāh* (TB. *goh*) RV. TB. See §505.

*upahūtā gāvah saharṣabhaḥ* ŚB.: *upahūtā dhenuḥ saharṣabhā* (AŚ. ŚŚ.†

*saharṣabhā*) TS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*nṛbhīr yataḥ kṛṇute nīrṇijān gāh* (SV. *gām*) RV. SV. *gāh (gām)* = milk.

*vatṣān jātām na dhenavaḥ* (SV. *mātaraḥ*, AV. *jātam irāghnyā*) RV. AV.

SV.

*payo grheṣu payo aghniyāyām* (TB. ApŚ. *aghniyāsu*) AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.:  
*payo aghniyāsu payo vatsesu* MŚ.

*maruḍm prṣatīr* (VSK. *prṣatīm*) *gacha* VS. VSK. ŚB.

*andhālīn* (TS. °he, KSA. °heḥ) *sthūlagudayā* (MS. *sthūrag*°, TS. KSA.

*sthūragudā*) VS.† TS. MS.† KSA.

*rabhiyasa* (MS. TB. Poona ed. °bhīyānsam) *iva kṛtī karad evam devo*

*vanaspatīr jūṣatām haviḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. The Hotṛ is to 'make

stronger' a number of sacrificial animals.

*tatraitām* (VS. KS. °tān) *prastutyevopastutyevopāvasrakṣat* VS. MS. KS.

TB. In the same passage as the preceding.

*babhravah saumyāh* VS. MS. ApŚ.: *babhruh saumyah* VS. TS. KSA.

*vīśvebhyo devebhyah prṣatān* (MS.\* °tah) VS. MS. (bis): *vīśveṣām devā-*

*nām prṣataḥ* VS.

*ākhuḥ rājyā śayāṇdakas te maitrāh* (KSA. ms. *śayāṇdakās te maitryāh*)

TS. KSA.: *śāryah rājyāh śayāṇdakas te maitrāh* VS. MS. Von

Schroeder emends KSA. to the TS. reading—with doubtful justice.

*kapota* (MS. °tā) *ulūkah śaśas te nīrṇiyai* (TS. KSA. *nairṇtāh*) VS. TS.

MS. KSA. The p.p. of MS. reads *kapotāh*; but despite this it is

probably only MS.'s peculiar sandhi for *kapotāh ulūkah*.

§701. Human beings. General words, such as *puruṣa*, *martya*, as

well as the word *mṛta* in one variant; also one variant involving a designation of an occupation, and one referring to men as 'sleeping' (*svapant*):

*mā hīnāḥ puruṣam jagat* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚvetU.: *mā hīnāḥ puruṣān*

*mama* NilarU.

*ajījano amṛta martyeṣu ā* (SV. *martyāya kam*) RV. SV.

*niveśayann amṛtaṁ martyaṁ* (TB. *amṛtān martyāṁś*) ca RV. VS. TS. MS. TB.

*jīvān ptebhyah* (read *mtebhyah*) *parinīyamānām* AV.: *mṛtāya jīvān parinīyamānām* TA.

*kunām kīndā abhi* (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS. *kīndā abhy etu*) *vāhaṁ* (AV. TS. *vāhān*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*yā svapantaṁ bodhayati* (HG. *svapatsu jāgati*) ApMB. HG. See §548.

§702. Words denoting family relationships, including *sakhi*, and *prajā* in its various meanings.

*suprajāḥ prajābhīḥ* (VS. *prajābhī*, ?misprint for *°bhīḥ*; VSK. *prajāyā*, ŚŚ. *prajābhīr*) *syām* (VSK. ŚŚ. *bhūyāsam*), . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *suprajāḥ prajābhīḥ syāma* (VSK. *prajāyā bhūyāsam*) . . . VS. VSK. ŚB.

*dive prthivyai tam ca prajāyai* (SV. *prajābhyah*) RV. SV.

*dhātā prajāyā* (AŚ. *prajānām*) *ula rāya tse* TS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. ApMB.

*prajā* (Vait. *prajāṁ*) *jinva* TS. KS. PB. Vait.

*prajābhyah svāhā* TS. KSA. TB.: *prajāyai svāhā* TB.

*prajāḥ* (AG. PG. *prajāṁ*) *prā janayāvahai* JUB. AG. PG.: *prajāṁ ā janayāvahai* AV.

*prajāḥ* (KapS. *prajāṁ*) *piparti bahudhā* (RV. VS. *pupoṣa purudhā*) *vi rājati* RV. SV. ArS. VS. MS. KS. KapS. ApS. Oertel 12.

*prajāpatir janayati prajā imāḥ* AV.: *prajāṁ dadātu* (KS. *pipartu*) *pari-vatsaro naḥ* MS. KS. ApS.: *prajāpati ramayatu prajā iha* KS.: *ā naḥ* (AV. *vām*) *prajāṁ janayatu prajāpatih* RV. AV. MS. KS. ApS. MŚ. AG. SMB. ApMB.

*prajāpatih prajāyā samraraṇaḥ* AV. VS. MS. JB. ŚŚ. MŚ.: *prajāpatih prajāyā* (Ppp. Vait. Kauś. *prajābhīḥ*) *smṛividānaḥ* Ppp. TS. KS. PB. TB. TA. MahānU. NṛpU. Vait. ApS. Kauś.

*garbhāṁ* (ŚŚ. *garbhān*) *dhātāṁ svastaye* TB. ŚŚ.

*sa naḥ piteva sūnave* (AV. KS.\* *putrebhyah*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. (ter) ŚB. The contexts are different.

*putraṁ pautram* (ApMB. HG. *putrān pautrān*) *abhitarpayantiḥ* AV. Kauś. ApMB. HG.

*piteva putram* (AV. Kauś. *putrān*) *abhi* (ŚG. *iha*) *rakṣatād imam* (VS. ŚB. *imān*) AV. VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚG. Kauś.: *piteva putram jarase ma imam* (Ppp. KS. HG. ApMB. *nayemam*) Ppp. MS. KS. HG. ApMB.

*vīraṁ* (VSK. *vīrān*) *videya tava devi* (TS. KS. TA. om.) *santudrī* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*vīraṁ dhātā* (AŚ. *vīraṁ me datta*, MŚ. *vīraṁ no datta*) *pitarah* AŚ. ApS.



MŚ.: *vīrān naḥ pītarō dhatta* ViDh.: *vīrān me pītarō* (also *tatā-mahā* and *pratālmahā*) *datta* Kauś.

*tatra paśyema pītarau ca putrān* (TA. *pītarān ca putram*) AV. TA.

*svadhā pītāmahāya* (Kauś. °*mahebhyaḥ*) AŚ. MŚ. Kauś. In the same texts with the same variation in number: *svadhā pītre* (pīṛbhyaḥ), and *svadhā prapītāmahāya* (°*mahebhyaḥ*).

*prapītāmahān bibharti pinvamānaḥ* (TA.† °*mahan bibharat pinvamāne*) AV. TA.

*syonam patye* (AV. *patibhyo*) *vahatum kṛṇuṣva* (AV. *kṛṇu tvam*) RV. AV. SMB. ApMB. MG. N.

*samrājñī śvaśure bhava* RV. ŚG. SMB. ApMB.: *samrājñy edhi śvaśureṣu* AV.

*o cit sakhāyaṁ sakhyā vavṛtyāṁ* RV. AV.: *ā teś sakhāyaḥ sakhyā vavṛtyuh* SV.

*pratīkṣante śvaśuro devarāś ca* AV.: *pratīkṣantām śvaśurō devarāś ca* ApMB. Change of gender also (§782). As to *devarāś* (°*rāś*), both are plural, one from stem *devr*, one from *devara* (correct Whitney's note).

§703. (5) Words meaning 'enemy', 'demon', 'evil', 'sin' (for the Hindu point of view that sin is of the nature of an external evil, see Bloomfield *Atharvaveda*, p. 83), 'disease', and the like. It is often difficult to distinguish between 'enemy' and 'demon', as in the case of the words *arāti* and *rakṣas*.

*ayam śatrūn* (KapŚ. *śatruṁ*) *jayatu* . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. KapŚ. ŚB. TA. AŚ. Oertel 76.

*bhīyaśam ā dhehī śatruṣu* (SV, *śatrave*) RV. SV.

*tādītā* (TB. Poona ed. *tādīkṇā*) *śatrum* (TB. *śatrūn*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB. *vivatse*, Poona ed. *vivitse*) RV. TB.

*dviṣantas tapyantām bahu* MŚ.: *dviṣan me bahu śocatu* TB. ApŚ.

*dviṣatām pāte anhasaḥ* RV.: *duritāt pāte anhasaḥ* AV. The reported reading of Ppp. is *dviṣatas pātu tebhyaḥ*.

*yavaya* (v. l. °*yā*) *dveṣo aśmat* MS.: *yāvayāśmad dveṣam* (v. l. °*ṣaḥ*) KS.: *yavayāśmad dveṣaḥ* (TA. *aghā dveṣāśi*) VS. TS. ŚB. TA. Kauś.

*dviṣantām* (AV. *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV. AV. *mahyaṁ*) *randhayan* RV. AV. TB. ApŚ.: *dviṣaś ca mahyaṁ radhyatu* AV.: *dviṣanto radhyantām mahyaṁ* MŚ.

*mā cāhaś dviṣate radham* AV.: *mā tv ahaś dviṣatām radham* MŚ.: *mo ahaś dviṣate* (TB. ApŚ. °*to*) *radham* RV. TB. ApŚ.

*avāham bādha upabhṛtā sapatnān* (KS. *dviṣantam*) KS. TB. ApŚ.

*ye no dviṣanty anu tām rabhasva* AV.: *yo no dviṣti tanūm rabhasva* MŚ.:  
*yo no dviṣty anu tam ravasva* (read *rabhasva*?) ApŚ.

*prayutaṁ dviṣaḥ* VS.: *prayutā dviṣāṇi* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. The VS. comm.: 'hostility is removed.' This may be the interpretation of the plural also; or both singular and plural may mean: 'the enemy (is) are destroyed.'

*mākim brahmaditiḥ* (SB. °*ṣam*) *vanah* RV. AV. SV.

*turyāma dasyūn tanūbhiḥ* RV.: *sāhyāma dasyuṁ tanūbhiḥ* SV. (Benfey's text has *dasyūn*. Is this a misprint for *dasyuṁ*? B. translates by a singular.)

(*yo nah suplān jāgrato vābhidaśād...*) *tām praṭico nirdaha jātavedaḥ* AV.:  
 (*agne yo no anti śapati yaś ca dūre...*) *tām pratyañcam saṁ dāha jātavedaḥ* ApŚ.

*mā tvā paripariṇo* (TS. *pariparī*) *vidan* (TS.† *vidat*, KS. *tvā paripariṇo vidan mā paripanthinaḥ*, MS. *tvā paripariṇo mā paripanthinaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*tvam tām agne menyāmenin kṛṇu svāhā* AV.: *tam agne menyāmenin kṛṇu* TB.: *tayāgne tvam menyāmum amenin kṛṇu* TB. Preceded in all three passages by a relative clause with *yo...* (*abhidāśati* (AV. *abhidāśati*) and various methods of attack in the instrumental.

*ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti* AV.: *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV.

*pra śakṣati pratimānaḥ prthivyāḥ* AV.: *pra śakṣate pratimānāni bhūri* RV. AV. N.

*amī ye viratā* (MS. °*taḥ*, KS. °*tās*) *sthana* (MS. *stha*) AV. MS. KS.:  
*asau yo vimanā janaḥ* RVKh.

*bhetlāraṁ bhaṅgurāvalaḥ* (VSK. °*lām*) VSK. TS.: *hantāraṁ bhaṅgurāvalām* (AV. °*taḥ*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. The precise nuance of meaning denoted by *bhaṅgurāval* is uncertain; 'treacherous' and 'destructive' have been suggested.

*śaphārujam* (AV. °*rujo*) *yena paśyasi yātudhānam* (AV. °*nān*) RV. AV.  
*utārebhānān ṛṣibhir yātudhānān* AV.: *ālebhānād ṛṣibhir yātudhānāt* RV.

See §495.

*yātudhānam kimīdinam* AV.: *yātudhānān kimīdināḥ* AV.

*amān kṛtyākṛto jahi* AV.: *ava kṛtyākṛtām jahi* (Ppp. *prati kṛtyākṛto dāha*) AV. Ppp.

*nī duryoṇa āvṛṇaṁ mṛdhravicaḥ* (and °*vācam*) RV. (both).

*varayādrātīḥ* (MS. Kauś. °*tim*, MS. p.p. and KS. *yārayārātīm*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś.

*sahasvārātīḥ* (MS. KS. °*tim*) *sahasva prtanāyataḥ* (TS. *sahasvārātīyataḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.



*suḡārhapatyō vidahann arātīḥ* (AV. *vitopann arātim*) AV. TB. ApŚ.  
*alakṣmīr* (RVKh. Scheft. °mīn, i.e. °mīm) *nāṣayāmy aham* RVKh. TAA.

Comm. on TAA. interprets by *alakṣmīm*.

*saṃjānāṣau vijahatām arātīḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *āprīnāṣau vijahatā arātim* MS.  
 KS.

*pratyusṣṭam rakṣaḥ pratyusṣṭā arāṭayaḥ* (MS. KS. *pratyusṣṭārātīḥ*) VS. TS.  
 MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. Kauś.

*hantī rakṣo bādhatē pary arātīḥ* (SB. °tim) RV. SV.

*nīrdagdḥā arāṭayaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *nīrdagdḥārātīḥ* MS. KS.

*parāpūtā* (VSK. *pratipūtā*) *arāṭayaḥ* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.:  
*parāpūtārātīḥ* MS. KS.

*avadhūtā arāṭayaḥ* (MS. KS. *avadhūtārātīḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.  
 ApŚ.

*sahasva nō abhimātīm* AV.: *sahasva me arātīḥ* VS.

*nī mitrayur arāṭin atārīt* MS. KS.: *vī mitra evair arātim atārīt* TS. TB.  
 Different words.

*bīṣṭe śrūge rakṣase* (AV. *rakṣobhyo*) *vinīkṣe* (KS. °nakṣe) RV. AV. TS.  
 KS. N.

*idam aham rakṣasām* (VSK. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. °so) *grīvā api kṛtāmi*  
 VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

*erjad dhārā ava yad dānavān haṃ* SV.: *erjo vī dhārā ava dānavam haṃ*  
 RV. N.

*tam ito nāṣayāmasi* RV. AV. MG.: *tān ito nāṣayāmasi* AV. Both *tam*  
 and *tān* refer to lists of demons and superhuman foes.

*apāṃ napāt pratirakṣann asuryam* (MS. °kṣad *asuryān*) VS. TS. MŚ.  
 KS. ŚB. *asuryam* is usually translated 'the demons' power.' Is  
 it not rather collective 'the demon(s)', with MS.'s variant referring  
 to the individual demons?

*apa protha* (AV. *sedha*) *duṇḍubhe duchunā* (AV. *duchunām*, TS. *duchu-*  
*nān*, p.p. °nān) *ūḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. *duchunā*, 'mis-  
 fortune', is perhaps personified as a demon.

*apasarasāv anu dattām ṛṇāṃ naḥ* (TB. TA. *ṛṇāni*) AV. TB. TA.: *apasa-*  
*rasām anudattānṛṇāni* MS. (p.p. *anu*, *dattāni*, *ṛṇāni*).

*enāṃsi cakṛmā vāyam* AV. VS. MS. KS. TB.: *enaś cakṛmā vāyam* TS.  
 KS. TB.

*cakṛma yac ca duṣkṛtam* AB.: *cakṛma yāni duṣkṛtā* KS. TA.

*yat kuśīdam apratīṭam* (*apratīṭam*, *apradattam*) *mayī* (*mayeha*) TS. MS.  
 TA. MŚ. SMB.: *yāny apāmītyāny apratīṭāny* (°tīṭāny) *asmi* TB.

ApŚ.: *apāmīyam apratīṭam yad asmi* AV.

*idam aham tam valagam* (MS. KS. *tān valagān*) *ut kirāmi* (VSK. TS.

MS. KS. ApŚ. *ud rapāmi*) . . . *yam* (*yān*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*atrisad vaḥ krimayo* (Ppp. *atrisat tvā krme*) *hanmī* AV. Ppp.: *atrinā tvā krime hanmī* TA. ApŚ.: *hatas te atrinā krimih* (GG. *krmiḥ*) SMB. GG.

*tā no amivām* (TB. *amivā*) *apabādhamānau* MS. TB.

*apāmivām* (TB. ApŚ. *apāmivā*) *apā rakṣānsi cedha* RV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*apa snehitā* (SV. *snihitā*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adadhrāḥ*, KS.† *nṛmanām adadhrām*) RV. AV. SV. KS. The meaning of the word *snehitā* or *snihitā* is uncertain; it appears clear, however, that it must be something dreaded.

*ava devānām yaḥa heḥa agne* (KS. *yaḥe hīdyānī*, MŚ. *yaḥe heḍyānī*) AV. KS. MŚ.: *agne devānām ava heḥa iyakṣva* (KS. *īkṣva*) KS. ApŚ.

*tasmīn pāśān pratimuñcāma dān* MS. KS.: *yam dviṣmas tasmīn prati muñcāmi pāśam* TS. ApŚ.

*adūtīḥ pāśam* (MS. KS. *pāśān*) *pra mumokts etam* (MS. KS. *etān*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*druhaḥ pāśān* (TS. KS. *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS. *śū*) *mucīṣṭa* (AV. *prati muñcatāḥ saḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

*ayasmayam vicrtā* (KS. *viṣṭā*) *bandham etam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayasmayān vicrtā bandhapāśān* AV.

[*indrānamitrām naḥ paścāt* (VSK. *\*itrām paścāt me*) AV. VSK. KS. The sole ms. of KS. reads *\*mitrān*, and so Cone.; but v. Schroeder is obviously right in emending to *\*itrām*.]

§704. (6) Words meaning a boon of some sort, such as 'aid', 'sustenance', 'food', 'wealth', 'bounty', etc.

*śataṁ bhavāsy ūtibhiḥ* (SV. VS.\* *ātaye*) RV. AV. SV. 2. 34c. VS. (bis, add in Cone. 27. 41e with *ūtaye*) MS. KS. TA. ApŚ.

*maghavañ* (*\*vañ*) *chagdhī tava tan na ūtibhiḥ* (SV. PB. TB. TA. ApŚ. *ūtaye*) TV. AV. SV. PB. TA. MahānU. ApŚ.

*vanemā te abhiṣṭibhiḥ* (SV. *\*āye*) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*sadā pāhy abhiṣṭibhiḥ* (*\*āye*) RV. (both).

*vyaciṣṭham annai* (TS. MS. KS. *annām*) *rabhasam dṛśānam* (TS.† KS. *vidānam*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*annānām* (MS. *annasya*) *pataye namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*śatām kumbhān aśiñcatām surāyāḥ* (and *madhūnām*) RV. (both).

*iṣam no mitrāvaruṇā kartaneḍām* AA.: *ūrjā mitro varuṇaḥ piveṇeḍāḥ* SV. *teṣām iṣṭānī sam iṣā madanti* RV. VS. TS. MS. N.: *saṁ no mahānī sam iṣo mahantām* KS.



*rāyo* (AV. *rayīm*) *devī dadātu naḥ* (AV. *dadātu me*) RV. AV.

*rāyo* (AV. *rayīm*) *dānāya codaya* RV. SV. AV. Grassmann considers *rāyo* genitive singular; Oldenberg, however, considers it accusative plural, and the AV. reading, tho its verse shows some corruption, bears out his view.

*te asmā* (KS. *'smā*) *agnāye* (ApŚ. MS. v. 1. *agnayo*) *draviṇam* (KS. *°ṇāni*) *dattvā* MS. KS. ApŚ.

*dhattād asmahyaṁ draviṇeha* (TS. ApŚ. *asmāu draviṇam yac ca*) *bhadram* TS. MS. ApŚ.

*tasya ta iṣṭasya vīṭasya draviṇeha bhakṣīya* TS.: *tasya na iṣṭasya pīṭasya draviṇehāgameḥ* VS.: *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vīṭasya draviṇehāgameyāt* MS.: *tasya meṣṭasya vīṭasya draviṇam ā gameyāt* (KS. *draviṇehāgameyāḥ*, ApŚ. *draviṇehāgameḥ*) TS. KS. ApŚ.: *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya vīṣṭasya draviṇam māgachatu* KS. (for the reading see VV 1 §104u). The first TS. passage has the plural, and MS. may possibly have a plural; see §346.

*ta ā yajanta draviṇam* (MS. KS.† *draviṇā*) *sam asmai* (MS. *asmin*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

*datto asmahyaṁ* (KS. *dattēyāśma°*, AŚ. *dattēyāśma°*, SMB, *dattāśma°*) *draviṇeha bhadram* AV. KS. AŚ. SMB.: *dadhatḥa no draviṇam yac ca bhadram* MS.

*aham dadhāmi draviṇam* (AV. *draviṇā*) *harizmate* RV. AV.

*dhṛṣṇave dhīyate dhanā* (SV. *dhanam*) RV. AV. SV.

*yo devakāmo na dhanā* (AV.\* *dhanam*) *ruṇaddhi* RV. AV. (bis).

*maho ye dhanam* (MS. KS. *dhanā*, TS. *ratnam*) *samitheṣu jabhīre* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*dadhad ratnam* (AŚ. *ratnā*) *dukṣam pītṛbhyu* (AŚ. ŚŚ. *dukṣapītṛbhyu*) *āyuni* (AV. *āyūṇāṣi*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*pra rādhasā codayāte* (SV. *rādhasi codayate*) *mahitvanā* RV. SV.

*soma rādhasām* (TS. *°ād*) TS. MS. KS.

*pūṣā santinām* (TS. ApŚ. *sanyā*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*dyumnānā sudatra māṇhaya* SV.: *dyumnā sukṣatra māṇhaya* RV.

*ayam* (AŚ.\* *aham*) *vājam* (VS. VSK. ŚB. *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ.\* *jayāmi*) *vījasyātou* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. (bis).

*īriyam ca lakṣmīm ca puṣṭīm* (TAA.\* *īrīś ca lakṣmīś ca puṣṭīś*) *ca kīrtim cūṇṇyatām brahmaṇyam bahuputrātām* TAA. (bis): *īrīś ca puṣṭīś cūṇṇyam brahmaṇyam bahuputrinam* MahānU.

*tayāham śāntiyā sarvaśāntiyā mahyam dvipade catuṣpade ca śāntim karomi* TA.: *tābhiḥ śāntibhiḥ sarvaśāntibhiḥ śamayāmy aham* AV.: *teyāham śāntiyā sarvaśāntiyā mahyam dvipade ca catuṣpade ca śāntim karomi* MS.

- śādhāgnih na bheṣajam* (MS. \**jaiḥ*) VS. MS. TB.  
*śādhā vanaspatiḥ priyaḥ pātho na bheṣajam* (MS. \**jaiḥ*) VS. MS. TB.  
*hiranyena varcāśī* (KSA. *varcaḥ*) KS. KSA.  
*ataś ca viśeṣā* (MuṇḍU.† *sarvā*) *oṣadhayo rasāś* (MuṇḍU. MahānU.† *rasaś*, MahānU. v. l. *rasāś*) ca TAA. MahānU. MuṇḍU.  
*divo dhārā* (KS. \**rām*) *asakata* TS. MS. KS.  
*ānandā modāḥ pramudaḥ* AV.: *ānando moṣaḥ pramodaḥ* TB.: *modaḥ pramoda ānandaḥ* TB.  
*sugebhīr* (AV. *sugena*) *durgam atītām* RV. AV. SMB. ApMB.  
*atho ariṣṭatālaye* RV. AV. PB.: *atho ariṣṭatātībhiḥ* RV. AV.  
*marmāṇi te varmaṇā* (TS. *varmabhiḥ*) *chādayāmi* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.  
*vibhūḥ kāmāḥ* (VS. *vibhūn kāmān*) *vy aśya* (VS. KS. TB. *aśnavai*) VS. MS. KS. TB.  
*anu aśvair anu sarveṇa* (TB. ApŚ. *sarvair u*) *puṣṭaiḥ* VS. TB. ApŚ. In VS. *sarveṇa* is paraphrased by the comm.: *anyenāpi kāmēna*. In TB. ApŚ. we may have merely the plural of this, or *sarvair* may agree with *puṣṭaiḥ* (so TB. comm. and Caland). In the latter case this is an instance of number attraction.  
*pūṣṭi śvāhākdraiḥ* (TA. *svagākdraṇa*, KS. ApŚ. *svagākdraiḥ*) MS. KS. TA. ApŚ.  
*ubhā hi hastā varuṇā prasaśa* VS. TS. ŚB.: *hastau prasaśa bahubhīr vasaryaiḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS.  
*ūrjam puṣṭam vasa ārelāyanti* AV.: *viśvā rūpāṇi vasaṇy ārelāyanti* TS.  
*saḥ patnī patyā sukrteṣu* (TB. ApŚ. *sukṛtena*) *gachatām* MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. This and the following variants are not quite at home under this heading but may be placed here better than elsewhere.  
*tad anu preta sukrātām u lokam* VS. ŚB.: *tam anu prehi sukratasya lokam* TS. KS. Cf. pree.; tho *sukṛt* and *sukṛta* are distinct words, the phrases in which they appear with *loka* are equivalent.  
*tābhyāṁ* (MS. KS. *add vayan*) *patema sukrātām u lokam* (Kauś. *pathy-āma sukratasya lokam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Kauś. Cf. pree.  
*chandobhīr yajñaiḥ sukrātām kṛtena* AV.: *brahmanā guptaḥ* (ApMB. *sampricānaś*) *sukṛtā kṛtenā* HG. ApMB. Here *sukṛt* 'righteous man' is personal in both forms of the variant, which strictly speaking does not belong here; cf. the preceding three, and see §580.

§706. (7). Words meaning act of heroism, power, rulership, majesty, fame, ordinance, and the like.

*pra tad viṣṇu* (*viṣṇuḥ*, *viṣṇus*) *stavate vīryeṇa* (AV. *vīryāṇi*, TB. ApŚ. *vīryāya*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. NṛpU.



*ita indras tiṣṭhan vīryam akṛṇod devatābhīḥ samārabhya* MS.: *ita indro akṛṇod vīryāni* TS. TB.: *ita indro vīryam akṛṇot* VS. KS. ŚB. *haviṣā yajña* (TB. *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS. °*yaiḥ*) VS. MS. KS. TB. *svāhā somam indriyam* (MS. °*yaiḥ*) VS. MS. TB.

*rudrasya gāṇapatyaṇ* (VS. ŚB. °*yam*, KS. °*ye*) *mayobhūr chi* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In MS. probably acc. pl., tho in TS. abl. sg.; see §§495, 526.

*ghṛtavati samitar* (MS. KS. °*tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °*tyaiḥ*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Phonetic in character; as are also the following; VV 2 §706.

*mitrāvaruṇā rakṣatam ādhipatyaiḥ* (AŚ. °*tye*) TS. KS. MS. AŚ.

*ave dakṣe* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha śīda* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhāraya* (KS. *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS. KS.: *asmin rāṣṭram adhiśraya* TS.

*sa teḍ rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu* AV.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhītām* (read °*tām*) *dadhātu* TB.

*tad akyūma tava radra pranītau* (RV.† KS. °*nītiṣu*) RV. TS. KS.

*ut parjanasya dhāmabhiḥ* (MS. *dhāmnā*, TS. TA. ApMB. *kusmeṇa*, KS. *erṣṭyā*, PG. *drṣṭyā*) VSK. TS. MS. KS. TA. AŚ. PG. ApMB.

*ko asya dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭiḥ* AV.: *kati dhāmāni kati ye rivāsāḥ* MS. See §269.

*etāveṇ* (ArS. ChU. *tāveṇ*) *asya mahimā* RV. VS. TA. ArS. ChU.: *tāvanto asya mahimānaḥ* AV.

*abhi śravobhiḥ pṛthivīm* RV.: *uta śravasā* (MS. *śravasa ā*) *pṛthivīm* VS. TS. MS. TA.

*vyānabhiḥ* (SV. °*āi*) *pavase soma dharmabhiḥ* (SV. *dharmajā*) RV. SV.

*dyām* (AV. *diwām*) *ca gacha pṛthivīm ca dharmajā* (AV. *dharmabhiḥ*) RV. AV. TA.

*ā jāgrūr vipra rā* (SV. *ṛtam*; PB.† *ṛtam*, misprint for *ṛtam*?) *maśinām* RV. SV. PB.

*ṛtam* (RV. *ṛtā*) *vadanto anṛtam rapema* RV. AV.

*pitre putrāso apy avīratann ṛtam* (AV. *ṛtāni*) RV. AV.

*vratam rakṣanti viśvāḥ* AV.: *vratā dadante aigneḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.: *vratā rakṣante viśvāḥ* RV.

*mama vaśesu hṛdayāni rah kṛṇomi* AV.: *mama vrata te hṛdayam* (AG. ŚG. *vrata hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG. *dadhātu*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.: *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu* HG.

*kṣatram* (TA. ApŚ. *kṣatrāṇi*) *dhāraya* VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ.

*brahma* (MS. *asme brahmāni*) *dhāraya* VS. MS. ŚB.

*naras tokasya tanayasya sātāu* (and *sātiṣu*) RV. (both).

*edim te sandhī viśtam reto.* . . MS. KS.: *vibasya te vikārato.* . . *vīśa retāsi.* . . TS.

*nīcā uccā svadhayābhi pra tastau* Ppp. TS. KS.: *nīcā uccāiḥ svadhā abhi pra tastau* AV. But the interpretation of *svadhā(h)* is doubtful, both as to its meaning and its form; see §474.

§706. (8). Words denoting various abstract concepts.

*aty acittim aty arātim agne* (MS. KS. *ati nirṛtim adya*) VS.† TS.† MS. KS.: *aty acittir ati drīṣaḥ* AV.

*amīśāṁ cittaṁ pratilobhayanti* (AV. *cittāni pratimohayanti*) RV. AV. SV. VS. N.

*mama cittaṁ anu cittebhir da* AV.: *mama cittaṁ cittenānvehi* HG.

*brāhmaṇena vācam* (KS. *vācaḥ*) TS. KS. KSA.

[*vācā mendriyēnāriṣa* (KS. *vācāṁ indr°*) TS. KS. MŚ. But see §589.]

*bṛhaspatir vācām* (VS. ŚB. °ce) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*śīle ca* (v. l. *śīleṣu*) *yac ca pāpakam* SMB. (The Conc. records the text as reading *śīleṣu*.)

*bhīyo* (AV. *bhīyam*) *dadhānā hṛdayeṣu śatravaḥ* RV. AV.

*sakhā sakhyur na pra mināti saṁgīram* (AV. °rah) RV. AV. SV.

*indro jyaiṣṭhānām* (MS. KS. *jyaiṣṭhyānām*, VS. ŚB. *jyaiṣṭhyāya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG.

*pitā virājām ṛṣabho rayīnām* TB.: *vatso virājo ṛṣabho matīnām* AV.

*namas* (KS. NīlarU. *namāsi*) *ta āyudhāya* VS. MS. KS. NīlarU. MŚ. BṛhPDh.

*deva savitāḥ traṁ dikṣāyā* (KS. *dikṣānām*) *dikṣāpatir asi* MS. KS.

*ud rathānām jayatām yantu ghoṣāḥ* (TS. *jayatām etu ghoṣaḥ*) RV. SV.

VS. TS.: *ud virānām jayatām etu ghoṣaḥ* AV.

*īriyo* (AV. TB. *īriyam*, Ppp. *īriyo*) *vasānāḥ caratī marociḥ* (TB. °cāḥ)

RV. AV. Ppp. VS. KS. TB.

*asmākena vṛjanenā jayema* RV. AV.: *ariṣṭāso vṛjanibhir jayema* AV.

*saṁ ākūtīr* (RVKh. Scheftelowitz °tīm, Conc. with Aufrecht °tīr) *namā-*

*masi* (RVKh. Scheft. *munāmasi*, MS. *anaṣata*) RVKh. AV. MS.

*saṁānī va ākūtīḥ* RV. AV. TB. AG.: *saṁānā vā* (KS. *va*) *ākūtāni* MS. KS. MG.

*saṁpakṣyan pañktīr* (AV. *pañtim*) *upatiṣṭhamānaḥ* RV. AV. The meaning of the whole verse is obscure; we suspect meter-names, in which case this would belong in §690 above.

*akṣitīś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS.: *kuyavam* (MS. v. l. *kū°*) *ca me 'kṣitīś* (VS. *'kṣitam*) *ca me* VS. MS. KS.

§707. (9). Words denoting parts of the body and physiological or psycho-physical entities.



*suṣadā yonau svāhā vā* (TS. TB. *yonīm svāhā*) VS. TS. ŚB. TB.: *suḍhīn yonīm suṣadām prthivīm* (ms. °vā) KS. See §550.

*sañ vāh ṣṛjāmi hṛdayāni* (KS. °yam, MŚ. °yāni vāh) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *mama vāheṣu hṛdayāni vāh kṛṇomi* AV.: *mama vrate te hṛdayaṁ* (AG. ŚG. *vrate hṛdayaṁ te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG. *dadhatu*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.: *mama hṛdaye hṛdayaṁ te astu* HG.

*prati prāṇesu* (SMB. *prāṇe*) *prati tiṣṭhāmi puṣṭe* (SMB. *puṣṭau*, MS. *tiṣṭhāmy ātman*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. SMB. HG.

*prāṇaḥ* (MS. *prāṇān*, p.p. *prāṇaḥ*) *na vīryaṁ naśi* VS. MS. TB.

*prāṇā* (MahānU. *prāṇo*) vā āpāḥ TA. MahānU. All Jacob's mss. but one *prāṇā(h)*.

*traṣṭā rūpāni* (AŚ. *rūpeṇa*) *samanaktu yajñaiḥ* (AŚ. *yajñam*) ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.

*traṣṭur ahaṁ devayajyayā paśūnām rūpaṁ puṣeyam* (MŚ. *dev° sarveṇi rūpāni paśūnām puṣeyam*) TS. MŚ.

*nakṣatrāni rūpeṇa* (TS. KSA. *pratirūpeṇa*, MS. *rūpaiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*māṁsāya* (VS. *māṁsebhyah*) *svāhā* VS. TS. KSA.

*nā māṁseṣu na mndvasu* ApMB.: *neva māṁse na pībasi* AV.: *naiṣa māṁsena pīvari* PG. The reading of PG. is clearly a corruption of AV.; see §611.

*śaṁ te parebhyo gātrebhyah, śaṁ aste avarebhyah* VS. TS. KSA.: *śaṁ me* (Ppp. *te*) *parasmai gātrāya, śaṁ aste avarāya me* (Ppp. *parāya te*) AV. Ppp.

*niśtrya* (MS. *praśtrya*) *kalyānām mukhā* (MS. KS.† *mukham*) VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. *mukha* is used figuratively: 'the point(s) of the arrows.'

*kiprāḥ śīrṣaṇ hiraṇyayāḥ* RV.: *kiprāḥ śīrṣasu vitatā hiraṇyayāḥ* RV. See RVRep. on 5. 54. 11.

*valmīkān klomnā* (VS. *klomabhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KSA.

*marīcīr vipruḍbhiḥ* (MS. °*pruṣṭā*) VS. MS.

§708. Also the word *tanū*.

*kṣātrasya teḍ paraspāya brahmaṇas tanvaṁ pāhi* VS. ŚB.: *brahmaṇas teḍ paraspāyāḥ* (MS. °*pāya*) *kṣātrasya tanvas pāhi* MS.

*tena cīndnas tanvo* (TS. *tanuvo*, MS. *tanvam*) *nī ṣṭida* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*tan naś trāyatām tanvaḥ sarvato* (ApŚ. *tan no vīkato*) *mahat* KS. ApŚ.: *tan me tanvaḥ trāyatām sarvato bṛhat* AV.

*yathāvaśaṁ tanvaṁ* (AV. °*vah*) *kalpayasva* (AV. VS. *kalpayāti*) RV. AV. VS.

*yat kin ca* (KS. *cī*) *tanvo* (TS. *tanuām*) *rapaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *ghṛteṇa traṇ tanvaṇ* (TS. *tanuṇo*) *vardhayaṣva* RV. VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The 'body' or 'bodies' belong to a plurality of persons; hence the secondary plural in TS. instead of the generalizing sing.

§709. (10). Seasonal and meteorological.

*ahā* (AV.\* *ahar*) *mimāno aktubhiḥ* TV. AV. (bis) ArS. N.

*sūro ahnām prataritā uṣasām divaḥ* AV.: *soma ahnaḥ* (SV. *ahnām*) *prataritoṣaso* (SV. \**sām*) *divaḥ* RV. SV.

*sajār abdo* (MS.\* *abḍā*) *āyavobhiḥ* (TS. ApŚ. \**yāvabhiḥ*, MS.\* MŚ. *āyavabhiḥ*, MS.\* KS. *āyavobhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS.\* KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.—MS. 3. 4. 4 reads *abdo āyavobhir*, error or misprint for *abḍā āya°* or *abdo āya°*.

*samvatsareṇa savitā no ahnām* (MS. *ahnā*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Case- and number-attraction; see §585. Similar are the two following:

*trivṛṇ no viṣṭhaya* (KS. *trivṛd viṣṭhaya*) *stomo ahnām* (MS. *ahnā*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*mitravaruṇā śaraddahnām* (MS. \**hnā*) *cikittā* (MS. *cikittam*, KS. *jigatnā*, AŚ. *cikittam*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ.

*śaradbhyaḥ* (ŚG. *śarade*) *svāhā* TS. KSA. ŚG.

*ṛtuḥ ca me vṛtaṁ ca me* TS.: *vṛtaṁ ca ma ṛtavaḥ ca me* VS.

*samā* (VS. KS. *samās*) *ca mā* (VS. KS. *mā*) *indrak ca me* VS. MS. KS.

*samā* (VS. TS. *samās*) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. KS. has v. l. *samāk*.

*uṣasāḥ śreyasāḥ-śreyasāḥ dadhat* TB. ApŚ. (TB. Poona ed. reads as ApŚ.; so read): *uṣām-uṣām śreyasām dhehy asmai* AV.

*hiraṇyavarṇam* (RV. *hiraṇyarūpam*) *uṣaso vyuṣṭau* RV. MS. KS. MŚ.: *hiraṇyarūpā uṣaḥ viroke* VS. ŚB.: *hiraṇyavarṇas uṣasām viroke* TS. TB.

*rathā āśvāsa uṣaso vyuṣṭau* (and *vyuṣṭiṣu*) RV. (both). 'At the first light(s) of dawn.'

*jyotiṣaṁ na prakāśate* RVKh.: *na jyotiṁṣi cakāśati* Suparṇ.

*vāta* (MS. *vātaḥ*, KS. *vātas*) *spṛtaḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *vāta spṛtāḥ* TS.

*māsas* (TS. *māsām*) *caturthaḥ* TS. KSA. Gens.

*miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma* RV.: *mahī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV.

*abhīpato vṛṣṭyā* (RV. *vṛṣṭibhis*) *tarpayantam* RV. AV. TS. KS.

*dūṣikābhīr hrādunīm* (KSA.† *hrad°*) TS. KSA.: *hrādunīr dūṣikābhīḥ* VS. MS. 'Hail-stones (we gratify) with the rheum of the eyes.'

*aśrubhiḥ prṣvām* (KSA. *pruṣvām*) TS. KSA.: *pruṣvā aśrubhiḥ* VS. MS. 'Hoar-frost (we gratify) with tears.'

*vi śloka eti* (AV. *eti*, TS. ŚvetU. *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS. *patheva*)



*sūreḥ* (AV. MS. † *sūriḥ*, TS. ŚvetU. *sūrāḥ*, KS. † *sūrah*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. In KS., 'as the sun on its path'; TS. ŚvetU. have 'successive suns', i.e. the sun day by day.  
*sa śukrebhāḥ śikvabhī* (TS. *śukreṇa śikvanā*) *revad asme* (TS. MS. *agnih*) RV. TS. MS.

§710. (11). Utensils and other articles, not including those used in the ritual.

*vī te muñcāmi rābandm* AV.: *vī te muñcāmi rābandm* (TS. °nā) *vī rāsmīn* TS. MS. KS. MŚ. MG.

*ā rāsmīn* (RV. *rāsmīm*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yuvase*) *svāśvān* (RV. TB. *svāśvāḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

*rathe akṣeṣu vṛabhasya* (KS. TB. *akṣeṣu vṛṣṇ*) *vāje* AV. KS. TB.: *ratheṣu akṣeṣu vṛabharājāḥ* ViDh.

*āntrāṇi sthālir* (KS. TB. *sthālī*) *madhu pinvamānāḥ* (KS. TB. *pinvamānā*) VS. MS. KS. TB.

*jāmi bruvata āyudham* (SV. °dhā) RV. AV. SV. The reference is to Indra's weapons.

*yaḥ puruṣe yo āsmanī* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *ye puruṣe ye āsmanu* AV. (Ppp. as the others.)

*ā teḍ pariśrutāḥ* (MG. *pariśrutāḥ*, PG. ApMB. *pariśrutāḥ*) *kumbhāḥ* (ApMB. † °bhāḥ) AG. PG. MG. ApMB. Cf. *pārṇān pariśrutāḥ kumbhān* ŚB., in an entirely different context.

§711. (12). In a number of interesting cases of variation between singular and plural, the plural is of the type known as plurale tantum. E.g. *grīvā* is probably originally used in the plural only, 'the joints of the neck', and the singular 'neck' is later, and developed from the plural. So also *gr̥hā* is the plural 'the apartments of the house', *vāra* in the plural 'the hairs which make up the sieve', *śmaśru* in the plural 'the hairs making up the beard'. In these latter cases the evidence of the oldest texts does not support a dogmatic assertion that the plural usage is more original than the singular, but on a *priori* grounds it is probable that the use of the singular grew out of the use of the plurale tantum rather than vice versa. The psychology underlying such a development is parallel to that demonstrated in the preceding sections, which causes variation between generic singular and specific plural. In fact, some of the cases treated above are not far removed from those collected here; e.g. those involving *lokāḥ*, *rakṣāṇsi*, etc. See §716 for pronouns referring to nouns of this class.

*ānāgā devāḥ śakuno vṛheṣu* (AV. *gr̥ham nāḥ*) RV. AV. Ppp. MG.

*indrasya grho* 'si... AV. TB. TA.: *indrasya grhā vasumanto*... ApMB.

PG.: *indrasya grhāḥ śivā*... ŚG.

*mā te grhe* (SMB. *grheṣu*) *niśī ghoṣa utthāt* SMB, ApMB, HG.

*grīvāyām* (KS. *grīvāsu*) *badhho apikakṣa āsanī* (MS. *apīpakṣa āsan*) RV.

VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB, N.

*pra śmaśru* (SV. *śmaśrubhīr*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhāt* (SV. *ūrdhvadhā bhuvat*) RV, SV.

*avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV.\* *vārāḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* RV, SV. (bis).

*avyo vāre* (SV. *avyā vārāḥ*) *pari priyam* RV, SV.

*vārdān* (SV. *vārdān*) *yat pūto atyēṣy avyān* (SV. *avyam*) RV, SV.

*astam* (SV. *astā*) *rājeva satpatīḥ* RV, SV. The plural of *asta* is unusual if not isolated; it is likely to be due to thought of the use of *grha* in the plural.

*apo* (udno) *dattodadhīm bhīnta* (dehy *udadhīm bhīndhī*), see §502. Here

TS, KS, have the sing. stem *udan*, the others the plurale tantum *ap* (acc. pl.).

§712. (13). Adjectives and pronouns, without clearly expressed noun. Here we include cases of substantially equivalent singular and plural forms of pronouns and adjectives, referring to entities not clearly expressed in the context. Psychologically they belong with the preceding sections dealing with nouns. Thus in the first variant *sōma*, singular or plural, is referred to (cf. §693). Since the *trca* containing the plural passage is surrounded by *trcas* with singular, it is possible that some ritualistic plurality is concerned in the change of number (cf. *RVRep.* on 9. 36. 4, and *te[sa] vishvā* etc., §693); yet the mere change in number is, in the light of the numerous other changes of the same sort adduced here, not enough to prove it:

*tumbhamānā* (RV.\* *°na*) *ṛtāyubhīḥ* RV. (both) SV.: *mṛjyamānā* (and *°no*) *gabhastayoh* RV, SV. (both in each).

§713. So in the next, the 2d person pronouns are addressed to the sacrificial fire or fires; the sing. to the *āhavanīya* alone, the plural perhaps to the three sacred fires (but cf. our remarks §686):

*ned eṣa yuṣmad* (TS, TB. *tvad*) *apacētayātai* TS, MS, TB, MŚ.: *eṣa net tvad apacētayātai* VS, KS, ŚB. But MS, MŚ. use singular pronouns, with the same reference, in the rest of the stanza.

§714. Similar are the following, where reference is to various sorts of entities:

*atho* (TS, MS. *athā*) *yūyam stha* (MS, KS. *tvam asi*) *niṣkṛtīḥ* (TS. *samk°*, MS. *samkṛtīḥ*, KS. *niṣkṛtīḥ*) RV, VS, TS, MS, KS. Addressed to plants, or a plant; plurals occur in the rest of the stanza.



*asmadrātā* (TS. *asmaddātrā*, MS. ŚŚ. add *madhumatīr*, KS. *madhumatī*) *devatrā gachata* (KS. *gacha*, TS. adds *madhumatīh*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Addressed to *dakṣiṇā*, sg. or pl. (cf. §696); see VV 1 p. 256.

*mā vo riṣat* (Kauś. *te riṣan*) *khanitā, yasmai cāhaṁ khaṇāmi vaḥ* (Kauś. *ca tvā khaṇāmasi*) RV. VS. TS. Kauś.: *yasmai ca tvā khaṇāmy aham* VS. To plant(s).

*jyotiṣā tvā* (TB.\* ApŚ. *vo*) *vaiśvānareṇopatiṣṭhe* TB. (both) AŚ. ApŚ. To the fire.

*taṁ vo* (MS. *te*) *grhṇāmy* (MS. *grbhṇāmy*) *uttamam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. To one or perhaps all five of the cups (*graha*).

*devatābhyas tvā devavīṭaye grhṇāmi* KS.: *devavīṭaye* (MS. *°vīṭyai*) *tvā* (KS. *vo*) *grhṇāmi* TS. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. To the oblation.

*adityās tvopasṭhe sādāyāmi* TS. MS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *adityā va upasṭhe sādāyāmi* MS. MŚ. To the oblation.

*śchetis te* (TB. ApŚ.\* *vo*) *mā riṣam* (*riṣat, mārṣam*) TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. (both) MŚ.

§715. Pronouns referring to collective nouns may either be singular if the collectivity is more prominent in the mind, or plural if the speaker is thinking of the individuals which compose it; cf. §836. Thus:

*yucan tām* (SV. *ubhau tām*) *indra vtrahan* AV. SV. Reference is to *senā* 'army'; but AV. thinks of the individual men who make it up. To be sure the AV. comm. reads *tām*, and Whitney would emend to this, but it seems to us unnecessary.

§716. The converse of this is the use of a singular pronoun referring to a plurale tantum, conceived as a single entity. Thus:

*samudrasya vo 'kṣitṛā* (VS. ŚB. *tvā'kṣitṛā*) *un naye* (VS. ŚB. *nayāmi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. In the same ritual context, referring to water (*āpaḥ*); hence plural in most texts, but the Vāj. school uses a singular, thinking of the water-libation as a single thing.

§717. So adjectives of indefinite reference, especially *anya* and *sarva*, may be used in either number without essential difference (cf. also the indefinite neuter, §727):

*anyāns* (TS. AŚ. *anyam*) *te asmat tapantu hetayaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ.

*anyam asman* (MS. *anyāns te asman*, KS. *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. If *anye* is sound, it can be nothing but a Prakritic acc. pl.; cf. Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Spr.* 425, 433 (and for nouns, 367a).

*sarvaṁ taṁ bhāsmasā* (TS. ŚB. *masmasā*) *kuru* VS. TS. ŚB.: *sarvāns tām*

*mṣmṣā* (KS. TA. *maṣmaṣā*) *kuru* MS.† KS. TA.: *sarvān nī maṣma-  
ṣākaram* AV.

*yat teḍ kruddhāḥ pracakruḥ* AV.: *yat teḍ* (KS. *te*) *kruddhāḥ parovapā*  
(KS. ms. °*nīpa*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. 'If angry ones have  
thrown thee out': 'if I in anger have (KS. ms. if an angry one has)  
thrown thee out.' The other texts state bluntly what AV. puts  
diplomatically, using the indefinite third person so as not to admit  
in words the sin which it really implies. It is the speaker, never-  
theless, who is conceived as the doer of the act, even in AV. Cf.  
VV 1 §315.

§718. Other cases show pronouns or adjectives referring to the per-  
son or persons, not definitely expressed, on whose behalf the rite is being  
performed:

*pātainaḥ prāñcam* VS. ŚB.: *pāta prāñcam* (KS. *prāñcaḥ*) MS. KS.  
ApŚ. MŚ.

*pāta mā tīryañcam* TS. TB.: *pātainaḥ tīryañcam* VS. ŚB.: *pāta tīryañ-  
cam* (KS. *tīraścaḥ*) MS. KS.

*pāta* (*pāta mā, pātainaḥ*) *pratyañcam* (KS. *pratīcaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS.  
ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*pātānvañcam* (KS. °*nūcaḥ*) MS. KS.: *anvañcaḥ mā pāta* TS. TB.

*utālabdham* (AV. *utārabdhān*) *spṛṇuhi jātavedaḥ* RV. AV.

*yasyaḥ asmī purohitaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *yeṣāṃ asmī puro-  
hitaḥ* AV.

*pīveva putram* (AV. Kauś. *putrān*) *abhi* (ŚG. *iha*) *rakṣatād imam* (VS.  
ŚB. *imān*) AV. VS. TS. ŚB. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚG. Kauś.: *pīveva putram  
jarase ma emam* (Ppp. KS. HG. ApMB. *nayemam*) Ppp. MS. KS.  
HG. ApMB.

§719. (14). This brings us to the use of pronouns, singular or plural,  
referring in a more or less vague and general way to the priests and  
their associates. In VV 1. §290 we have discussed this type of number  
variant in the verb. In so far as nominative pronouns in varying  
numbers accompany singular and plural verbs, there will appear some  
duplication between the following lists and those quoted in VV 1; but  
for the most part the materials are different, tho related psychologically.  
They must be regarded as complementing each other, and must be  
considered together. As we saw l. c., different persons may be used,  
as well as different numbers. Hence we find, here also, cases in which  
pronouns of different person as well as number are used. We quote a  
few examples but have not attempted an exhaustive list (cf. §9):



§720. First and second persons:

*sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtām bibhartu* (Ppp. *pīpartu*) AV. Ppp.: *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhītām* (read °*tām*) *dadhātu* TB.

*ā tvā* (TB. *na*) *syo viśatām* (TB. *aśnutām*) *varṇaḥ* AV. TB.

§721. First and third persons. Here we find a number of variations between the forms *asmai* 'for him' and *asme* 'for us', which are obviously phonetic in character and have been therefore treated in VV 2 §704. The shift between *e* and *ai* is very easy. Nevertheless in most cases the meaning fits equally well with either reading. See also §738 for some formally similar cases.

*asmai* (TB. *asme*) *dyāvāpṛthivi bhūri vāmam* AV.† TB.

*asme* (AV. *asmai*) *dhātva vāsavo vasūni* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. N.

*asme* (AV. *asmai*) *dhārayatām* (MŚ. °*tām*) *rayim* RV. AV. MŚ. Different contexts.

*asme* (KBU. *asmai*) *prayandhi maghavann ṛjīṣin* RV. KBU. AG. PG. N.

*asmai* (MS. *asme*) *rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam* TS. MS. AŚ.

*supippalā oṣadhīḥ kartandāme* (AV. *kartam asmaī*, VSK. *kartam asme*) AV. VS. VSK. MS.

*savitṛā prasavitṛā... indrenāsme* (VSK. °*smāi*)... VS. VSK.

*asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhāraya* (KS. *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS. KS.: *asme kṣatrāṇi dhāraye anu dyūn* RV. TS. MS. KS.: *asmai kṣatrāṇi dhārayantam agne* AV. Different contexts.

*asme* (AŚ. *asmai*) *indrābhaṣpālī* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. Doubtless misprint in AŚ.

*yachā nah śarma saprathah* (°*thāḥ*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TA. ApŚ. SMB. HG. ApMB. N.: *yachāsmāi śarma saprathah* AV. TS.

*ud enam uttarām* (°*rām*, §814) *naya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: *ud asmān uttarān naya* ApŚ. In same verse:

*prajāyā ca bahūn* (ApŚ. *bahūn*) *kṛdhi* AV. VS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

#### First person pronouns, singular and plural

§722. The vast majority of variants under this heading show first person pronouns, alternatively singular and plural, referring to the priestly authors of the mantras and their associates. Little need be said of them; they are as simple and natural as they are familiar, and there is no real difference in meaning, at least as a rule, between the two numbers. Compare our remarks in VV 1 §§344 ff., which deal with the same matter from the point of view of verb forms. Their number is, however, remarkable and impressive.

§723. As with the verbs (§346), in some cases one or the other number

is more or less inconsistent with the context. The inconsistency is sometimes original (and removed in a secondary text), sometimes secondary. We shall list these inconsistent variants first:

*yā sarasvātī vṣabhaginī tasyā no* (ApŚ. *vṣabhaginā tasyām me*) *rāsva tasyās te bhaktivāno bhūyāma* KS. ApŚ. Note 1st plural verb.

*mayīdam indra indriyaṁ dadhātu* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *asmāḥ indra indriyaṁ dadhātu* TS. MS. KS. MŚ.: *mayīndra indriyaṁ dadhātu* TS. TA. TAA. AG. The first two occur in the same context, which has three 1st plural pronouns even in VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.

*bhavaṭaṁ naḥ samanasau* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. BDh.: *avataṁ mā samanasau samaukasau* TB. Surrounding formulas have plural pronouns even in TB.

*sūryo mā* (MS. *nas*) *tebhyo rakṣatu* TS. MS. KS. Also with *vāyur* and *agnir* instead of *sūryo*. (Delete reference to KS. under *agnir nas* in Conc.) The following pāda has 1st plural in all.

*devi vāg yat te vāco* (*yad vāco*) *madhumat* (*madhumattamaṁ*, *ṛtamaṁ juṣṭatamaṁ*) *tasmin mā* (KB. ŚŚ. *no adya*) *dhāh* (*dhāt*) TS. KB. GB. PB. JB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. KŚ. A 1st sg. verb precedes in all.

*vājo no* (MS. KS. *me*) *adya prasuvāti dānam* VS. MS. KS. 1st sg. pronoun in the same verse in VS.

*vīhi havyaṁ prayataṁ ākutaṁ me* (ŚŚ. *naḥ*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Both have plural elsewhere in the verse.

*br̥ṇotu mitro aryamā bhago naḥ* (KS. *me*) RV. VS. KS. N. 1st sing. verb in the verse even in RV.

*braddhe brād dhāpayeha naḥ* (TB. *mā*) RV. TB. 1st plural verb in both; here TB. is secondarily inconsistent.

*cūṭasa* (TB. SMB. *yajñasya*) *mātā* (SMB. *mātaram*) *suhasā no* (TB. SMB. *me*) *astu* AV. TB. The AV. has *me* in the next pāda.

*vaiśvānaraḥ parayān naḥ pavitraiḥ* TA.: *vaiśvānaraḥ pavitā nū pundtu* AV. The rest of the verse has 1 sg. in both. Ppp. intends to read with TA. (Whitney on AV. 6. 119. 3).

*ā mā ghoṣo gachati vān māsām* (TS. KS. *vān na āsām*, MS. *vār ne āsām*, p.p. *vāk, nu, āsām*) AV. TS. MS. KS. Note that TS. KS. are inconsistent within the same pāda!

*tvaṣṭā me* (SV. *no*) *daivyaṁ vacaḥ* AV. SV. Kauś. Plural follows in both. *ayaṁ te asmy upa mehy* (AV. *na ehy*) *arvān* RV. AV. Ppp. In the same verse:

*manyō vajrīn abhi mām* (AV. *abhi na*, Ppp. *upa na*) *ā varṣtsva*, same texts. The following pāda has 1st dual verb (representing a combination of 1st sing. with *manyu!*); RV. is the only really consistent text.



*mām dhehi* TS. TB. TA.: *asmān dhehi* KSA. The latter is emended by von Schroeder to *mām*, because the next mantra has *mayi*. In the light of the variants here presented this seems very inadvisable.

*ā no* (VS. *mā*) *jane kravayatāṁ yuvānā* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. Preceded by two *pādas* with plural pronouns, and followed by one with singular.

*paraitu mṛtyur amṛtaṁ na aitu* (ŚŚ. SMB. *amṛtaṁ ma ā gāt*) AV. ŚŚ. SMB. The two latter texts combine this with a *pāda* containing a plural.

*pātaṁ no* (ApŚ. *mā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī upasthe* RV. MS. KS. ApŚ. Preceded by a plural in all.

*ivā tanūr baladeyāya mehi* (AV. *baladāyā na ehi*) RV. AV. Singulars in the rest of the verse in AV.

*vīśve devāso adhi vocatā naḥ* (TS. *me*) RV. TS. And others, §154. RV. is inconsistent, having sing. pronouns in the rest of the vs.; all later texts restore consistency.

*dyauṣ ca naḥ* (KS. TB. *tvā*, AV. *ma idam*) *pṛthivī ca pracetasā* (AV. °*sau*) RV. AV. KS. TB. See §488. Plur. pronoun follows in AV.

*rāya* (AV. *rajin*) *devī dadātu naḥ* (AV. *dadātu me*) RV. AV. Plural precedes in AV.

*idam ahaṁ taṁ valagāṁ* (*tān valagān*) . . . *yaṁ* (*yān*) *me* (VSK. TS. KS. *naḥ*) . . . VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. SB. Note *ahaṁ* in all.

*marutāṁ manse adhi no* (AV. *me*) *bruvantu* AV. TS. MS. KS. A plural follows in AV.

*ādityā rudrā upariṣpṛśo naḥ* (KS. °*śaṁ mā*) AV. KS.: *vasano rudrā ādityā upariṣpṛśaṁ mā* RV. VS. TS. Plurals in the context; only the secondary AV. is consistent.

*abhūn mama* (KS. *nu naḥ*) *sumatau viśvavedāḥ* TS. KS. PG. All have singulars in the rest of the verse.

*amitrān no vī vidhyatām* AV.: *mamāmitrān vī vidhyata* (and °*tu*) AV. (both). In different contexts; the sings. are inconsistent with their surroundings.

*apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB.: *amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ. † *ma*) *indra* AŚ. ŚG.: *anāmayaīdhi mā riḡdma indo* Kauś.

§724. The rest show, as far as we have noticed, no inconsistency as to number in the context. The long list follows:

*agne dakṣaiḥ punāhi naḥ* (TB. *mā*) RV. TB.

*adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me* . . . VS.: *adhvanām adhvapate* (ŚŚ. *adhvano adhipatir asi*) *svasti me* (ŚŚ. *no*) . . . PB. ŚŚ.

*pāramānīḥ* (°*nyaḥ*) *punantu naḥ* (RVKh. TB. *mā*, MG. *tvā*, YDh. *te*) SV. RVKh. TB. MG. YDh.

*upa mā* (ŚB, ŚŚ, *mām*) *brhat saha diā hwayatām* ŚB, TB, ŚŚ, (also with *rathamitarām saha prthivyā*, and *vāmadevyam sahāntarikṣeṇa*): *upās-mām idā hwayatām*... AŚ.

*pari nah* (and *mā*) *pāhi vīkṛataḥ* AV, (both). Different contexts.  
*tasya na iṣṭasya pṛīṭasya draviṇehāgameḥ* VS.: *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vīṭasya draviṇehāgameyāt* MS.: *tasya meṣṭasya vīṭasya*... TS, KS, ApŚ.: *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya vīṣṭasya draviṇam māgachatu* (cf. VV 1 §104u) KS.

*yo nah* (AV, *mā*) *kadā cid abhidāsati druhā* (AV, *druhuḥ*) RV, AV.  
*devasyāham* (VSK, *devasya vāyam*) *savituḥ save*... VS, VSK, ŚB.  
*mā no hārdi tvīṣā vadhiḥ* RV.: *mā me hārdi tvīṣā* (MŚ, *hārdim dviṣā*) *vadhiḥ* TS, MŚ.

*varṇam pavitrām* (MG, *purāṇam*) *punati mā* (ŚG, *na*) *āgāt* ŚG, SMB, PG, MG.: *śarma varūṭham* (HG, *śarmavarūṭhe*) *punati na āgāt* ApMB, HG.

*āyantu nah pīlaraḥ somyāsah* VS.: *ā me yantu* ViDh. (prātika of an unknown mantra similar to that of VS.).

*śivah śagmo bhavāsi nah* TB, ApŚ.: *śivā ca me śagnā caidhi* TB, ApŚ.  
*yad antarikṣam tad u me* (MS,† *nah*) *pilābhūt* (VSK, *pīlāsa*) VS, VSK, TS, MS, ŚB.

*asme te rāyah* MS, KS.: *asme rāyah* VSK, TS, ApŚ.: *me rāyah* VS, KS, ŚB, KŚ. On *mē* (loc.) see Wackernagel 3 p. 462.

*imam stomam juṣasva nah* (and *me*) RV, (both).

*imam* (HG, *etam*) *yajñam pītarō me* (HG, *no*) *juṣantām* AV, HG.

*imam no* (MS, KS, *no*) *deva savitaḥ* VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB.

*imān me* (ApŚ, *no*) *mītrāvaruṇau* (ApŚ, \**nā*) MS, KS, AŚ, ApŚ, MŚ, ŚG, ud *uttamam munugdhi nah* (MŚ, *mat*) RV, KS, TB, MŚ.

*iḥasmāsu* (MS, *iḥasmabhyam*, TB, \**iha mahyam*) *nī yachatam* RVKh, AV, MS, KS, TB, (bis).

*rtena nah* (ApŚ, *mā*) *pāhi* MS, ApŚ.

*upa mā* (Vait, *no*) *rājan sukṛte hwayasva* TB, Vait.

*ūrdhvo nah pāhy anhaso nī ketunā* RV, MS, KS, AB, KB, TB.: *ūrdhvo mā pāhy anhasaḥ* VS, ŚB.

*ṛtāvarī yajñāye mā* (AV, *nah*) *punīlām* AV, MS, TB.

*evā me astu dhānyam* Ppp, TAA.: *evāsmākedam dhānyam* AV.

*ghṛtena no* (MS, KS, *mā*) *ghṛtapraḥ* (TS, \**pueaḥ*) *punantu* RV, AV, VS, TS, MS, KS, ŚB.

*cakṣur no* (KS, *me*) *dhehi cakṣuḥ* RV, MS, KS, MG.

*tato no* (KS, *mā*) *vṛṣṭyāvata* (VS,† KS, \**āva*) VS, TS, MS, KS, (both) ApŚ, MŚ.



- tan ma* (TA. na) *indra varuṇo bṛhaspatiḥ* TA. MahānU. BDh.  
*tan ma ācakṣva* (ŚŚ. *naḥ prabrūhi*) *nārada* AB. ŚŚ.  
*dyaus me* (AV. *naḥ*) *pitā janitā nābhīr atra* RV. AV. N.  
*nadasya nāde pari pātu me* (AV. no) *manah* RV. AV.  
*ye māmakāḥ pitarah* VIDh.: *ye 'smākam pitarah teṣāṁ barhīr asi* AV.  
*idaṁ bruhma juṣasva naḥ* (TAA. MG. and TA. v. l. me) TA. TAA. MG.  
 MahānU.  
*pūṣā bhagaṇ* (AŚ. *bhagaṇ pūṣā*) *savitā me* (TB. AŚ. no) *dadātu* ŚB. TB.  
 AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. PG.  
*prajān me dāh* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA.: *prajān me yacha* KS. ApŚ. MŚ.:  
*prajān asmāsu dhehī* VS.  
*varco asmāsu dhātā* (AŚ. *dhehī*) AV. AŚ.: *varco mayī dhehī* VS. TS. PB.  
 ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *varco me dāh* MS. MŚ.: *varco me dehī* VS. TS. ŚB.  
 ŚŚ. PG.: *varco me dhehī* (TA. *dhāh*) VSK. MS. KS. JB. TA. ApŚ.:  
*varco me yacha* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.  
*prajān me narya pāhi* MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. MG.: *prajān nō narya pāhi*  
 ApŚ.  
*prajān me naryājūgupaḥ* (ApŚ. MŚ. v. l. °jūgupaḥ) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.:  
*prajān nō naryājūgupaḥ* ApŚ.  
*paśūn me śaṅsya pāhi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *paśūn naḥ śaṅsya pāhi* ApŚ.  
*paśūn me śaṅsyājūgupaḥ* (ApŚ. °jūgupaḥ) MS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *paśūn naḥ*  
*śaṅsyājūgupaḥ* ApŚ.  
*annam me* (ApŚ.\* no) *budhya* (ApŚ. *budhnya*) *pāhi, tan me* (ApŚ.\* no)  
*gopāyāsmākam punar āgamāt* MS. ApŚ. (bis).  
*annam me* (ApŚ.\* no) *budhyājūgupaḥ* (ApŚ. *budhnyā*°) *tan me* (ApŚ.\*  
*naḥ*) *punar dehi* MS. ApŚ. (bis).  
*tām me* (ApŚ.\* no) *gopāyāsmākam punar āgamāt* MS. ApŚ. (bis) MŚ.  
 Also with *tān* for *tām*, but not in MŚ.  
*tām me* (ApŚ.\* *naḥ*) *punar dehi* KS. MS. ApŚ. (bis) MŚ. Also with  
*tān* for *tām*, but not in KS. or MŚ.  
*brahma tena punīhi naḥ* (LŚ. *mā*, VS. KS. *punātu mā*, MS. TB. *punī-*  
*mahe*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. LŚ.  
*mā parā scci nō dhanam* (ApŚ. *naḥ svam*, ApMB. *me dhanam*) ŚŚ. LŚ.  
 ApŚ. ŚG. ApMB.  
*mā vāyam āyuṣā varcasā ca* MS.: *mākam āyuṣā* (KS. adds *varcasā*  
*virādhiṣṭi*) TS. KS.  
*yah potā sa punātu naḥ* (VS. MS. KS. ApŚ. *mā*) RV. VS. MS. KS. ApŚ.:  
*yah pūtāḥ sa punātu mā* TB. (so Conc., but Poona ed. reads *potā*).  
*yena tvaṁ deva* (ŚŚ. om. *deva*) *veda devebhyo vedo 'bhavas tena mahyam*  
 (ŚŚ. *tenāsmabhyam*) *vedo bhūyāḥ* (VSK. *bhava*, ŚŚ. *veda edhi*) VS.  
 VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.

*yo naḥ kaś cābhyaghāyati* AV.: *yo mā kaś cābhidāsati* AG. PG. MG.

*yo na anti śapati tam etena jeṣam* MŚ.: *yo me 'nti dūre 'rālīyati tam etena jeṣam* TS.

*yo mā cakṣuṣā yo manasā* TB.: *yo 'smāns cakṣuṣi manasā cittiyākūtyā ca* AV.

*yo 'smān dveṣṭi yañ ca vayan̄ dvizma idam asya grīd api kṛtāmi* TS.: *idam ahañ yo me* (KS. *nas*) *saṁāno yo 'saṁāno 'rālīyati tasya grīd api kṛtāmi* MS. KS.: *idam enam adharañ karomi yo naḥ saṁāno yo 'saṁāno 'rālīyati* TS.

*tan me tanvañ trāyatāñ sarvato bṛhat* AV.: *tan naḥ trāyatāñ tanvañ sarvato* (ApŚ. *tan no viśvato*) *mahat* KS. ApŚ.

*viśve no* (KS. *mā*) *devā avasā gamantu* (RV. \* VS. \* MS. KS. ApŚ. *gamann iha*) RV. (both) VS. (both) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

*vaiśvānaro adabdhās* (AV. *no adabdhās*, TA. *me 'dabdhās*, MS. ApŚ. *'dabdhās*) *tanūpāḥ* AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. SMB. The preceding pādas, which show much variation in their enumeration of protectors, show the following number variants:

*punaḥ prāṇaḥ punar ātmā ma* (MS. TB. ApŚ. HG. *punar ākūtam*, TA. *punar ākūtañ ma*) *āgāt* (VS. ŚB. *āgan*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. ApŚ. HG.: *punaḥ prāṇaḥ punar ātmā na astu* (MG. *punar ākūtir astu*) AV. MG. And the following:

*punar manaḥ punar āyur* (SMB. *ātmā*) *mā* (MS. *nā*, ApŚ. *om.* the word) *āgāt* (VS. ŚB. *āgan*) VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. SMB. The texts are consistent thruout in their use of singular or plural.

*śāntir no astu* MS.: *śāntir me astu śāntiḥ* TA.: *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS. *bivā tevañ mahyañ edhi* HG.: *bivā na ihaidhi* AV.

*śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat* ViDh. MDh. BṛhPDh. AuśDh.: *śraddhā me mā vyāgāt* ApŚ.

*sarvañ eviṣṭañ suhutañ karotu* (AG. HG.† *karotu me*) ApŚ. AG. ApG. HG.: *eviṣṭañ suhutañ karotu svāhā* (BṛhUK.† *karotu naḥ svāhā*) ŚB. BṛhU. BṛhUK.

*sarvañ mac chapathāñ adhi* AV.: *asmat su śapathāñ adhi* ApŚ.

*sarve kāmā abhi yantu mā* (HG. *naḥ*) *priyāḥ* ApMB. HG. Followed by:

*abhi rakṣantu mā* (HG. *śruvantu naḥ*) *priyāḥ* ApMB. HG.

*sahasva no abhimātīm* AV.: *sahasva me arātīḥ* VS.

*sā naḥ samantam anu parihi bhadrayā* ApMB.: *sā mā* (MG. *naḥ*) *saman-tam abhi pary chi bhadre* MG. SMB.

*sā naḥ* (KS. *mā*) *suprāci suprāciy edhi* (VSK. MS. KS. *supratci bhava*, TS. *supratci sañ bhava*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*surāṣṭrā iha māvata* (MS. *no 'vata*) TS. MS. KS.



*suhavā nā ehi saha rāyasroṣeṇa* MS.: *suhavā mehi saha prajāyā saha rāyasroṣeṇa* KS.

*sa mām pātu* KS.: *so 'amān pātu* TS.

*deva varuṇa devayajanaṁ no dehi svāhā* (ApŚ. °yajanaṁ me dehi) PB.

ApŚ. Cf. *deva savitar devayajanaṁ me dehi devayajyāyai* AB.

*agnir mā tasmād enasaḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.

ApŚ. Kauś. SMB.: *agnir nas tasmād enasaḥ* MS. KS. MŚ.

*edamān* (KS. *evā mām*, AV. *tendāmān*) *indro varuṇo bṛhaspatih* AV. MS.

KS.: *tena no rājā varuṇo bṛhaspatih* TS. ŚŚ.

*mā mā* (SMB. *no*) *hiṁsīṣṭa* VS. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. SMB. Vait.

*mā no* (VS. VSK. ŚB. *mā*) *hiṁsīj janitā yaḥ prthivyāḥ* RV. VS. VSK.

TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

*mā mā hāsīn* (MŚ. *hāstīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāni* (MŚ. °āmī)

AV.† KS. MŚ.: *mā no hāsīn metthito net tvā jahāma* TB. ApŚ.: *mā*

*no hiṁsīd dhīnsito dadhāmi* (some mss. om. *dadhāmi*) *na tvā jahāmi*

AŚ.

*yajatrā muñicateḥa naḥ* (TB. *mā*) AV. TB.

*yad bhadraṁ tan na* (TB. TA. ApŚ. *ma*) *ā suva* RV. VS. TB. TA. ApŚ.

Kauś. MahānU.

*yo no* (AV. *mā*) *dirā dīpsatī yaś ca naktam* RV. AV.

*vājo naḥ* (MS. *me*, KS. *mā*) *sapta pradīḥaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. In the same verse:

*vājo no* (MS. KS. *mā*) *viśvair devair* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*vaiśvānaro raśmībhir mā* (AV. *naḥ*) *punātu* AV. MS. TB.

*śam ca no mayāś ca naḥ* AV. Kauś.: *śam 'ca me mayāś ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS.

*ubhe ca no* (ŚB. *cainam*, ŚŚ. *cainam* [*na iti vā*]) *dyāvāprthivī aṅhasaḥ pātām* . . . MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚB. also has the reading *ubhe ca mā* etc., which it rejects, since *mā* would refer to the hotar, whereas

the *yajamāna* should be indicated. The difference between 1st and 3rd person then seems to depend almost wholly on brahmanic theorizing. However, MS., TB., AŚ., a school contested by ŚŚ.,

and the Kāṇva recension of ŚB. read *no*, making no difficulty about including the officiating priests in the benediction.

*rtān mā muñcutānāsaḥ* TB.: *kṛtān naḥ pāhy aṅhasaḥ* (TA. *enasaḥ*) MS. TA.

*oṣadhībhyāḥ paśave no* (KS. MŚ. ApŚ. *paśubhyo me*) *janāya* (KS. MŚ. ApŚ.† *dhanāya*) TS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*kalpatām me yogakṣemaḥ* AB.: *yogakṣemo naḥ kalpatām* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB.

- gṛhān naḥ pīlaro datta* VS. VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. SMB. GG.: *vīram me* (MŚ. *no*) *datta pīlaraḥ* AŚ. MŚ.: *vīrān naḥ* (Kauś. *me*) *pīlaro dhatta* (Kauś. *datta*) Kauś. ViDh.
- gopoṣaṁ ca me* (MŚ. AŚ. *gopoṣaṁ ca no*, TB.† ApŚ. *gopoṣaṁ no*) *vīrapoṣaṁ ca yacha* (AV. MŚ. *dhehi*) AV. TB. 3. 7. 2. 7. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. *tādeṁ te sarvāśān vāyam* (and *\*śām aham*) AV. (both).
- lasya bhājayateḥa naḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KŚ. TA. ApMB.: *lasyāgne bhūjayeha mā* TB.
- layāhaṁ vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamānaś ca* ApMB.: *vardhiṣimahi ca vāyam ā ca pyāsiṣimahi* (MS. MŚ. ApŚ.† *pyāyīṣimahi ca*) VS. MS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG. HG.
- tan no* (MahānU. *me*) *varuṇo rājā* TA. MahānU.
- tan me* (VS. *no*) *astu tryāyuṣam* VS. VSK. ApMB. HG. MG.
- tan* (GB. *etan*) *no gopāya* MS. KŚ. GB. ApŚ.: *tan me gopāya* (Kauś. *gopāyama*) MS. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.
- tarpayata me* (ŚŚ. *naḥ*) *pītṛn* VS. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB. BDh.
- lasya no* (TS. *me*) *rāva* TS. MS. KŚ. ApŚ.
- tasmāi no* (AV. *mā*) *devāḥ paridatteḥa* (KŚ. MŚ. *\*dhatta*, PG. *\*dhatteḥa*) *sarve* (MŚ.† *viśve*) AV. TS. KŚ. MŚ. SMB. PG. BDh.
- tābhīr no* (MS. *tebhīr mā*) *devaḥ savitā punātu* MS. ApŚ.: *tābhīḥ teḍ devaḥ savitā punātu* ApMB.
- agnīr naḥ* (VSK. *mā*) *pātu duritād avadyāt* VS. VSK. ŚB.
- agnīr naś* (TA. *mā*) *tasmād indraś ca* MS. TA.
- agne jātān pra nūdā naḥ* (AV. *me*) *śapatnān* AV. VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.
- agne 'bhyāvartinn abhi mā nī vartasva* (TS. *abhi na ā vartasva*, KŚ. *abhi no nīvartasva*, MS. *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś. *abhi na ā vartasva*) VS. TS. MS. KŚ. ŚB. Kauś.
- adhā cid indra me* (SV. *naḥ*) *sacā* RV. AV. SV.
- anamitraṁ no adharāt* (VSK.† *me adharāt*, KŚ. *no adharāt*) AV. VSK. KŚ. In the same verse:
- indrānamitraṁ* (KŚ. *ms. \*trān*, see §703 end) *naḥ paścāt* (VSK. *\*trāṁ paścān me*) AV. VSK. KŚ.
- abhayaṁ mītravaruṇāv ihāstu naḥ* (AG. *\*varuṇā mahyam astu*) AV. AG.
- abhi prehi dakṣināto bhavā me* (AV. *naḥ*) RV. AV.
- abhiṣṭīr* (HG. *abhiṣṭīr*) *yā ca me dhīrāvā* (HG. *ca no grhe*) RVKh. HG.: *abhiṣṭīr yā ca no grhe* ApMB.
- arvācīnam vasuvidāṁ bhagaṁ naḥ* (AV. *me*) RV. AV. Ppp. VS. TB. ApMB.
- mām* (AV. *asmān*) *punīhi* (MS. *punāhi*) *viśvataḥ* (AV. *cakṣase*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KŚ.



*ahar no atyapāparat* SMB. MahānU.: *ahar mātṛy apīparah* AV.

*ādityōs tasmān no* (TB. *mā*) *yūyam* AV. TB.

*ā no* (VS. ŚB. *mā*) *goṣu viśate aṣadhīṣu* (MS. *aṣadhīṣu*, VS. KS. ŚB. *ā tanūṣu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*āśr ṇa* (TS. KS. KŚ. *mā*, MS. *nā*) *ūrjam uta sauprajāstvam* (TS. MS. KS. KŚ. *supra*°) AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.

*abhayaṁ vo* (ŚŚ.\* *te*) *'bhayaṁ no astu* (AB. AŚ. *me 'stu*) AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. (both): *abhayaṁ no astu* MS. KS. ŚŚ. ŚG.: *abhayaṁ me astu* (AB.† *'stu*) AB. ApŚ.

*āpo asmān* (MS. *mā*) *mālarah śundhayantu* (AV. MS. KS. *sūdayantu*, TS. ApŚ. *śundhantu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. MS. ŚB. AŚ. ApŚ.

*āganta pītarah pitṛmān ahaṁ yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsam suprajaso mayā yūyaṁ bhūyāsta* TS.: *āganta pītarah soṁyāsas teṣāṁ vah pralīritā arizlāḥ syāma supitaro vayan yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsama suprajaso yūyam asmābhīr bhūyāsta* MŚ.

*pūṣā nā ādhāt suktasya loke* MS.: *pūṣā mādhat* (AV. *mā dhāt*) *suktasya loke* AV. TS. KS.

*bandhur me* (AV. *no*) *mātā pṛthivī mahīyam* RV. AV. N.

*bodhā me* (TS. *no*) *asya vacaso pariṣṭha* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*deveṣu nah sukṛto* (VSK. *deveṣu mā sukṛtaṁ*) *brūtāt* (KS. *brūta*, PB. MŚ. *brūyāt*) VSK. TS. KS. PB. MŚ.: *devebhyo mā sukṛtaṁ brūtāt* (ŚB. with *ūha*, *voceḥ* for *brūtāt*) VS. ŚB.: *sukṛtaṁ mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS.

*pra mā* (TS. ApŚ. *no*) *brūtād bhāgadāṁ* (TS. °*dhān*, ApŚ. °*dhām*, KS. *dharīrda*) *devatāsu* (KS. °*tābhyah*) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ.

§725. Of essentially the same sort are a few variants in which adjectives agreeing with the subjects of 1st person verbs vary between singular and plural:

*edhamānaḥ* (Kauś. °*nāḥ*) *svagṛhe* (Kauś. *sva gṛhe*) ŚB. BrhU. Kauś.: *edhamāna sva vake* ApMB.

*jīva* (TB. ApŚ. *jīvo*) *jīvantīr upa vah sadema* (TB. ApŚ. *sadeyam*) AV. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

*devā dhanena dhanam ichamānaḥ* HG.: *dhanena devā dhanam ichamānaḥ* AV. ApMB. The verbs *carāma*, °*mi* occur in the preceding.

*āyuṣmān jaradaṣṭir yathāśāni* AV.: *āyuṣmanto jarām upagachema devāḥ* (KS. *jīvaḥ*) KS. ApŚ.

*gātrāṇāṁ te gātrabhājo bhūyāsmā* (KS. *gātrabhāj bhūyāsam*) TS. KS. *tvastṛmandas* (MS. MŚ. *tvastṛ*°, ApŚ. *tvastu*°) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS.

ŚB. ApŚ.: *tvastṛmātī* (TS. ApŚ. *tvastṛ*°, and so TA. Poona ed. with v. l. *tvastṛī*°) *te sapeya* TS. TA. ApŚ. Cf. §849.

*ihaiwa santaḥ prati tad yātayāmaḥ* (AV. *pratī dadma enat*) AV. TB. ApŚ.:

*ihave san niravodaye tat* TS. On this variant see Whitney's notes to AV. 6. 117. 1 and 2.

§726. And a couple of others of the same sort in which there is inconsistency with the context:

*yatkāmds te juhomas tan no astu* RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. TAA. SMB. ApMB. N.: *yatkāma idam juhomi tan me samdhyatām* TB. The context of the latter is partly the same and has a plural. *yac cāham eno vidvāns cakāra yac cāvidvāns* . . VS. ŚŚ.: *yac cāham eno vidvānsaś cāvidvānsaś cainaś cakrma* . . MahānU. The comm. to the latter attempts to remove the glaring inconsistency by supplying *akārṣam* with *aham*.

## 2. The neuter singular (and plural)

§727. The neuter gender often carries with it (cf. §807) a tinge of generalization; and neuter singular forms (nouns or indefinite adjectives); which are indefinite or abstract or collective in force, vary with plural epithets of the same or other genders. (On neuter adverbs see §734.)

*kṛṣṭapacyāś* (TS. KS. °yam) *ca me 'kṛṣṭapacyāś* (TS. KS. °yam) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *oṣadhayaś ca me vīrudhaś ca me*. '(Plants) which ripen under cultivation and not under cultivation': 'that which ripens' etc.

*ekaśapham aṣṭjyata* MS.: *ekaśaphāḥ paśavo 'aṣṭjyanta* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. In MS. ('the whole-hoofed [kind of cattle]') followed by a parallel formula, *kṣudrāḥ paśavo 'aṣṭjyanta*.

*āsyai brāhmaṇāḥ anapanīr* (ApMB. °nam) *harantu* AV. ApMB. 'Let the brahmans bring her bathing-water.' With *anapanīr* sc. *āpaḥ*. Cf. next.

*āpaḥ pādyaḥ* ApŚ.: *pādyam* (Kauś.—not HG.—*pādyam dhoh*) Kauś. HG. '(Water) for the feet.' Cf. prec.

*hotṛṣadanam haritam hiraṇyayam* AV.: *hotṛṣadanā haritāḥ suvarṇāḥ* TB. ApŚ. With the latter supply *darbhāḥ*: '(grass) for the hotar to sit on, yellow, golden.' AV. feels *hotṛṣadanam*, which means the same thing, as a neuter abstract: 'a seat for the hotar' etc. Cf. *darbhāḥ strīṇā haritāḥ suparnāḥ* (KS.† *suvarṇāḥ*) KS. MŚ.

*samṛddhikaraṇam tava* (HG. °karaṇān mama) PG. HG. Preceded by *imāṇī lājān ā vapāmy agnau* (HG. *vapāmi*, om. *agnau*); followed by *tubhyaḥ* (PG. *mama tubhyaḥ ca*) *sahvananam*. 'I cast these kernels . . as increase-makers (a making of increase) . . a harmonizing.'

*tṛmpantu hotrā madhvo yāḥ sviṣṭāḥ* (VSK. *yat sviṣṭam*) VS. VSK. ŚB. Followed by:



*yāh supṛtāh suhūtā yat svāhā* VS. ŚB.: *yat subhṛtāh yat svāhā* VSK. In VS. ŚB.: 'Let the priestly offices, which have been well offered, rejoice' etc. In VSK. *yat* etc. might refer to the unexpressed and indefinite object of the verb: 'let the priestly offices rejoice (in that) which is well offered' etc. But the change was surely suggested by *suhūtā yat svāhā* of VS., in which *yat* is a conjunction, 'when well offered with *svāhā*'. Most likely, therefore, *yat* is to be taken thus all three times in VSK. and the neuters are indefinite: 'let the priestly offices rejoice when good sacrifice has been made' etc.

*duraś ca viśād avṛṇod apa svāhā* RV. AV.: *turaś cid viśvam ṛarṇavat tapas-rān* AV. The AV. is corrupt; but *viśvam* seems clearly an indefinite neuter.

*prajā vikṛṇvan* (ApŚ. *vikṛṇvan*, MS. *prajāh kṛṇvan*) *janayan virūpāh* (KS. °*pam*) MS. KS. ApŚ. *virūpam* indefinite neuter in KS. (probably original); in the others *prajāh* is understood with it.

*taj* (RV. *tā*) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The RV. *tā* refers back to *dārūṇi*; the other texts substitute the indefinite sing. *tad*, with the same reference, possibly; but see §737. In different context, *tam ju° ya°* RV.

*salakṣmā* (MS. KS. °*mā*) *yad viśurūpā* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*pam*) *bhavāti* (MS. KS. *bahhūva*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viśurūpā yat salakṣmāṇo bhavatha* TS. The pāda originally (in RV. AV.) occurs in the Yama-Yamī hymn; the fem. adjectives apply to Yamī. The YV. texts apply it to a wholly different context, by 'phrase-inflection' (§848). Here it applies to the members of the slaughtered animal, here assembled, and most YV. text use the indefinite neuter singular: 'that what is manifold may become of one sort'. (In VS. ŚB. only this can be intended, as *viśurūpam* shows; *salakṣmā* is anomalous, perhaps due to influence of the RV. original, perhaps to be explained as having rhythmically lengthened final *a*, VV 2 §§459-60; the comm. interprets as neuter.) In TS. the members of the animal are directly addressed, and the adjectives are masc. pl.: 'that ye, manifold, may become of one sort.'

§728. So the indefinite *sarvām* 'everything' varies with *sarvān* 'all (men)'; but the variant *sarvān*, nom. sg., 'heading everywhither', is likely to be more original than either:

*amāsi* (SMB. *amā hy asi*, ŚG. *amo 'si*) *sarvān* (AŚ. *sarvān*, SMB. *sar-rām*) *asi* (SMB. *anu*) *praviṣṭoh* AŚ. ŚG. SMB. Kauś.

§729. Also *tad* and *tāni*, neuter sg. and pl., both indefinite, are interchangeable (see also *yaśmāj jātam [jātā]* etc., §810).

*yas tad veda* (AV.\* VS. *tāni veda*, RV. AV.\* TA.\* N. *tā vijāndt*) *sa pituḥ* (VS. MahānU. *pituḥ*, TA. *savituh*) *pitāsat* RV. AV. (bis) VS. TA. (bis) MahānU. N.

§730. In substantive use, a pronoun introducing a predicate noun commonly agrees with that noun in number and gender, but may also be neuter singular without regard to the number and gender of the predicate, as in German ('das bin ich, das sind die besten Leute' etc.); cf. §§776, 812. So:

*tad* (VS. *tā*) *āpah sa* (VSK. *ta*) *prajāpatih* VS. VSK. TA. MahānU.

Note that TA. MahānU. are inconsistent, having the neuter in one of the two phrases, but agreement in gender (and number) in the other. VS. and VSK. are (in different ways) consistent.

### 3. Plural of *viśva* with singular noun (?)

§731. Twice the text of TS. presents the form *viśve*, apparently nom. pl., where other texts have *viśvo* (in the sense of 'every, each'), agreeing (even in TS.) with a singular (*martaḥ*); both are parts of the same stanza. The TS. version of the stanza is otherwise inferior, and Keith calls *viśve* 'senseless'. Yet the repetition seems to guarantee it as the genuine Tait. reading; moreover ApŚ. has the same. Either it is a Māgadhism, intended as nom. sg. (cf. Pischel, *Gram. d. Pkt. Spr.* §363), or else a plural epithet going with a singular subject. Tho this would be a bizarre construction, it is not inconceivable that TS. may have so intended; it would be an illogical blend of *viśvo martaḥ* 'every man' with *viśve martaḥ* 'all men.'—The same *viśve* apparently with a sing. noun occurs a third time in TS., *atha viśve arapṣṣ edhate grhaḥ*, §457, q. v. *viśvo* (TS. ApŚ. *viśve*) *devasya netuḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. ŚB.

AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. (delete KSA. in Conc.).

*viśvo* (TS. *viśve*) *rāya iṣudhyati* (TS. °*ai*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*Other shifts of sing. and pl. with no essential change of meaning*

§732. With this we conclude the subject of the generalizing singular and plural. There are however a few other variants in which, for one reason or another, singular and plural may interchange with virtually no difference of essential meaning. We shall take them up before proceeding to the cases of real and important change of meaning.

### 4. Elliptic plural

§733. First, an elliptic plural may vary with the singular of one member of the group:



*mītrah* (SV. *mītrās*) *pānty-adruhaḥ* RV. SV. Preceded by *yaṁ maruto yaṁ aryamā*; in SV. *aryamā* is a complementary singular to the elliptic plural *mītrās*, which means Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman; cf. §§746-7.

### 5. Adverbs

§734. Adverbial forms, singular and plural, and equivalent in meaning, may vary; or a neuter singular adverb may vary with a plural adjective without essential difference of meaning:

*nīcāḍ uccā svadhayābhī pra tasthau* Ppp. TS. KS.: *nīcāir uccāih svadhā abhī pra tasthau* AV.

*trīṇi padāni* (TA. MahānU. *padā*) *nīhitā guhāsya* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV. VS. TA. MahānU. Both *guhā* and *guhāsu* are quasi-adverbial. *agnaye vo juṣṭān prokṣāmy amuṣmai vo juṣṭān* MS. MŚ.: *agnaye vo juṣṭam prokṣāmi* TS. TB. ApŚ. *juṣṭān* agrees with *vo* = offerings of food; *juṣṭam* is doubtless an adverb: 'agreeably to Agni' (otherwise Keith).

*bhūyaś ca śaradaḥ śatāt* VS. MG.: *bhūyaśih* (mss. °śi) *śaradaḥ śatāt* AV. *sa no nedīṣṭhā havanāni joṣate* (MS. *havanā jujoṣa*) TS. MS.: *sa no nedīṣṭham havanāny āgamat* (and *havanāni joṣat*) KS. *nedīṣṭham* adverb in KS.

### 6. Adjectives agreeing with one or several of a group

§735. An adjective or participle may variously agree with all the members of a coordinate group of nouns (plural), or with only one, the nearest. In the latter case, however, we may assume that its application to the others is not really excluded. Cf. Hamlet, Act 2, Scene 2: *King*. Thanks, Rosencrantz, and gentle Guildenstern. *Queen*. Thanks, Guildenstern, and gentle Rosencrantz.—The same variation in verb forms, agreeing either with a plurality of subjects or with the nearest one alone, was noted in VV 1 §§353ff.

*candrena jyotiṣ amṛtaṁ dadhānāḥ* (KS. TB. Poona ed. and comm. °nā) VS. KS. TB.: *kukraṁ na jyotiṣ amṛtaṁ dadhānā* MS. (p.p. °nāḥ).

The sing. agrees with Sarasvatī, the nearest subject; the plural with S. and the Aśvins. On the phonetic aspect (final visarga present or absent) cf. VV 2 §381.

*trayā viṣṇuḥ* (MS. *viṣṇuḥ trayā*) *prajāyā saṁhrarāṇaḥ* (VS. KS. ŚB. °ṇāḥ) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. ApMB. The verb, in the following pāda, agrees in number with the participle in all texts, except that in KS., which has the mantra three times with plural pple., the verb

is twice singular in the edition (but with v. l. plural in one case). See VV 1 p. 262 under *yajamānya dravinam dadhāta* (<sup>9</sup>tu). Probably the plural should be read all three times.

(*idā sarasvatī mahī*) *bhārati gr̥ṇānā* AV. MS.: (*idā sarasvatī bhārati mahī gr̥ṇānā* (KS. *mahīr gr̥ṇānāh*) VS. TS. KS.: *idā sarasvatī bhārati mahīh* (TB. *mahī*) VS. TB. In the last formula (in which the Poona ed. of TB. separates *mahī* from the preceding, making it part of the next pāda), the TB. comm. interprets *mahī* as a plural (*mahatyah*), going with all the nouns (l).

*Singular-plural variations with more definite change of meaning*

§736. The phraseology used in this heading does not mean, of course, to deny that a change of 'meaning' in some sense occurs in the variants heretofore mentioned; we suggest only that such changes are not, as a rule, of the sort commonly and conventionally associated with the simple contrast between singularity and plurality of objects. The variants now to be considered fall roughly into the following groups. First, 'transfer of epithet': the variant word is applied to a different entity, in essentially the same context, necessitating a change of number. Second, 'phrase inflection': the formula is used in a different context, involving a different application of the variant word. Third, pluralization or the reverse in the same context: without change of context or verbal attraction to a different entity, the word is nevertheless understood of a plural entity in one form and of a singular one in the other; the entity referred to may be otherwise the same or different. Fourth, other, miscellaneous changes are involved; in some of them form attraction to some other word (other than what we term 'transfer of epithet') seems to have been influential.

7. Transfer of epithet

§737. We have met this phenomenon frequently under variations between the cases; see §14 for a general statement. Many of the transfers listed under the various shifts of case involve also change of number; these will not be repeated here. The following are those which involve shift of number only (or, in a few cases, also of gender), between singular and plural:

*indreṇa devaiḥ saratham turebhīh* (AV. *tureṇa*) RV. AV. Tho the contexts of the mantra are different, the epithet *tura* is transferred within its pāda from *devaiḥ* to *indreṇa*.

*viśvā rūpāṇi sambhṛtā* (JB. <sup>9</sup>am) SV. JB. ŚB. LŚ. Preceded by *gāya-*



*trām traiṣṭubhām jagat*; JB. makes the epithet apply to (presumably) the last of the singulars in the preceding pāda.

*taḥ* (RV. *tā*) *juṣasta yariṣṭhya* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Preceded by *yad agne kṛnī kṛnī cid, ā te dārūṇi dadhmasi* (with slight variants). RV. refers *tā* to *dārūṇi*; the others with *taḥ* refer either to the same indefinitely (§727), or specifically to what is denoted by *yad*.

*niṣkrītaḥ sa* (TS. *niṣkrīto 'yaṁ*, KS. MŚ. *niṣkrītas te*) *yajñīyaṁ bhāgam etu* (KS. MŚ. *bhāgaṁ yantu*) AV. TS. KS. MŚ. Singular refers to *paśupati*, plural to the cattle themselves.

*ā yat tṛpaṁ maruto vāvaśānāḥ* (MS. °*naḥ*) RV. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *priyā vo nāma huve tūrānām*. The epithet is apparently transferred from the Maruts to the subject of *tṛpaḥ*; Ludwig makes the plural refer to this! The verse however is very troublesome; see Oldenberg.

*īdāno* (KS. °*nā*) *vahnir* (KS. °*nīm*) *namasā* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. The latter makes the epithet agree with *arūco* in the next pāda; see §399.

*uruyacaso dhāmnaḥ patyamānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.: *uruyacasāgner dhāmnaḥ patyamāne* AV. The YV. texts make *uru*° agree with *deśas*; AV. has a false verse division and makes it agree with *dhāmnaḥ*.

*anādhṛṣṭā apasyo vaśānāḥ* (KS.† °*naḥ*, mss. *vaśānāḥ*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *anādhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vaśānāḥ* TS. Pischel *VSt.* 2. 213 has made it probable that the original had *vaśānāḥ*, epithet of Varuṇa in the following pāda. In VS. MS. it is transferred to *āpaḥ* in the preceding; the adjoining plural forms helped in the shift.

*mayobhūvo vṛṣṭayaḥ sante asme* RV. KS.: *mayobhūr vāto vṛṣakṛṣṭayaḥ sante asme* TA. In the latter the adjective is made to agree with *vāto*, which is itself a secondary intrusion in TA.

*dhanur hastād ādadāno* (TA. °*nā*) *mṛtasya* RV. AV. TA. AG. 'Taking the bow from the hand of the dead man.' With Oldenberg on RV. 10. 18. 9 we understand *tvam* in the following half verse (*atruisa tvam iha vayanṁ suvīrāḥ [suśevāḥ]*) of the dead man; TA. comm. understands it of the widow and makes *ādadānaḥ* fem. sg. agreeing with it; we take the pple. as *ādadānāḥ* nom. pl. masc. going with *vayanṁ*, cf. Oldenberg's remarks; the sg. doubtless refers to the son of the deceased.

*tābhīḥ śābhīṣiṇcāmi* MG.: *tena tvām abhiṣiṇcāmi* YDh. Preceded by *sahasrākṣam śatadhāram ṛṣbhīḥ pāvanam kṛtam*, and followed by

*pāvanānīh pāvanantu trā* (with minor variants). YDh. has adopted for *tena* the number and gender of *pāvanam*, instead of *pāvanānīh*.

§738. In the following, the variant word is in one form of the variant an independent form rather than, strictly speaking, an 'epithet' of another word (§15):

*asme* (ApŚ. *asmai*) *karmāne jātaḥ* MS. ApŚ. 'Born for us for the rite (for this rite).' Cf. VV 2 §704, and above §721.

*asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata* TS. ApŚ.: *śrad asmaī naro vacase dadhātana* VS. Keith and Caland assume *asmai* as intended; cf. *proc.* But *asme* might at a pinch be interpreted as 'ethical dative': 'O gods, regard the wonder which we tell.' The change is really phonetic in character, however.

*kṣulpipāsāmālā jyeṣṭhāh* (TAA. \**malam jyeṣṭhām*) RVKh. TAA. Scheftelowitz reads *jyeṣṭhām*, which is doubtless the correct reading (= Misfortune, eldest sister of Lakṣmī); if *jyeṣṭhāh* be kept it can be construed as an adjective, with the following *alakṣmīr* (for which Scheft. adopts the monstrous *alakṣmīn*). If \**mālā* can stand it is doubtless a fem. acc. pl., epithet of *alakṣmīr* ('stained by hunger and thirst'); the alternative would be to take it as Vedic n. pl. (for \**mālāni*); \**malam* would be an independent coordinate noun, 'the stain of hunger and thirst.'

#### 8. Phrase inflection

§739. This has also been met above, under variations in the cases; cf. §§21-2. It is essentially a matter of adaptation of old material to a new context.

*adharācīḥ parā suva* VS. MS. KS. (sc. *yātudhānyah*): *adharāñcam parā suva* AV. (sc. *takmānam*).

*vīprā viprasya bṛhato vipascitāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚvetU.: *vipro viprasya sahaso vipascit* AV. The latter refers, in a new context, to a goat (*aḥ*).

*viśvāhā dhātām anapasphurantīm* RV. VS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *viśvāhā sante anapasphurantīḥ* AV. TA. 'Ever not shrinking from being milked'; of a cow or cows, in different contexts.

*trīr varān ertṣya* Kauś.: *varām ertṣya* ApMB. HG. Not true variants.

*sarāḥ* (RV. VS. *śārāḥ*) *patatṛiṇī(h) sthana* (KS. *stha*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.: *sarā patatṛiṇī bhūta* AV. Reference is to a plant or plants, in different contexts.

*indro vaḥ* (AV. *me*) *śarma yachatu* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. Different contexts.



*trir ā divo vidathe patyamānah* (°nāh) RV. (both).

*yalamānā* (°no) *raśmibhiḥ sūryasya* RV. (both).

*ratnam devasya savitur iṅānah* (°nāh) RV. (both).

*rakṣoḥaṇo* (VS. ŚB. °haṇo vo) *valagahanah prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān* (ApŚ.\* °vam) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. (bis). In ApŚ. 11. 12. 5, where *vaiṣṇavān* is found, the ritual context is the same as in TS. and the rest; the plurals refer to the 'sound-holes'. In 12. 2. 15 the skin (*carma*) for the soma-passing is addressed in a different context, and the formula is partially adapted, the sing. *vaiṣṇavam* being appropriate. Nevertheless the plural forms of the first two adjectives are inappropriately retained from the original form of the formula; perhaps they are understood indefinitely, as referring to any 'demon-slaying' entities.

*vāyas poṣe yajñapatiṃ abhajanāh* (TS.\* °ti) VS. TS. (both) MS. KS. ŚB. *rodēna kṛṇvatīr* (*kṛṇvaty*, *kṛṇvanto*) *agham* AV. (ter).

*saṃjagmāno abibhyuṣā* RV. AV. SV. N.: *saṃjagmānā abibhyuṣāh* (MS. *avihrutāh*) AV. MS.

*kaś teṣa yunakti sa teṣa yunaktu* (VS. ŚB. °ti) VS. TS. KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *ko vo yunakti sa vo yunaktu* ApŚ. MŚ.: *kaś te yunakti* MG. Also with forms of *vi-muc*; to different ritual entities.

*adabdhena teṣa* (KS.\* ApŚ.\* °vāḥ) *cakṣuṣāvrapahyāmi*... VS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.: *adabdhena teṣa* (ApŚ.\* °vāḥ) *cakṣuṣāvekṣe*... TS. MS. ApŚ. MŚ. MG. (delete KS. reference in Conc.).

*sumrṣṭikān abhiṣṭaye* RV. TS. MS.: *sumrṣṭikān abhiṣṭaye* RV. VS. BSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*tasya vayasā sumatau yajñīyasya* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TB.: *teṣān vayasā sumatau yajñīyānām* RV. AV. VS. TS. KS. MŚ. SMB. PG. N. Several different contexts.

*yathāham asya vīrasya* RV. ApMB.: *yathāham eṣān bhūtānām* (AV. *vīrānām*) RV. AV. The sing. is said by a woman of her husband; RV. *bhūtānām* by a king of his subjects, and so AV. *vīrānām*, but apparently influenced in its choice of epithet by reminiscence of *vīrasya* in the different RV. context.

*evā trīṇāmanu ahṛṇīyamānah* (TS. °nāh) AV. TS.

*ghṛtapruṣṭa manasā* (TB. *mādhunā*) *kavyam undan* (VS. *manasā modamānāh*) RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. Several different contexts.

*añhoś cid asmā urucakrīr adbhutaḥ* RV.: *añhoś cid urucakrayaḥ* RV.: *añhoś cid urucakrayo 'nehasaḥ* RV.

*ado giribhyo adhi yat pradhāvasi* TB.: *ado yad avadhāvati* AV.: *amī ye ke sarasyakā avadhāvati* HG. ApMB.

*asmabhyam gātuvittamāḥ* (RV.\* °mah) RV. (bis) SV. As both refer to soma, the variant might perhaps be put with §712, tho the contexts are different.

*isānam vāryāṇām* RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS. JB.; *isānā vāryāṇām* RV. AV. MS. TB. TA.

*tāṁ te paridādāmy aham* ApŚ.: *tām te paridādāmy aham* (TA. *paridādāmī*) TA. ApŚ.

*ya* (AV.\* *ye antarikṣa*) *oṣadhīṣu paśuṣu apas antaḥ* (KS. *paśuṣu āviveśa*) AV. (bis) KS.

*bhaktīya te* (and *vo*) *vaso daivasya* RV. (both). Sing. Indra; pl. the Maruts.

*bhūtyai tvā* (Kauś. *vaḥ*) KS. TA. ApŚ. Kauś. Hardly true variants.

*tān* (TS.\* *taṁ*) *rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhān* (TS.\* *dabhat*) VS. TS. (bis) MS. KS. ŚB.

*mayi vaḥ kāmadharaṇam bhūyāt* (ŚŚ. om. *bhūyāt*) VS. ŚB. ŚŚ.: *mayi te kāmadharaṇam bhūyāt* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*dyātu* (TB.\* *dyāntu*) *yajñam upa no juṣāṇaḥ* (TB.\* °ṇaḥ) VS. MS. KS. TB. (both).

*subhūṭāya tvā* (ŚŚ. *vaḥ*; HG. adds *paridādāmī*) ApŚ. ŚŚ. HG. Hardly true variants.

*anehasas tvotayāḥ* RV.: *anehaso va ūtayāḥ* RV.

*ayam vo garbha rtvīyāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayam te yonir rtvīyāḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. JB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. JābU. Different contexts and probably not true variants.

*mayi vo* (TS.\* *te*) *rāyāḥ kṛāyāntām* TS. (both) MS. KS. LŚ.

*indraghoṣas* (KS. MS. °śās) *tvā vasubhīḥ purastāt pātu* (KS.† *tvā vasavaḥ pu° pāntu*, MS. *tvā purastād vasubhīḥ pāntu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *indraghoṣā vo vasubhīḥ purastād upadadhatām* TA. This and four parallel formulas are used all together, in TA. (with plural acc. pronoun) addressed to a layer of bricks, in the others (with sg.) to the altar. The settings are wholly different; obviously TA. has borrowed the whole passage and applied it to a new purpose. Two of the parallel mantras are quoted §412 under *manojarās...* and *pracetās...* The other two are:

*tvasṭā tvā rūpāir upariṣṭāt pātu* KS. ApŚ.: *tvasṭā vo rūpāir upariṣṭād upadadhatām* TA. And:

*viśvakarmā tvādyāyair uttarataḥ* (MS. KS. *uttarāt*) *pātu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viśvakarmā va ādītyair uttarata upadadhatām* TA.

*devas tvā savitā punāte* (MŚ. GG. KhG. *savitotpunāte*) *achidreṇa...* TS. MS. KS. MŚ. GG. KhG.: *devo vaḥ savitā punāte achidreṇa...* MŚ. KS.



*upahūta* (LŚ. °tā) *upahavaṃ te* (LŚ. vō) 'śiṣya TS. MS. KS. ŚŚ. LŚ. *akṣāṃ tām* VS. KS. TB.: *aghaṭ tam* VS.: *aghaṭām tam* MS. TB. 3. 6. 15. 1. The pronouns refer to sacrificial animals, in different but related contexts.

*mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vaḥ kṛṇomi* AV.: *mama vrate te hṛdayaṃ* (AG. ŚG. *vrate hṛdayaṃ te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG. *dadhātu*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. MG.: *mama hṛdaye hṛdayaṃ te astu* HG. The AV. addresses the subjects of a king; the others the guru's śiṣya at the upanayana. *rakṣāṃsi tayā* (and *tābhīr*) *daha jātaśedah* Kauś. (both).

*irām vahanā* (ApMB. *vahato*, MG. *vahanā*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāyāḥ* AŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG.: *irām vahanāḥ sumanaśyamānāḥ* HG. In different contexts; MG. refers to the bride. But the adaptation of the formula in MG. is imperfect; we fail to see how Knauer can defend the correctness of his text as he does.

*ayakṣmāya tvā samṣṛjāmi prajābhyaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *ayakṣmā vaḥ prajāyā samṣṛjāmi* KS. TB. ApŚ. Different contexts.

#### 9. Pluralization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§740. Thirdly, in some cases where the context is the same, and where there is no formal 'transfer of epithet', the ritual entity designated by the variant word is pluralized in one variant by the inclusion of other individuals, or by the substitution of a plural entity for a singular one: or vice versa. For example: *ṛtena* (MG. *ṛtena*) *sthūṇām* (ApMB. MG. *sthūṇā*, MG. *sthūṇā*) *adhi roha vaśā* (MG. *vaśāḥ*) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG.: 'mount, O pole, upon the post(s)' or the like. The dual form of ApMB. HG. can have no standing and is best regarded as a phonetic corruption (*v* for *m*, VV 2 §237). The verse is used in mounting the ridge-pole of the house on the middle post (and others); either singular or plural makes sense, but not dual. The plural of MG. may be defended, tho KG. 11. 3 has *sthūṇām*; Ppp. is quoted by Roth as *sthūṇā dhi*.

Other instances:

*mahad adya bharatasya* (and *bharatānām*) ŚB. (both): *mahākarma bhara-tasya* AB. The singular refers to Bharata Dauḥṣanti, the plural to the Bharata family.

*atharvane svāhā* ŚB.: *atharvabhyaḥ* (sc. *svāhā*) BDh. Hardly to be considered variants. The plural means the (hymns of the) Atharva Veda, the singular the ṛṣi Atharvan.

*ādityāś ca me sāvitrāś ca me* TS.: *ādityāś ca mā indraś ca me* MS. Same context; sc. in both 'prosper by the sacrifice'. In TS. *grahaś* is understood: 'the cup for Āditya (or Aditi)'; in MS. 'the Ādityas'.

- brāhmaṇas teḥ nāthakāma upadhāvēmi* (ApMB. <sup>2</sup>kāmaḥ prapadye) SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.; *brāhmaṇa vo nāthakāma upadhāvēmi* SMB. Singular is addressed in several successive mantras to various gods; plural to them all collectively.
- abhayaṁ vo* (ŚŚ.\* *te*) *'bhayaṁ no astu* (AB. AŚ. *me 'stu*) AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. (both). The formula with *te* is repeated at each of the three altars, and then with *vo* referring to all three as in the other texts.
- idam tam* (and *tān*) *atī srjāmi tam* (and *tān*) *mābhy avarikṣi* AV. (both). Both in the same litany, addressed to various ritual entities.
- eya vo deva saritaḥ somaḥ* TS. ApŚ.: *deva saritar eya te somaḥ* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. Followed by *mā tvā* (TS. *vo*) *dabhan* (TS. *dabhat*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The plural pronoun refers to the gods including Savitar.
- mītrasya teḥ cakṣuṣā pratikṣe* (with variants) VSK. TS. KS. KB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. AG.: *mītrasya vaḥ cakṣuṣā prekṣe* (*cakṣuṣānuruikṣe*) MS. AŚ. MŚ. Reference to various ritual entities, in same context.
- utemāḥ patya* TS.: *utemāḥ patya* MS. MŚ. In the same context, but with different reference; in TS. to waters, in MS. MŚ. to *yajña*.
- devasya tvā* (MS. *vaḥ*) *savituh prasave . . . samvrapāmi* VS. MS. TB. ŚB. (Delete reference to MS. under *devasya tvā* in Conc.) Singular refers to rice, plural to rice and water.
- anīśītāsi sapatnakṣit* VS.: *anīśīto 'si sapatnakṣit* VS. ŚB.: *anīśītāḥ* (KS. ApŚ. add *stha*) *sapatnakṣayanīḥ* MS. KS. ApŚ. Used in the same ritual context of various implements, one or several (*śruṇ*, *śruva*).
- rakṣohanaṁ teḥ valagahanam avasiñcāmi* (and *avastrñāmi*) *vaiṣṇavam* MS. MŚ.: *rakṣoghno valagaghno 'vasiñcāmi* (and *'vastrñāmi*) *vaiṣṇavān* KS.: *rakṣohano* (VS. ŚB. add *vo*) *valagahano 'vastrñāmi vaiṣṇavān* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. Four holes are referred to; MS. MŚ. address them one by one.
- yā* (ApMB. HG. *yām*) *āharaḥ jamadagniḥ* PG. ApMB. HG. In the same context; singular refers to a wreath, plural to flowers.
- pratnam ni pāti kāryam* RV.: *†pratnāni* (Conc. *pra teḥ ni*) *pāti kāryaḥ* KS. See §403.

## 10. Form assimilation

§741. Among the remaining, miscellaneous variants between singular and plural, some seem to involve external form attraction—that is, the shift is due to the influence of some other form in the vicinity, altho the variant cannot be classified as showing 'transfer of epithet'. Thus:



*trīḥ sapta mātuh paramāṇi vindan* RV.: *trīḥ sapta paramam nāma jānan* ArS. Preceded in both by *le manvata prathamam nāma dhenoh*. 'They thought out the first name of the cow, they found the thrice seven supreme (names) of the mother (cow)', or 'they knew the thrice seven (names), the supreme (name, of the cow)'. The change to singular in ArS. is due to the preceding singulars.

*abhi priyā* (SV. *priyam*) *divas padam* RV. SV. It is obvious that SV. has assimilated the adjective to *padam*. This is a lect. fac.; the sense requires such a construction. The RV. *priyā* must be taken with Lanman *NInfl.* 349 and Oldenberg *Noten* ad loc. as acc. pl. neut., sc. *padāni*: 'unto the dear (places), the place of heaven.' Cf. RV. 9. 12. 8.

*vāto vā* (VSK. *vā vo*) *mano vā* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *vāyur vā tvā manur vā tvā* TS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The pronoun *tvā* refers to the horse mentioned in *pāda e* (*āsvam* in all); *vo* of VSK. can scarcely have any other reference; the plural may be due to thought of the 'horses' mentioned in the preceding verse.

*kaṇin pṛchāmi vidmane* (AV. *videano*) *na vidvān* RV. AV. See §487.

#### 11. Change of words or meanings of a word

§742. In the rest different words are used, or else the same word in different meanings, requiring different numbers:

*ūrjasvatī rājamāt* (TS. *rājasūyāya*, MS. KS. *rājasūyās*) *citānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. '(Waters) rich in food, king-creating, wise (or, wise unto king-creation)'. In this *rājavā* or *śūya* as adjective varies with the commoner abstract noun *rājasūya*. Cf. next.

*svāhā rājasūyāḥ* MS. MŚ.: *svāhā rājasūyāya citānāḥ* TS.: *svāhā rājasvaḥ* VS. ŚB. Cf. preceding, which comes shortly before this in the texts.

*drapsas caskanda pṛthivīm anu dyām* (RV. *caskanda prathamān anu dyūn*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Here the two meanings of the stem *die* are concerned. RV. 'thruout the earliest days'; the others 'thru earth and heaven.'

*tasmai brahma ca brāhmās* (TA. *brahmā*) *ca* AV. TA. Whatever *brāhmās* of AV. may mean, which is uncertain, TA. has a different word and means the personalized Brahman.

*indrasya hārdy* (AV. *hārdim*) *āviśan manīgībhiḥ* (AV. *manīṣayā*) RV. AV. SV. 'By the wise (priests)': 'by wisdom'.

*jaghāna vṛtram yatir na* SV. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *vṛtram yo jaghāna yatir na* AV. Obscure; cf. Whitney on AV. 2. 5. 3.

*prātanebbhiḥ* (MS. KS. *pravaṇena*) *saṃśasaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
Uncertain; see VV 2 §491.

*yo agnaye dadāḥa havyadātibhiḥ* (SV. °*laye*) RV. SV. See §567.

*mitraḥ satyānām* (VS. ŚB. *satyaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS. PG. Abstract  
noun; adjective.

## 12. Doubtful or erroneous

### §743. Doubtful or erroneous variants:

*trayastrīṅśat tantavo ye ri tatnīre* (MS. *yam vitanvate*, KS. AŚ. *yān vitan-*  
*vate*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The singular makes no sense; tho MS.  
p.p. also reads *yam*, it seems as if *yān* must be intended. Perhaps  
it is to be connected with the peculiar sandhi of final *ān* before  
vowels (in MS. this appears as *an*), cf. von Schroeder 1 p. xxix.  
[*pari vo rudrasya hetir vṛṇaktu* AV. KS. (bis). Add KS. 30. 10, for  
which Conc. has *pari tvā*. . .]

[*arkam* (TS. *bṛhad arkam*) *yuñjānāḥ svar* (*savar*) *ābharann idam* TS.  
MS. KS. Conc. *yuñjānāḥ* for TS.]



## CHAPTER XXVIII

### DUAL AND OTHER NUMBERS

#### 1. Elliptic dual, and devatā-dvandvas

§744. The most interesting group of variants between the dual and other numbers is that which concerns the elliptic dual and double-duals, known to the Hindus as *devatā-dvandvas*. These double dual forms denoting a pair of entities have been explained by Edgerton (KZ. 43. 110 ff., 44. 23 ff.) as an outgrowth of the Indo-European elliptic dual, in which a pair is denoted by the dual form of one member alone, an idiom which is still very much alive in the Veda. The first step in the development was the addition to the elliptic dual of the singular of the second member of the pair (*mītrā* [= Mitra and Varuṇa], followed by *varuṇas ca*). We then have an illogical association of a dual and a singular form, referring together to only two entities. There is evidence for the view (Edgerton, l. c.) that this illogical association existed in Indo-European. In most languages, however, it was supplanted by an association of two singulars; so also to a large extent in Sanskrit. In Indo-Iranian, however, the assimilation of the two forms may work the other way, the complementary singular being replaced by a dual, so that the result is a double dual, e.g. *mītrā-varuṇau*.

§745. The variants illustrate these rather complicated processes at various points. To begin with, an elliptic dual may vary with the singular of the prior member of the pair. The meaning is then of course different; the singular can scarcely have been felt as including the unexpressed member:

*añghrinā viṣṇo mā tvāva* (KS. *viṣṇū mā vām ava*) *kramiṣam* VS. KS. ŚB.: *agnāviṣṇū mā vām ava* *kramiṣam* TS. TB. ApŚ. In most texts including KS. the pair Agni and Viṣṇu are addressed (in KS. by the elliptic dual *viṣṇū*), while VS. ŚB. address Viṣṇu alone.

*kṣāman* (KS. *kṣāma*) *ruruca uṣaso na bhānuṇā* (MS. KS. *ketunā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. See §547. The original *kṣāman* = 'on the earth'; KS. has an elliptic dual, 'the two earths' = heaven and earth. More commonly *dyāvā* 'the two heavens' is used in this sense.

*tatra pāyema pitarau ca putrān* (TA. *pitarām ca putram*) AV. TA. The elliptic dual *pitarau* (= father and mother) is replaced in TA. by the singular 'father'.

§746. Once a sūtra text presents a complementary singular expressing the second member of the pair after an elliptic dual. In this case the form of the variant which is presumably older (SV.) has a second dual, forming therefore a double dual; yet this chronology cannot be regarded as certain:

*dyāvā hotrāya prthivī* (ApŚ. °*vīm*) SV. ApŚ.

§747. More or less the reverse of this is found in a variant in which the undoubtedly older form has an elliptic dual with complementary singular; a secondary text removes the logical inconsistency by substituting a singular for the dual, thus presenting two coordinate singulars: *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB. *indra*) *udīthah sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB. There is no reason to emend the ŚB. reading with Eggeling and the Conc.; *indrā* means Indra and Sūrya, who are here, to be sure, equated by ritualistic-mystic symbolism with Mitra and Varuṇa.

§748. More frequently we find double duals varying with double singulars, both referring to the same pair. The two dual forms may be separate words, sometimes even separated by other words:

*viṣṇum aḡan varuṇam pūrvahūtiḥ* AV.: *viṣṇā aḡan varuṇā pūrvahūtan* (MS. °*tim*) VS. MS. ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*agnim indram vtrahanā huve 'ham* (MS. °*hanam huveṃa*) AV. MS.: *agnī indrā vtrahanā huve vām* TB. The double dual *indrā*... *agnī* occurs twice in RV., and the compound *indrāgnī* (often pronounced as four syllables) is common. Note the singular adjective in MS.; cf. §757.

§749. It is more usual to find the double dual forming a single compound word, which may vary with two singulars:

*ā mitravaruṇā bhagam* RV.: *ā mitre varuṇe bhage* SV.

*indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā* TB.: *indrah sūrah prathamō viśvakarmā* AŚ.

*śatām indrāgnī* (AV. \* *śatām ta indro agniḥ*) *śavita brhaspatīḥ* RV. AV. (both) N. Note that AV. is metrically bad.

*iṣam no mitravaruṇā kartanedām* AA.: *ūrjā mitro varuṇah pincateḍaḥ* SV.

*ayaś śaṇḍo marka upavīra ulūkhalaḥ* ApMB.†: *śaṇḍāmarkā* (HG. *śaṇḍo marka*) *upavīrah* PG. HG. The ed. of PG. prints *śaṇḍā markā* as separate words.

*namo diva namah prthivyai* AV. VSK. TS. MS. GB. TA. AŚ. LŚ. ApŚ.: *namo dyāvāprthivibhyām* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ŚG.



§750. The normal dvandva compound of Sanskrit develops out of the double (*devatā*) dvandva of the Veda by the substitution of the stem form for the nom.-acc. dual form in the prior member. This also appears fairly early, and varies in Vedic texts with two singulars as in the preceding paragraph:

*ṛṣī bodhapratibodhau* AV.: *ṛṣir bodhaḥ prabodhaḥ* ApMB.: *bodhaś ca tvā* (KS. MG. *mā*) *pratibodhaś* (MG. *prati*?) *ca* AV. KS.† MG. ApMB.

Note sing. *ṛṣir* in ApMB.; see §757.

*śākvaran̄ raivatān̄ sāmā* KS.: *śākvararavate sāmānī* VS. TS. MS. KS.

Again cf. §757.

*mayī dakṣo mayī krutuh* VS. MS. TB. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ.: *mayī dakṣakratū* ApŚ. AG. HG.

*vairūpaṁ ca vairājaṁ cāparau* AB.: *vairūpacavairāje anūcī* IŚ.

*śarma varātham* (HG. *śarmatarāthe*) *punatī na āgāt* ApMB. HG. But for the separate accents, *śarma-varātham* of ApMB. might be considered a singular dvandva, cf. next §.

*bṛhatā tvā rathamītareṇa triṣṭubhyā* (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā*. . . MS. KS.:

*bṛhadrathamītarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā*. . . TS.

*bṛhac ca te rathamītarān̄ ca pūrvau pādau bhavatām* AB.: *bṛhadrathamītare te pūrvau pādau*. . . IŚ.

§751. Still later, no doubt, but already found even in early Vedic texts, is the singularization of dvandva compounds (as neuter collectives). We find several variations between such neuter singulars and dual dvandvas:

*kṣutpīpāsābhyām* (TAA. °*sāya*) *svāhā* SMB. TAA. GG.

*iṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavāthāvir* (*kṛṇavathāvir*, *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ. *asmāt*)

VS. VSK. TS. TB. ŚB. MŚ.: *iṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛṇutāvir asmai* AV.:

*iṣṭāpūrtam kṛṇutād āvir asmai* KS.

*dakṣakratū* (MS. ed.† °*tu*, v. l. °*tū*) *te maitrādrunah pātu* MS. ApŚ.

*jīmūṭān̄ hṛdayaupakābhyām* (VS. °*śenā*, VSK. °*senā*) VS. VSK. TS. MS.

KSA. The p.p. of TS. divides *hṛdaya-aupaśa*. The meaning of the second member is quite unknown. Mahīdhara takes the epd. as a tatpurusa, 'the fleshy parts of the heart', but the dual of the other texts suggests that it is rather a singular dvandva.

## 2. Collective singular varies with dual

§752. Leaving now the subject of dvandva compounds, we take up first expressions for dual entities, which may however be thought of as units, being then expressed by singulars. A simple example is the word for 'nose', which may be either singular or (when thinking of the two

nostrils) dual. Such variants occur especially with parts of the body, but also with other entities. We shall mention first a case which is particularly interesting as presenting a neuter singular collective instead of a fem. dual. This reminds us of the use of the neuter singular in dvandva compounds, mentioned in the last paragraph; and so far as we know neither this nor any similar form has been noticed heretofore: *viśākhe nakṣatram* TS.: *viśākham nakṣatram* MS. KS.† So von Schroeder reads in KS. with two mss.; one ms. *viśākha*, which must be fem. and may be understood as either sing. or plu. Only one ms. of MS. has *viśākhe*. The constellation is made up of either two or four stars, and its name occurs in sing., dual, and plural, but is otherwise recorded only in the fem. gender, cf. §793.

§753. The other words recorded here keep the same gender in sing. and dual:

*apānena nāsike* (MS. °kām) VS. MS.

*asyā* (MG.† *asyām*) *nāryā gavīnyoh* (MG. °yām) AB. MG.: *asyān nāryān gavīnyān* RVKh. ApMB. The word *gavīnī* (and *gavīnikā*, AV.) is regularly dual; it denotes some obscure pair of organs in the abdomen.

*dnandam nandathunā* (KSA. °thubhyām) TS. KSA. *nandathu* is nowhere recorded, not even in Hindu lexicons, as name of a part of the body, and its meaning can only be guessed from the context. The dual of KS. suggests perhaps 'testicles'; 'penis' would be more natural and may be intended in TS. (comm. *guhyaendriyam*). A series of duals follows, and possibly the dual of KS. is due to mechanical form-assimilation to these.

*aṣṭrām tadām pratīnāhā* (ApŚ. *tālam pratīnāham*) MS. ApŚ. Refers to some unknown part of the plow. Caland adopts the MS. reading for ApŚ., but since no one knows what the word means, we see no good reason to question the sing.

*punarvasur* (TS. °sū) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. Usually dual.

### 3. Dual and plural of parts of the body

§754. Like the singular (*ante*), the plural also varies with the dual in names of parts of the body; usually both are comprehensible. Thus the word *jambha* or *jambhya* means either 'tooth' or 'jaw' (originally 'crusher, grinder'); in the former meaning it is naturally plural, in the latter dual:

*jambhābhyām* (VS. TS. °bhyais, KS. °bhyebhis) *taskarān* (°rañ, °rdn) *utā* VS. TS. MS. KS.



*javam jaṅghābhiḥ* (VS. °bhyām) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The 'shanks' of the horse, here referred to, are of course four, hence the plural is proper; VS. must have carelessly used a form appropriate to human beings only.

*girāṁ plāśibhiḥ* (MS. °śibhyām) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The stem *plāśi* is usually sg. or plu.; its meaning is quite unknown and the guesses of the comms. are not worth quoting.

#### 4. Other entities conceived as dual or plural

§755. Besides parts of the body, other entities may be thought of as dual or plural groups. Thus the constellation *phalgunī* is a group of two plus two stars, and may be thought of as dual because consisting of two pairs, or as plural:

*phalgunīr* (TS. °nī) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS.

*phalgunīṣu* (ApG. °nibhyām) *vy uhyate* (ApG. āh°) AV. Kauś. ApG.

*marutaḥ sadohavirdhānaiḥ* (TA. °dhānābhyām) MS. TA.: *aditiḥ sadohavirdhānābhyām* KS. The *havirdhāna* itself is referred to as either sg. or dual (cf. TS. 3. 1. 3. 1); combined with the sg. *sadas*, the compound is either dual or plural.

*vi yo mame rajasī sukratīyayā* RV.: *vi yo rajānsy amīmāta sukratuḥ* RV. The 'spaces' (*rajas*) are either two or three (or even more) in number.

#### 5. Generalizing dual (for sing.) and plural

§756. In one group we find dual and plural forms varying in essentially the same way as the 'generalizing singular and plural' forms treated above, §§685 ff. Here, instead of the singular, we find the dual because the 'single' entity happens to be a pair; otherwise the psychological relation between the two variants, and the motivation of the change, is exactly the same. The dual may be a single uncompound word, an elliptic dual, or a dvandva compound; in all cases there is substantially no difference of meaning:

*ud eṣām bāhū* (MS. MŚ. *bāhūn*) *atīram* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ApŚ.

MŚ. Since the 'arms' belong to a plurality of individuals, the plural is comprehensible; but since each person has 'two arms', the dual may also be used exactly as the 'generalizing singular' would be possible in the case of a singular entity.

*apochatu* (AV. °ntu) *mithunā yā kimīdinaḥ* (AV. *ye kimīdinaḥ*) RV. AV.

The *kimīdina* are apt to go in pairs (§764); the RV. dual here is the

substantial equivalent of a generalizing singular, since it really means *any* pair of demons, or all of them.

*ahorātrayoḥ sandhībhyo jatūḥ* VS.: *ahnāḥ sandhībhyām jatūḥ* MS.

Since there are two 'joints' or twilights of day and night, the dual does duty as the equivalent of a 'generalizing singular'.

*ahorātrās* (KS. TA. *\*trāṇi*) *te kalpantām* VS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *ahorātre te* (TB. *me*) *kalpetām* MS. TB. 'Day-and-night': 'days and nights'.

*ānāḥ ahobhyaḥ* (TS. *ahobhyaḥ*) VS. TS. ŚB. KŚ. Here the relation is not quite the same; TS. has an elliptic dual which must mean 'day and night'; the plural of the other texts doubtless means 'days' in the sense of days of 24 hours, that is a plurality of days and nights. That *ahan* may mean this is proved e.g. by the preceding variant but one, since the 'twilights of day' can only mean twilights of the 24-hour day.

*utkūlanikūlebhyaḥ triṣṭhinam* VS.: *utkūlanikūlābhyām triṣṭhinam* TB.

Fanciful entities to which homage is offered at the Puruṣamedha.

The plural apparently can only mean a collection of the dual entities.

#### 6. Different agreement of adjectives and other epithets

§757. An adjective or other epithet sometimes agrees alternatively with a dual, or with one member of the pair; cf. the like variation between singular and plural, §735. Some cases of this sort will be found in §750. Also:

*yasya dyaur urvī prthivī ca mahī* AV.: *yenā dyaur ugrā prthivī ca drdha* (TS. *drdhe*) RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. Here the original makes *drdha* apply only to *prthivī*; TS. applies it to *dyaur* also.

§758. Similarly an adjective or epithet may vary between dual, applying to a dual entity, and plural, including some other entity:

*vipipānā* (VS. *\*nāḥ*) *sarāsvatī* VS. MS. The dual refers to the Aśvins, the plural to them and Sarasvatī.

(*āyukṛd āyupatnī svadhāvantau*) *gopā me stam...* *ātmasadau me stam* AV.: (*āyus* [*ad āyupatnī* read *āyukṛd āyupatnī?*] *svadhāvo*) *gopā nāḥ stha rakṣitārah* KS.: (*āyukṛd āyupatnī svadhā vo*) *goptryo me stha...* *ātmasado me stha* ApŚ. Explained VV 1. §357.

§758a. Once a sing., doubtless felt as an abstract, in predicative apposition to a dual, varies with a dual concrete epithet:

*avitur bāhū stho devajanānām vidharanīḥ* (KapS. *\*nī*) KS. KapS. (Oertel 137.) Two blades of grass are addressed; KapS. surely intends a dual, 'two supporters'; KS., 'a support'. The stem *vidharanī* is not recorded in the lexicons.



§759. Two dual epithets of an adjoining dual noun may vary with two singulars, each then applying to one of the pair:

*ugrañpaśye ugrajītau tad adya* AV.: *ugrañpaśyā* (MS. text *ugrañpaśyāc*, VV 2 §405) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* MS. TA.: *dūrepāśyā ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tāni* TB. Followed by *apsarasāṁ*...; the epithets agree with this word (AV.), or apply to the two individuals denoted by it (probably felt as proper names in the latter case).

§760. Once what appears to be an adjectival dvandva, in dual form, is allowed to agree with a singular noun (!); in the other form of the variant the uncompounded, single adjective is singular. The variant strikes us as bizarre, but is psychologically comprehensible:

*anuvatsarīṇām svastīm āśāste* TB. ApŚ.: *anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastīm āśāste* MŚ. 'He desires well-being lasting for an *anuvatsara*': 'I desire well-being lasting for an *anuvatsara* and for an *udvatsara*.'

§761. Perhaps somewhat similar is the following, if the reason for the dual in MŚ. is the dual character of the adjective compound rather than its reference to two entities. The context deals, however, with the *śukra* and *manthin* drafts of soma, and it may be that MŚ. thinks of the word as applying to two oblations only (tho the neuter gender makes it impossible to supply *śukramanthīnan* [*grahau*] with it, and in fact the mantra can hardly be applied specifically to those two drafts, which are not, of course, offered by the *camasādhvaryas*):

*madhyatahḥkārīṇām camasādhvaryavo vaṣaṭkṛtānuvaṣaṭkṛtān* (MŚ. °u) *juhuta* ApŚ. MŚ. '...offer the (MŚ. two?) oblations (in ApŚ. *somān* is apparently understood) accompanied by *vaṣaṭ* and by the secondary *vaṣaṭ*.'

## 7. Transfer of epithet

§762. As with cases of transfer of epithet between singular and plural (§737), we shall list here only variants which do not involve change of case, these latter being treated above under case variations. Variations between singular and dual are:

*te asya yojāṇe divye* (KS. *divyah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. The sing. of KS. agrees with *yonir* in the next pāda.

*ubhā kavī yuvānā* (PG. *yuvā*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. PG.: *mahā kavī yuvānā* MŚ. Followed in PG. by *yo no dharmah parāpataḥ*; Stenzler translates *yuvā* with *dharmah* but observes that the text is corrupt, and Oldenberg abandons it.

*dirghaprayajyum atī yo vanuṣyati* RV. TS. MS. N.: *dirghaprayajyū haviṣā vṛdhānā* MS. TB. The latter occurs in a modification of

the RV. verse (which MS. elsewhere repeats without change), with transfer of the epithet to the dual divinity addressed (originally Indra-Varuṇa, here Mitra-Varuṇa).

*viśvakarmaṁś tanūpā asi* ŚB.: *viśvakarmāṇau tanūpau me sthaḥ* ŚŚ.  
Explained VV 1 §351.

*indrasya vām* (TB. *te*) *vīryakṛto* . . . VS. VSK. ŚB. TB. See §521.

*akvinendram na jāgrevi* (TB. °*vi*) VS. MS. TB. Comm. on VS. takes *jāgrevi* as dual adjective, but it is rather an adverb (so BR. and VV 2 §525). In TB. it is made to agree with *akvinā*.

§763. Transfers of epithet between dual and plural are:

*navena pūrvaṁ dayamānāḥ syāma* (VS. TB. *dayamāne*) VS. MS. KS.† 19. 13. TB. (both). The plural agrees with the subject, the dual with *devi* to whom the passage is addressed.

*sa viśvācī* (KS. °*ci*) *abhi caṣṭe ghr̥tācī* (KS. °*ci*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The original probably applies to sacrificial ladies, tho no noun is mentioned; cf. ŚB. 9. 2. 3. 17. KS. attracts the adjectives into agreement with *rodasī*. For the phonetic aspects of the change see VV 2 §357.

#### 8. Phrase inflection

§764. Here are presented cases in which the shift of number is due to adaptation of old material to a new context. Sometimes all three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, occur in different forms. Thus: *sakhāyau saptapadāḥ abhūva* (ApMB.† °*padā babhūva*) ApMB. HG.: *sakhā* (PG. *sakhe*) *saptapadā* (ApMB. PG. °*dā*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. KauŚ. ApMB. PG. SMB. MG.: *sakhāyah saptapadā abhūma* TB. ApŚ. See VV 1 p. 274.

*yātudhānaḥ kimīdinaḥ* AV.: *yātudhānāḥ kimīdinaḥ* AV.: *yātudhānā kimīdina* RV. Different contexts. Fiends are otherwise known to go in pairs (*mithunā* precedes in RV.), cf. *apochatu* etc., §756. *tā no mṛṣāta idṛśe* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. KS.: *te no mṛṣānte idṛśe* AV.: *sa no mṛṣātīdṛśe* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB. N.

§765. Variations between dual and singular:

*gr̥ṇānā* (RV.\* SV.\* °*no*) *jamadagninā* RV. (both) SV. (both) AŚ. ŚŚ. AG. ŚG.

*tanvāno* (TB. °*ne*) *yajñam puruṣeśasaṁ dhīyā* RV. TB. The latter lifts the *pāda* from an Agni verse and uses it in a different one to *dyāvopṛthivī*.

*yajñasyadyuh pratiran* (KS.\* †2. 7, MŚ. *pratirantau*) MS. KS. (both) MŚ. Two wholly different contexts in KS.; MS. agrees with one, MŚ. with the other.



*vīśvair devaiḥ pūrṇbhūḥ saṁvidānaḥ* RV. TS.; *vīśvair devair yajñīyair saṁvidānau* (TS. KSA. °naḥ) TS. KSA. TB. AŚ. In TS. KS. two different verses, one adopted from RV.; in TB. AŚ. this single pāda is used in a wholly different context.

*devī devebhīr yajatā* (and °te) *yajatraiḥ* RV. (both): *devī deveṣu yajatā yajatra* RV. AV. MS.

*taśyām* (ApŚ. *tayor*) *devā adhisaṁvasantaḥ* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *taśyām devaiḥ saṁvasanto mahitvā* AV.: *yasyām* (v. l. *asyām*) *devā abhisaṁviśantaḥ* MŚ. Half a stanza is adapted to a different purpose in ApŚ.

*jyotiṣe tvā* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.: *jyotiṣe vām* KS. ApŚ. Different contexts; dual only in one passage of KS. ApŚ. Also *tejase tvā* (vām), *cakṣuṣe tvā* (vām), *varcase tvā* (vām), and *prajābhīyas tvā* (°bhyo vām); sings. in various texts, duals only KS. ApŚ.

*ākāśānā medhapatibhyām* (MS. KS. °pataye) *medham* MS. KS. AB. KB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. The *ūhas medhapataye* and °*patibhyah* are prescribed in the sequel in AB.; see Schwab, *Tieropfer*, 102. Really this involves all three numbers and so belongs in §764.

*bhadrā te pūṣaṁ* (TA. °*bhadrā vām pūṣaṁ*) *ihā rātir astu* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. TA. (both) N. Here a whole stanza is adapted to a different context in TA. The sing. is addressed to Pūṣan, or according to the TA. comm. to *samvatsara*; the dual, to *dyāvāprthivī*. The next two occur in the same verse:

*śukraṁ vām anyad rajataṁ* (Poona ed. *yaj*°, v. l. *raj*°) *vām anyat* TA.: *śukraṁ te anyad yajataṁ te anyat* RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. AB. KB. TA. AŚ. Svidh. N. And:

*viśvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvaḥ* (SV. °*van*, TA. °*avathaḥ svadhāvantau*) RV. SV. TS. MS. KS. TA. (both) N. See prec.

*devas tvā* (ApŚ. *devo vām*) *savitā madhvānaktu* VS. TS. MS. KS. MŚ. ApŚ.

*viśveṣṭe tā te* (RV. °*vām*) *savaneṣu pravācyā* RV. (both).

*atomebhīr havanāśrutam* (and °*tā*) RV. (both).

*dīrghaṁ vām* (and *tā*) *dyuḥ savitā kṛyotu* AV. (both). In different parts of the marriage ceremony; sing. is the wife, dual husband and wife. Might perhaps be called a *vikāra* and placed in §769.

*patī* (RV. °*patīm*) *turasya rādhayaḥ* RV. (both) KS.

*rājantam adhvarāṇām* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *rājantā adhvarāṇām* RV.

*sāmrajyāya sukratuh* (RV. °*tā*) RV. (both) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*arvācā vām* (and *arvācām tvā*) *saptayo dhvarāśriyaḥ* RV. (both). See

*RVRep.* on 1. 47, 8, which calls the sing. an ūha of the dual; it is hardly that in the strictly technical sense, tho in a wider sense all these variants might be called ūhas.

*āyur vām* (AV. MG. \**āyus te*) *śaradaḥ śalam* AV. MG. (both).

*anu* (MS. *nu*, read *anu*; KB. ŚŚ. *upa*) *vām jihvā ghṛtam ā caranyat* MS. KS. KB. ŚŚ.; *prati te jihvā ghṛtam uc caranyet* (MS. KS. \**yat*, VS. ŚB. \**yat avāhā*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.; *prati vām jihvā ghṛtam uc* (AV.\* TS.\* †*ā*) *caranyat* (AV. \**yāt*, TS. \**yēt*) AV. (bis) TS. (bis) MS. KS. KB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*catuḥśikhaṇḍā yuvatiḥ supesāḥ* (KS. *supatnī*) KS. TB. ApŚ.; *catuḥśikhaṇḍe yuvati kanine* ApŚ. In the latter a largely new verse is constructed for a different context. See next.

*ghṛtapratikā* (ApŚ.\* \**ke*) *bhuvanasya madhye* TB. ApŚ. (both). Follows the pree.

*dīrgham āyuh kṛnotu me* (AV.\* ApMB. *vām*) AV. (ter) JB. Kauś. ApMB. *tār imā upa sarpatāḥ* SV. JB.; *emām anu sarpatā* MS. It seems that MS. has adapted the SV. original to a different ritual context. The interpretation of this and the surrounding mantras in MS. is obscure; see ApŚ. 4. 10. 4, with Caland's translation, which deals with the same ritual. With Benfey we understand *imā* as dual; *imām* of MS. would seem to refer to *idā*.

*nīlāhilitāḥ bhavati* RV. AV.; *nīlāhilita bhavataḥ* ApMB. Whitney says that ApMB. speaks as if the bridal garment which is given away were two (or better, made of two parts). Perhaps the variant did originate in that way; but ApG. uses the mantra in referring not to the bridal garment, but to two threads put one in each wheel-track of the car on which the bride is brought to her husband's house, that is in a different context, tho still part of the wedding rites.

*mā tvā vṛkṣaḥ* (TA. *vṛkṣau*) *sam bādhiṣṭa* (TA. \**ām*, and *bādhetām*) AV. TA. (bis). According to Kauś. 82. 32 the AV. verse is used in burying the bones of the burned corpse at the foot of a tree. TA. uses it twice in a different part of the funeral rites, namely in constructing the funeral pyre; the 'two pieces of wood' refer to the *paridhis* (of which there are four) surrounding the pyre; the verse is applied once to the north and south pair, once to the east and west pair.

*vidhṛtir aśi* TA. ŚŚ.; *vidhṛti sthaḥ* MS.

§766. Phrase inflection; variations between dual and plural:

*indravantā* (TB. \**tau*) *havir idam juṣethām* TB. ŚŚ.; *indravanto havir idam juṣantām* TB. ApŚ.



*yahet itasya mātaraḥ* RV.: *yahvīr itasya mātaraḥ* RV.

*uruvyacasā dhāmnā patyamānāḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS.: *uruvyacasāgnēr dhāmnā patyamāne* AV.

*puruṣe 'dhi samāhūtaḥ* (and *'te*) AV. Both in the same verse; the dual goes with *amṛtaḥ ca mṛtyuḥ ca*, the plural with *nādyah*.

*asme vo (vān) astu sumatiḥ canīṣṭhā* RV. (both).

*agner vo 'pannagrhasya* (TS.\* TB. ApŚ.\* *vām apanna'*) *sadasi śādayāmi* VS. TS. (both) MS. KS. TB. ŚB. ApŚ. (both) MŚ.

*ayanī kṛiṣṭhye dadhātu naḥ* (PG. *nau*) ŚG. PG. The dual refers to the householder and his wife; the plural, in a different context, is generalizing or 'editorial'.

*rtārānā ('vāno) jāne-jane* RV. (both).

*sam u vām (vo) yajñam mahayam* ('yan) *namobhiḥ* RV. (both).

*saha naḥ sādhuḥkṛtyā* ŚB. LŚ. KŚ.: *sahaiva nau sukṛtam saha duṣkṛtam* Kauś.: *sukṛtam nau kṛiḥa* Kauś.

*sam vām* (AV. MS.\* KS.\* *vo*) *manāsi sam vrata* AV. VS. TS. MS. (both) KS. (both) ŚB.

#### 9. Dualization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§767. The next group includes variants in which the form shifts from dual to singular or plural, or vice versa, in the same context, in accordance with a change in the number of the entity designated, which may be the same or different. Included are some ritual ūhas and vikāras where the context seems to us to be the same, the number of the entity only shifting. It is perhaps doubtful where the line should be drawn, or whether it should be drawn at all, between this and the preceding group; we have tried to draw it at the point where the context ceases to be 'different' and becomes essentially 'the same', but these terms are not strictly definable, and ritual ūhas perhaps belong rather with the preceding.—When the change of number involves transfer of an epithet, it is of course treated above, §§762 ff.; and when, without such transference, the change of number seems to be due to some sort of formal or external adaptation or assimilation, it is included below in §§773 ff.

#### §768. Variations of all three numbers:

*iasya te dattām yasya* (and *yayoh*) *prāṇo 'ei svāhā* TS.: *iasya te dadātu yeṣām prāṇo 'ei svāhā* TS.: *iasya te dadātu yasya prāṇo 'ei svāhā* TS.

Modulations in the same passage. For *yasya* after *dattām*, *yayoh* is to be expected; perhaps a mere error?

*tayā devatayājñīrasvād dhruvā śida* VS. TS. etc.:... *dhruvāḥ śida* VS. ŚB. TA.:... *dhruve śidatam* VS.:... *dhruvāḥ śidata* TS. Also *tena brahmanā* etc., see Conc.

*āgneyaḥ kṛṣṇagrīvaḥ* VS. TS. KSA.: *āgneyau kṛṣṇagrīvau* TS. KSA.: *kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo varāṇe* (MS. *lalāṇe*) *purastāt* VS. MS.: *kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyaḥ* VS. MS. ApŚ. All in lists of animals at the *sāvamedha*. TS, KS. have sg. and dual in adjoining formulas. Probably the plural is a substitute for the dual; but this may itself be a mere *ūha* of the sing.

*yāni gharṃe kapālāni* TS. MS. KS. KŚ. MŚ. In MŚ. two *ūhas*: *yad gharṃe*, and *ye gharṃe*.

*agnīm adya hotāram avṛṇtāyaṃ yajamānaḥ*... MS. (and the next five items in Conc.): *agnīm adya hotāram* (*avṛṇtām imau yajamānau*, and *avṛnateme yajamānaḥ*...) ŚŚ. See Conc.

*agnaye prahriyamāṇāyānubrūhi* ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.: *agnibhyām prahriyamāṇābhyām anubrūhi* KŚ.: *agnibhyah prahriyamāṇebhyo 'nubrūhi* ŚB.

*asāḥ* (asā) *anu mā tanu* (LŚ. *tanuḥi jyotiṣā*) MS. KS. LŚ. MŚ. ApŚ.: *amā anu mā tanulam*, and *amā anu mā tanuda* MŚ. *Ūhas*.

*punaḥ kṛṇvāṃs tvaḥ pitarāṃ yuvānam* TS.: *punaḥ kṛṇvantah pitaro yuvānaḥ* MS.: *punaḥ kṛṇvānā* (KS. *kṛṇvantā*) *pitarā yuvānā* VS. KS.† ŚB. We cannot interpret this passage. It seems that the dual, as in VS. KS., is probably original; Mahidhara takes *kṛṇvānā* as plural, for \**nāḥ*! Even such violence helps little.

§769. Dual and singular:

*samjagmāno* (KS. \**nā*, MS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. \**nau*) *dīvā* (TB. ApŚ. *diva ā*) *pṛthivyā* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. Same context, but in VS. ŚB. the formula is repeated, once each with the *śukra* and *manthin grahas*, while in the others it goes with both together. See §576. In VS. MS. KS. immediately followed by:

*śukrah śukraśociṣā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *śukrau śukraśociṣau* MS. As preceding, but here KS. follows with a separate formula *manthi manthiśociṣā*, while TB. ApŚ. do not connect this immediately with the preceding.

*kṛṇutām tvaḥ adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ.: *kṛṇotu so adhvarān* (VS. TB. \**rā*) *jātavedāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ.: *so adhvarā* (AB. \**dhvarā karatī*) *jātavedāḥ* AB. ŚB. See VV 1 p. 263, under *ayād agnir*...; also next. *yakṣat svaṃ mahimānam* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ.: *yakṣataḥ svaṃ mahimānau* MŚ. In same context as prec.; *mahiman* pertains to the subject and varies in number with it.

*prāṇāya me varcodā varcase pavasva* VS. VSK. TS. ŚB.: *prāṇāpānābhyām me varcodasau pavethām* MŚ. See VV 1 §368.

*tasyai* (*tābhyām*; in 11. 2. 27 read *tasmai*) *namo yatamasyām diśitāḥ*



AV. (all three). All in the same hymn, referring to Bhava or Rudra and Bhava or their weapon; practically ūhas, but perhaps better to be placed in §765.

*reṣāya vām* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *ta*) VS.† 1. 6, TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. Sing. used by TS. addressing ladle and winnowing-basket separately, dual by VS. in addressing both together. Also used in other contexts, the dual having other applications.

*te te dhāmāny ūmasi gamādhye* TS.; *tā* (VS. ŚB. *yā*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS. N. *vāstūny*) *ūmasi gamādhyai* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. N. In a Viṣṇu hymn; the dual is understood to refer to Indra and Viṣṇu, who are however nowhere mentioned in the hymn. Even the latter part of this verse mentions Viṣṇu alone in the sing. The secondary change to the singular pronoun is therefore very natural.

*aśmeva tvam sthirā* (MG. ApMB.\* HG.\* †1. 4. 1 *sthiro*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. (bis) HG. (bis) MG.: *aśmeva yuvāni sthirau bhavatam* MG. Sing. fem. refers to the wife, dual to wife and husband, in the same context. The masc. sing. is used in a different context.

*varuṇasya skambhasarjanam* (KS. °ny) *asi* TS. MS. KS. MahānU. MŚ.: *varuṇasya skambhasarjanī sthah* VS. ŚB. Explained in Keith's note 7, HOS. 18, 27.

*etā te agne sāmīṭ tuya* (MŚ. *toyā tvam*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. ŚG. ApMB. HG.: *ete vām agnī samīdhan tābhyām vardhethām cā ca pyāyethām* KS. (an ūha quoted in KS. comm.).

*āyukṛd āyupatnī svadhārantau* AV.: *āyus tad āyupatnī* (ms. °nīh) *svadhārah* KS.: *āyukṛd āyuhpatnī svadhā rah* ApŚ. The reference seems to be to the sacred fires; so at least in ApŚ.; obscure in the others. AV. continues with dual forms, KS. ApŚ. with plurals; see *gopā me stam* (*gopā nah stha*, *goptryo me stha...*), §758.

*ā mātara sthāpayase jigatnū* RV. AV.: *āsthāpayata mātaram jigatnum* AV. In RV. the 'two mothers' (parents?) are heaven and earth. In AV. *mātaram* possibly refers to Indra's mother, suggested by Indra's heroic deeds in the following pāda; cf. RV. 8. 45. 4, 77. 1.

*grāvacyuto dhiṣanayor upasthāt* VS. ŚB.: *bāhucyuto dhiṣanāyā* (TS. *dhiṣanayor*) *upasthāt* (KS. °sthe) RV. TS. KS. GB. Vait. MŚ. See Hillebrandt, *VMyth.* 1, p. 426 ff. According to H. *dhiṣanā* originally means 'earth' (dual in RV. only 'heaven and earth'); then the *vedi* identified with the earth. If so, VS. TS. have reinterpreted the old word in a new sense; the comm. makes it refer to the 'pressing planks.'

*viṣṇor manasā pūte sthaḥ* (Kauś.\* *pūtam asi*) MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś. (both) GG. KhG. Refers to two 'purifiers' of *kūśa* grass, or once in Kauś. to a single one.

*ṣaṣṭiś cūdhvaryū* (ApŚ. °yo, AŚ.† °yor) *navatiś ca pūṣāḥ* AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Spoken by the hotar as he touches the *adhvaryu* and the *agnidh*; in the dual form both are addressed. Since the *agnidh* belongs to the class of *adhvaryu* priests, the dual need not be considered elliptic. The AŚ. probably has a misprint (§369).

*upasrjan* (ŚG. *upa srjam*) *dharuṇam māt্রে dharuṇo mātaram* (LŚ. MŚ. *māt্রে mātaram dharuṇo*, ApŚ. *māt্রে mātaraḥ dharuṇo*) *dhayan* VS. ŚB. JB. IŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG.: *upasrjan* (AŚ. *upasrjan*) *dharuṇam mātaram dharuṇo dhayan* AB. AŚ. The 'dam' is earth. Caland suggests that the dual *mātaraḥ* may mean 'heaven and earth'; this may be the intention but it seems inappropriate. Obscure.

§770. Variants between dual and plural:

*sampreca* (°caḥ, °cas) *stha*... VS. VSK. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *sampreca stha*... VS. ŚB. Also, in same passage:

*vipreca* (°caḥ, °cas) *stha*, and *vipreca sthaḥ*, same texts. See VV 1 p. 259. *etā asudan sukṛtasya loke* TS. TB.: *etā asudan*, and (ūha) *etā asudatām* (pratikas) ApŚ.

*srucāḥ saṁmrjāḥ* ŚB. KŚ. MŚ.: *srucāu saṁmrjāḥ* MŚ.: *srucāḥ ca srucāḥ ca saṁmrjāḥ* ApŚ.

*ā mā gantāḥ* (VSK. *gantāḥ*) *pitarā mātaraḥ ca* (VSK. *tyuvam*) VS. VSK. 10. 3. 12c, TS. KS. ŚB.: *ā mā ganta pitaro viśvarūpāḥ* MS. It is not clear who are meant by the 'parents' or 'fathers'. For the added *ca* after a double dual see Macdonell *Ved. Gr.* p. 156. Add to VV 1 §§337, 352.

*mathavyān stokān apa yān rarādha* AV.: *mudharyau stōkār* (MS. *stokā*) *apa tau rarādha* TS. MS. Why TS. MS. should think of the lost drops of soma as exactly two is not clear to us. Followed by:

*sam nas tābhyaṁ* (AV. *tebhīḥ*) *ṣṛjatu viśvakarmā* AV. TS. MS. The interpretation depends on that of the preceding.

*svasāro mātaribhvarīr* (AV. text °*svarīr*, read doubtless as RV.) *ariprāḥ* RV. AV.: *svasārau mātaribhvarī* (text em. °*svarī*, read with *mas.* and Whitney °*bhvarī*) *aripre* AV. Part of a mystic verse; it is not clear who the 'sisters', dual or plural, are. Ludwig suggests 'heaven and earth' and apparently believes the dual to be original, relying doubtless on the preceding verse, *ā mātaraḥ śhāpayase jigatnā*, cf. §760. But this would involve the rash assumption that AV. is more original than RV.



*daiveya* (AV. Ppp. *daivent*) *hotārān ūrdhvam* (VS. °rā ūr°, KS. *hotārordhvam imam*, MS. °rā ūrdhvam *imam*, AV. °ra ūrdhvam, Ppp. °ra [but intending °rā since dual verb follows] *imam*) *adhvarān nah* AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. 18. 17a.

§771. In a number of variants the plural which varies with the dual is a first-person form or epithet of the subject, referring to the priests and their associates generally, and 'generalizing' or 'editorial' in character, like the variants treated in §724; while the dual is specific, including in the pair the speaker:

*yathāyatham nau* (KS. *no*) *vratāpate* (KS. °pā) *vratāni* (TS. MS. *vratinor vratāni*, KS. *vratinām vratāni*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The dual includes Agni (*vratapati*) and the *yajamāna*; KS.'s plural either refers 'editorially' to the *yajamāna* alone or to his associates. From the phonetic standpoint this and several others in this paragraph belong in VV 2 §732.

*tan* (AV. *tatra*) *nau saniskṛtam* AV. VS. 4. 34, KS.: *tan nah saniskṛtam* TS. MS. The dual is taken to refer to the sacrificer and the offering addressed (perhaps better to him and his wife?); the plural refers to him and his associates, or perhaps really to him alone.

*sā no* (AV. *nau*) *nābhīb paramān jāmi tan nau* RV. AV. The ('editorial') plural occurs also earlier in the verse. The dual of AV. is doubtless secondary (cf. Oldenberg on RV. 10. 10. 4); it refers to Yama and Yamī, and is doubtless assimilated to the following *nau*, which has the same reference.

*punām bahūnām mātara syāma* (MG. °rau *syāva*) ApMB. MG. Addressed to the wife by the husband; the dual means 'parents', the plural is 'editorial'.

*rābhā janayanti nah* (ApMB. °yantu *nau*, HG. °yantu *nah*) ApMB. (bis) HG.: *puruṣā janayanti nah* ŚG. Spoken by the husband, as in prec. ApMB. has the two forms in adjoining verses in the same context.

*asthūri no* (no, KS. *nau*, MŚ.† *nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* (VSK. *adda kalam himāh*), *ligmena vas tejasā* (TS. *no brahmaṇā*, KS. *nau brahmaṇā*) *sam kīdadhī* RV. VSK. TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. The dual doubtless thinks of man and wife together as possessors of 'household affairs'; the plural is 'editorial'. Note the inconsistency of MŚ.

§772. Similarly the next, where the dual is 2d person, apparently referring to the sacrificer and his wife (and spoken by a priest):

*idaivasmān* (RVKh. Müller, followed by Scheft., *idaiva vām*) *anu vratān* (RVKh. as before *ghṛtena*) RVKh. AV.: *idāsmān anu vratān ghṛtena* ApŚ. MŚ.

## 10. Form assimilation

§773. In a group of cases the number is changed by attraction to the number of some other word in the context, in a rather external way; the change in meaning, tho apparently real enough, is not dictated by the logical requirements of the situation; in essence the variation is one of mechanical form assimilation. Thus, all three numbers of the vocative of *vāyu* are found in the HG. form of the following. With cunning inanity, HG. makes the number of the vocative agree each time with the number of the pronoun, which refers to sacrificial posts. Oldenberg fails to understand HG., not having in mind the MS. parallel, and translates all the nouns as nominatives, emending *vāyo* to *vāyuh*, so as to make the nouns predicates to the pronouns:

*ete te vāyo* (HG. *vāyavaḥ*) MS. HG.: *esa te vāyo* MS. MŚ. HG.: *etau te vāyū* HG.: *vāyam esa* (and *ete, etau*) *te vāyo* ApŚ. 'This is (these are) thine, O Vāyu (HG. also O Vāyus, dual and plural).' Note that, inconsistently, the pronoun *te* is always singular, even in HG.

§774. Other cases, first those involving singular and dual, are:

*vṛṣaṇam* (MS. °ṇṣ) *āṇḍābhyām* VS. MS. In the *aśvamedha*. 'I gratify the bull (the two bulls) with his testicles.' The bull or bulls are imaginary, transcendental beings, and there is no reason for the duality except the duality of *āṇḍābhyām*. So with the next two, which occur in the same context.

*kaṇābhyām śrotram* (MS. *śrotre*) VS. MS. See *prec.*

*vidyutam kanīnakābhyām* (MS. KSA. *kanīni*°) VS. MS. KSA.: *vidyutau kanānakābhyām* TS. Cf. *prec.* two.

*śrotram* (AV. *śrotre*) *te cakre āstām* RV. AV. The AV. makes *śrotra* dual because of the predicate *cakre*, 'thy two wheels'.

*yena striyam* (PG. *śriyam*, ŚŚ. *striyāv*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. °tām, ŚŚ. *akurutam*) ŚŚ. PG. SMB. GG. 'By which ye two (Aśvins) made woman (two women).' ŚŚ.'s variant is phonetic in character (VV 2 §237), with the help of attraction to the number of the Aśvins.

§775. In a couple of instances, however, the assimilated dual form seems to be the original, and the singular is substituted for it in secondary texts because for one reason or another they feel that the entity designated should be singular, despite its reference to a duality:

*putrah pitarāv* (AV. °ram) *avṛṇta pūṣā* RV. AV. In both texts the reference is to the Aśvins; the singular of AV. is secondary and may be due to a feeling that paternity should be single, tho phonetic considerations are also involved (VV 2 §237).



*duhāthān gharṃadughe ica dhenū* AV. (in Conc. preceded by *vīman*, which belongs to the preceding *pāda*): *saviduhāthān gharṃadugheva dhenuḥ* TB. The dual entity heaven and earth is compared to a milch cow, or in AV. to two cows; the assimilation in this case is natural enough, and is doubtless the original form.

§776. A special case of this form-assimilation is constituted by the variation in the form of substantive pronouns, which may be either neut. singular (indefinite) without reference to the number and gender of the predicate noun, or on the other hand may agree in gender and number with the predicate; the latter is the more common usage in the Veda, and is found in the original (RV.) form of the following variant, while secondary texts use a neuter singular (cf. §§730, 812):

*mukham kim asya* (VS. *asyāstī*) *kau* (AV. VS. *kim*) *bāhū, kā* (TA. *kār*, AV. VS. *kim*) *ūrū pādā* (TA. *īpādāv*) *ucyete* RV. AV. VS. TA.

§777. Form assimilation between dual and plural occurs in the variant *sā no (nau) nābhiḥ* etc., §771, and in the following:

*keze vaneṣu mātroh* (SV. *mātrṣu*) RV. SV. 'Thou lurkest in the sticks of wood, thy (two) mothers.' Dual in RV. because reference is to the two *aranis*; plural in SV. by attraction to *vaneṣu*.

*vājino vājajito vājam* . . . VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *vājinau vājajitau vājam* . . . MS. KS. MŚ. See the several entries in Conc. Two associated formulas; in KS. (probably original) one (dual) is addressed to one pair of the racing team, the other to all the team (cf. KS. 14. 7: 206. 22 f.). The other texts assimilate in one direction or the other; both are dual in MŚ., both plural in VS. TS.

#### 11. Corruptions and errors

§778. The following seem to be due to corruptions and errors:

*devī dvārau* (Vait. *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā sanīdāptam* TS. AŚ. Vait. The dual of the word for 'door' may be used, with reference to the two panels (here the two doorposts are actually addressed). The plural is equally familiar. But the dual verb makes it almost impossible to construe the plural of Vait., and Caland's translation seems silently to abandon it. The form *dvāro* may be regarded as a phonetic corruption for *dvārau* (VV 2 §732).

*saha nau vratapate* (TS. MS. add *vratinor*; KS. text *vratapā vratinām*) *vratāni* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The plural of KS. is inexplicable, in view of the dual *nau*; the best ms. in fact omits *vratinām*, and so KS. should probably be read; *vratinām* probably crept in in the

inferior mss. of KS. from the mantra *agne vratapā... punar vratapā  
vratindm vratāni*, which shortly precedes.

*tā mandasānā manuṣo durona ā* RV. ApMB.: *sā mandasānā manasi  
hivena* AV. The original refers *mandasānā* (dual) to the Aśvins,  
to whom AV. also refers in the sequel. Apparently *sā*, nom. sg.  
fem., is due to a stupid misunderstanding of the endings *-ā*; no  
feminine entity can be concerned here.

*apsarasāṁ anu dattām ṛṇāni* (AV. *ṛṇāṁ nah*) AV. TB. TA.: *apsarasām  
anu dattāṇṛṇāni* MS. Phonetic corruption in MS.; VV 2 p. 122,  
1 p. 282.

[*śakhabhyah svāhā* VS. TS. MS. KSA. Conc. quotes *śakhabhyām* for  
VS. TS.]

[*śrotrāya me varcodā varcase* (MŚ. *me varcodāḥ*) *patasva* VS. VSK. ŚB.  
MŚ.: *śrotrāya (me varcodau varcase pavethām)* TS. Conc. Similarly  
under *aṅgebhyo me*. See VV 1 §372a.]



## CHAPTER XXIX

### GENDER

#### 1. Male and female persons and animals

§779. We shall begin our treatment of gender (see §§118-25 for a summary) with variations between names of male and female animals or persons, varying with each other. They usually occur in contexts where either is equally appropriate; sometimes we think we can see the motive of the change, but often we find none. Thus, first, male and female animals:

*hotā yakṣat sarasvatīḥ meṣasya* (KS. *meṣyā*) *vapdā*...VS. KS. It is likely that KS. uses a female animal as more appropriate to the sex of Sarasvatī. So in the next two:

*ayāḥ saramatya meṣasya* (KS. *meṣyā*) *haviṣaḥ*...VS. KS.

*yatra sarasvatya meṣasya* (KS. *meṣyā*) *haviṣaḥ*...VS. KS.

*ṛṣabhāya* (MS. ṛṣ<sup>o</sup>) *garayā* VS. MS.: *ṛṣabhāya rājñe garayā* TS. KSA.

*yad dhariṇo* (TS. KSA. TB. °ṇi) *yuram attī* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB.

ŚŚ. Possibly gender-attraction from *śūdrā*, in a parallel sentence in the second half-verse.

*andātur aśvo 'yāmī* (ŚŚ. and AV. mss. *aśvāyāmī*) AV. † ŚŚ. †; *svātur aśvaḥ* *ayāmī* (ŚŚ. *aśvā yāmī*) AV. ŚŚ.

*akhuḥ ṛjayaḥ śayāṇḍakas te maitrāḥ* (KSA. ms. *śayāṇḍakās te maitryāḥ*) TS. KSA.: *śārjāḥ ṛjayaḥ śayāṇḍakas te maitrāḥ* VS. MS. Name of an unknown animal, male or female. The ed. of MS. follows the p.p.; the other mss. have *ṛjayaḥ*.

*ajā* (TS. *ajā*) *hy agner ajaniṣṭa lokāt* (TS. *garbhāt*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§780. Dependent on the change of gender in the last-quoted pāda, in which TS. makes the goat female, are the three following pādas, in the same stanza, with pronouns referring to *ajā* or *ajā*:

*so* (TS. *ai vā*) *aparyaj janitāram agre*,

*tena* (TS. *tayā*) *devā devatām agra* (*agram*) *āyan*,

*tena* (TS. *tayā*) *roham āyana upa* (AV. *rohān ruruhur*) *medhyasāḥ*; all in the same texts.

§781. Similarly with an adjective referring to unexpressed animals, male or female:

*śilpā vaiśradevyaḥ* (MS. \**riḥ*) VS. MS.: *śilpās trayo vaiśradevāḥ* TS. KSA. 'The (three) varicolored (animals) are for the Viśvadevas.' The animals are male in TS. KSA., female in VS. MS.

§782. Names of human or superhuman beings, varyingly male and female:

*śildyāñjanikārim* (TB. \**ram*) VS. TB. 'An ointment-maker' (female VS., male TB.).

*piśācebhyo bidalakārim* (TB. \**ram*) VS. TB.

*yātudhānebhyaḥ kaṇṭakakāram* (VS. *kaṇṭakikārim*) VS. TB. Note the curious accord in the grammatical gender of the word for 'thorn', which is fem. in the compound 'female thorn-worker', masc. in the other.

*pra devāḥ* (AV. *devīḥ*) *protā sūnṛtā* RV, AV. TS. MS. Possibly gender-attraction to *sūnṛtā* in AV.

*kātyāyānya* (MahānU. \**yanyai*) *vidmahe* TA. MahānU. Epithets of Śiva or his consort.

*ākrayāyā ayogūm* VS.: *ākramāyāyogūm* (Poona ed. *ākrayāyā*\*) TB. A nonce-deity, *ākraya* or \**yā*.

*yamāya* (TB. *yamyai*) *yamasūm* VS. TB.

*pratīkṣante śvaśuro devarāḥ ca* AV.: *pratīkṣantām śvaśuro devarāḥ ca* ApMB.

## 2. Variation of nouns in grammatical gender

§783. We come now to variants involving shift of grammatical gender in nouns. This shift may be signalized by a change in the form of the noun itself, as when a masculine or neuter *a* stem varies with an otherwise identical feminine *ā* or *ī* stem of like meaning; or when an *s* stem appears now with a nominative in *ā* (masc.), now with one in *a* (neut.). It may on the other hand appear only in the gender of a modifying adjective or pronoun, because the noun itself has the same form in either of the varying genders; this is true for instance of many case-forms of the *i* and *u* declensions and of the diphthongal stems. We shall not separate these two types in our list, but shall divide the materials first according to the genders which interchange, and secondly according to what appears to be the regular or primary gender of the word. In some cases the change in gender seems to be due to assimilation to another word in the context.

### Masculine and feminine

§784. We begin with words which seem to be regularly or primarily masculine, the feminine forms being apparently exceptional or at least



historically secondary. Thus the word *yonī* is always masc. in RV., and the fem. is rare in the older language; its origin may be connected with the word's meaning, 'womb', which suggests fem. gender. Among the variants, MS. and KS., the oldest YV. texts, show only masc. gender, with one exception (the first) in MS:

*sapta yonīr* (KS. *yonīr*) *ā prṇawa* (°vā) *ghṛtena* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*svām* (TS.† only *svām*, thrice) *yonim ihāsadaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. *svām* (MS. KS. *svām*) *yonim gacha*. . . AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *svayonim gacha*. . . MG. (with v. l. *svām yonim*, which Conc. suggests reading because of the MS. reading).

*agne svām* (TS. TB. *svām*, ŚB. *tvām*, for *svām*?) *yonim ā śīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*dhruvām* (TS. *dhruvām*) *yonim ā śīda sādhyā* (VS. ŚB. *sādhya*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*yajño bhūtvā yajñam ā śīda svām* (MŚ. *svām*) *yonim*. . . TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *mā mā* (KS. *mām*) *hinsīṣtam svām* (KS. *yat svām*) *yonim āviśantau* (KS. *āvikāḥaḥ*) MS. KS.: *mā mā hinsīṣ svām* (KS.† *svām*) *yonim āviśanti* (KS. TB. ApŚ. *āviśan*) VS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.: *mainam hinsīṣanti svām yonim āviśantau* AB.

*ebhyo* (Kauś. *ebhyo*) *yonihhyo adhi jātavedāḥ* VS. MS. KS. AŚ. Kauś. *yajyai* (VSK. *yazyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayā* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *atho yonir hiraṇyayā* TS.: *yonir yas te hiraṇyayaḥ* KS.

§785. Next the stem *rayī* or *rai*. Wackernagel 3 p. 216 notes that the word is regularly masc. in RV. and suggests that the fem. is due to influence of *puṣṭi* or the like.

*sa no dadātu tām* (AV. *tām*) *rayīm* AV. AA. ŚŚ.

*athāsmabhyam sahavīrām* (AV. VSK. MS. KS. °vīram) *rayīm dāḥ* AV.

VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. HG. Wackernagel l. c. mentions *rayīm sahavīram* and *saravīram* (see next) among the RV. phrases in which AV. keeps masc. gender; otherwise the word is regularly fem. in AV. But note that this pāda, as a whole, is not Rigvedic.

*rayīm ca naḥ saravīram* (TS.† °rām) *nī yachatu* (AV. *yachāt*) AV. TS.

MS.: *sa no rayīm saravīram nī yachatu svāhā* (VSK. om. *svāhā*)

VS. VSK. ŚB.: *somō rayīm sahavīram nī yaṇsat* KS. Cf. RV. 10.

15. 11d, and see pree.

§786. The stem *div* (*dyu*) is regularly masc. in the early language, later fem.; see Wackernagel 3 p. 221.

*abhāmān* (TS. MS.† °mām, MS. MŚ. v. l. °mām) *mahinā* (VS. °mā, delete MŚ. v. l. in Conc.) *divam* (MS. *divaḥ*) VS. TS. MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.

§787. The word *kalāśa* is regularly masc.; in the following ApMB. seems to show a fem. form *kalāśīr*, but this may be a phonetic corruption for *kalāśair*, cf. §412 and VV 2 §701:

*ā dadhnaḥ kalāśair* (ApMB. °śīr, MG. °śam) *aguḥ* (*ayān*, etc.) AV. AG. ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. MG.

§788. We come now to words in which fem. gender appears to be regular or at least historically original:

*yā* (MS. *yā*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. NīlarU. ApMB. The word *iṣu* is regularly fem. in the older language (always in RV.). Here the masc. pronoun may have been due to the series of masc. *ye*'s in the preceding and following formulas.

*avakām* (MS. KSA. *avakān*, but MS. p.p. *avakām*) *dantamūlūḥ* VS. MS. KSA. ŚB.

*vy amīdās* (TB. °vāś) *cālayamā vīṣūcīḥ* RV. TB. Both edd. of TB. *amīdāś*, and comm. likewise *amīdān rogān*, finding no difficulty in making *vīṣūcīḥ* agree. No masc. is otherwise recorded, and in view of the fem. adjective *vīṣūcīḥ* we may assume an ancient corruption. *pravayāhnāhar jīva* VS.: *pravayāhne 'har jīva* MS.: *pravāsi* TS. KS. Vait. (*prāvo 'ay ahnāsi* GB. Gaastrn, corrupt.). The masc. is otherwise unknown, but MS. p.p. gives *pravāya*.

[*ṛtena* (MG. *ṛtera*) *sthāṇām* (ApMB. HG. *sthāṇāḥ*, MG. *sthāṇā*) *adhī roha vaśā* (MG. *vaśāḥ*) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG. See §740.]

§789. In the rest we find no criterion to determine clearly the original gender. In some cases both seem equally regular; one is a *ṛ.ley*.

*emām pariśrutāḥ kumbhāḥ* AV.: *enam pariśrutāḥ kumbhyā* ŚG. Other GS. texts preserve *kumbhāḥ* which seems to be original in this formula.

*dadhī manthan* (ŚŚ. *manthām*) *parīśrutam* (ŚŚ. *parīśrutam*) AV. ŚŚ. *agner akṣṇāḥ kanīnakam* (VSK. °kām, TS. MS. KS. °nikām) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*vṛtrasyāsi kanīnakāḥ* (MS. MŚ. MG. °nikā...) VS. MS. ŚB. MŚ. MG.: *mītrasyāsi kanīnikā* KS.: *vṛtrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK. °nakāsi) VSK. TS. ApŚ.

*śimāḥ* (VS. *śimāḥ*) *kr̥ṇvantu* (VS.\* *śamyantu*) *śimyantāḥ* (VS. *śamyantīḥ*) VS. (bis) TS. KSA.† An unknown word; cf. VV 2 §§278, 572.

#### Masculine and neuter

§790. Among the masc.-neut. variants appear a number in which we think we see reason for believing that the shift is due to assimilation in gender to another word in the context, most commonly a predicate noun. Special attention will be called to these.



§791. We begin with words which seem to be regularly or originally masculine. Thus, first, the word *asu* as neuter is recorded heretofore only in a Hindu lexicon (see BR.). Even Benfey's Glossary to SV. gives the gender as masc. Yet the following is the only occurrence in SV., and here it is obviously neuter; the VSK. reading in the second variant confirms such a possibility. We see no chance of interpreting either case as due to assimilation:

*asuh* (SV. *asu*) *riṇann apah* RV. SV.

*vyānaś* (KS. *apānaś*) *ca me 'śuś* (VSK. 'śu) *ca me* VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. *kṛṇotu so adhvarān* (VS. TB. °rā) *jātavedāh* VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ.: *kṛṇutām tāṁ adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ.: *so adhvarā* (AB. 'dhvarā *karatā*) *jātavedāh* AB. ŚB. Nowhere has *adhvara* been recorded as neuter; but this case is well attested and certain. VS. comm. interprets *adhvarān*; TB. comm. considers the form a loc.!

*grīṣṇo dakṣiṇaḥ pakṣaḥ* (MS. *dakṣiṇam pakṣam*) MS. TB. TA. Followed in MS. by *varṣā ullaram* (sc. *pakṣam*). MS. unmistakably makes *pakṣa* neuter. Neither BR. nor pw. record such a usage; Monier Williams states that it occurs 'in one passage' which is not cited.

[*gātum yajñāya gātum* (TA. once *gātu* . . *gātu*) *yajñapalaye* RVKh. TS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA. (both) N. But TA. Poona ed. has only *gātum*, which is doubtless the true reading.]

§792. In several cases a masc. noun is made anomalously neuter, apparently under the influence of the neuter gender of a predicate noun: *nīkāyaś* (MS. KS. °yūm) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In this and the next it is quite likely that the original form of the variant *pāda* had the variant word in neuter gender, by assimilation to *chandaḥ*, and that the regular masc. form is actually secondary.

*samudram* (VS. ŚB. °raś) *chandaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*vivadhāś chandaḥ* VS. TS. ŚB.: *vīvadham* (KS. °dhaś) *chandaḥ* MS. KS. *yajñas* (TA. *yajñam*) *tapah* TA. MahānU. Poona ed. of TA. has v. l. *yajñas*; and so the comm. reads in both edd.

§793. Next words which are regularly or originally; neuter there are several cases of *hārdī*:

*indrasya hārdy* (AV. *hārdim*) *āvilan manīṣibhiḥ* (AV. *manīṣayā*) RV. AV. SV.

*mano me hārdī* (VSK. *hārd*) *yacha* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *mano hārdim yacha* MS. MŚ. Once (out of three occurrences) the MS. p.p. reads *hārdī*.

*mā me hārdī tviṣā* (MŚ. *hārdim tviṣā*) *vadhīh* TS. MŚ.: *mā no hārdī tviṣā vadhīh* RV. Three mss. of MŚ. *hārdī*.

*avakrandena tālu* (TS. KSA. *tālum*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Regularly neuter; occasionally masc., but BR. cite no Vedic instance.

*ratso jarāyu* (KS. *garbho jarāyuh*) *pratidhuk pīrūṣaḥ* AV. TS. MS. KS. *jarāyu* is regularly neuter; the Hindu lexicons allow it to be either masc. or fem. KS. may be thus interpreted; or it might be considered an adaptation to the neuter *us-stem*, cf. the next.

[*śam* (JB. TA. *punar*) *jarāyu* (TA. *\*yur*, Poona ed. text *\*yu*, but note seems to indicate that all mss. read *\*yur*) *gaur ira* AV. KS. JB. TA. ApŚ. Here the word is accusative; consequently if *jarāyur* be read, it could only be understood as if from a neuter *us-stem*.]

*yāni kṣetrāṇi yā vanā* AV.: *yāni dhanvāni ye vanā* (read *vanāḥ* with two mss.) ApMB: *vana*, regularly neuter, is quoted once as masc. in BR., from the Rāmāyaṇa.

[*catvāri śrīgā trayo aśya pādāḥ* RV. VS. MS. KS. GB. TA. MahānU. ApŚ. N. Cons. quotes *śrīgāḥ* for GB.; but Gāndhāra reads *śrīgā* with all mss., and obviously this is the only possible reading.]

§794. In the following we seem to find assimilatory influence of other words in the passage:

*dhartrah* (TS. *\*rak*) *catuṣṭomaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The predicate noun assimilates the regularly neuter *dhartra* in TS.

*vyomā* (TS. *vyoma*) *saptadaśaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. MŚ. The regular neut. gender of *vyoman* is found only in TS. Undoubtedly the original reading of the formula was *vyomā*, masc. by assimilation to *saptadaśaḥ* (stomaḥ).

*ayanī sahasramānava* (so read). . . *vidharma* (ApŚ. *\*mā*) SV. ApŚ. MŚ. Probably assimilation of gender in ApŚ. to the subject *ayam*.

*nāko 'si bradhnaḥ* (MŚ. *bradhno 'si*) *pratiṣṭhā saṁkramaṇam* (ApŚ. *\*ṇaḥ*, MŚ. *\*kramaṇatamam*) KS. ApŚ. MŚ. No masc. *saṁkramaṇa* is recorded, and the word can scarcely be an adjective; but it seems likely that ApŚ. assimilates either to the gender of *nāko* and *bradhnaḥ*, or more vaguely to the personalization of the goldpiece here addressed in personalized guise.

§795. We come now to words in which both masculine and neuter gender are, as far as we can see, equally standard, or at any rate we cannot tell which is more original in the absolute, tho textual criticism may suggest that one form or the other was first used in these particular formulas:

*yat sānoḥ sānum āruhat* (SV. *sānu āruhaḥ*) RV. SV. Both genders in RV.



*yeṣu saumanaso bahuh* (MG. *saumanasā mahat*) AV. VS. ApŚ. LŚ. ŚG.

MG.: *eti saumanaso bahuh* HG. As an abstract the word would be expected to be neuter, but the masc. is otherwise known (e.g. AV. 3. 30. 7) and is clearly primary in this variant.

*adityā uṣṇīṣam asi* MS. TA. ApŚ. MŚ.: *indrāṇyā uṣṇīṣaḥ* VS. ŚB.

Both genders are familiar; probably the neut. is primary here.

*akṣitīś ca me kūyavāś ca me* TS.: *kūyavāś* (MS. v. 1. *kū<sup>va</sup>*) *ca me 'kṣitīś* (VS. *'kṣitam*) *ca me* VS. MS. KS. The word *yava* is masc., and is followed by *kūyava* in TS. This stem seems to occur only here except that RV. has *kūyava* as a demoniac name or epithet (here of course masc.). Most likely the majority of texts have the original gender (neut.).

[*prajananah* (MahānU. *\*nam*) TA. MahānU. So Conc.; but both edd. of TA. read *prajanaḥ*; MahānU. has vv. ll. *prajanaḥ* and *prajananah*. Either *prajanaḥ* or *prajananam* must be read; both would be regular.]

§796. We may mention here a few cases concerning the masc. and neut. stems *brahman*, which are properly different words distinguished by shift of accent; in unaccented texts their oblique cases are indistinguishable. See VV 2 §460 for some of these and other somewhat similar cases considered from the phonetic aspect (*a* : *ā*).

*yam* (MahānU. *yad*) *antaḥ samudre kavayo vayanti* (MahānU. *vadanti*)

TA. MahānU. Referring to *brāhman* or *brahman*; even in TA. other neuter pronouns occur in the context.

*ṛtasya brahma prathamotā jajñe* TB.: *bhūtānāḥ brahmā prathamō ha* (mss. *\*mota*) *jajñe* AV.

*tan no brahmā* (TAA. *\*mā*) *pracodayāt* MS. TAA. (not TA.!) MahānU.

*brahma* (ApŚ. *\*mā*) *devānāḥ prathamajā ṛtasya* PB. ApŚ.: *brahmadevī*

*prathamajā ṛtasya* JB. 2. 258 (Caland, PB. transl. 21. 3. 7 note).

*brahma devakṛtam upahūtam* TS. MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *brahmā devakṛto-*

*pahūtā* ŚB. The context is the same and refers to the cow; in ŚB.

only is the subject of this pāda personalized by assimilation to the cow, the pple. being made fem. and the stem *brahman* personal (quasi-fem.): 'she, god-created, has been invoked as *Brahmā*'.

VV 2 §460 is incorrect.

#### Feminine and neuter

§797. Here also the shift in gender seems to be due sometimes to assimilation to adjoining words. We begin with words which are usually or originally fem.:

*varṣāś cākṣuṣyaḥ* VS. ŚB.: *varṣāni cākṣuṣāni* TS. MS. KS. The rainy season is meant; the gender is usually fem., but occasionally neut., doubtless because *varṣa* 'rain' is neut. in the early language; and in this variant the original form doubtless had neut. gender.

*ājyam uktham anyathāyai* (TS. *anyathāyat*, KS. *anyathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS. °*notu*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Instead of *anyathā*, which is to be expected, KS. uses an otherwise unknown *anyatha* 'firmness' (probably neut., less likely masc.). The same with *prauḡam uktham*, *maruṭvāṭiyam u°*, *nīḡkevalyam u°*, *vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe*, etc.

§798. Due to assimilation to an adjoining word:

*nigṣyam* (KS. °*yā*) *nakṣatram* MS. KS. This rare name for the constellation *reḍti* occurs as *nigṣyā* in TB. (see BR. s. v.). We assume that KS. has the 'proper' form and that MS. assimilates to *nakṣatram*, as in the next.

*viśākhāḥ* (TS. °*khe*, KS. v. l. °*khā*) *nakṣatram* TS. MS. KS. See §752.

§799. The regular or original gender is neuter in the next group:

*lābhir yāsi dūtyām* (MS. °*yām*) *sūryasya* RV. MS.: *yābhir yāsi dūtyām sūryasya* TB. See Pischel VSt. I. 22. The regular form is *dūtya*; but in this variant, of course, the fem. is older.

*asmākena vṛjanenā jayema* RV. AV.: *ariṣṭāso vṛjanibhir jayema* AV.

[*idam tara prasarpaṇam* (JB. °*nā*) RV. JB.† 3. 169c. Oertel and Caland emend JB. to °*ṇam*, as the gender of *idam* seems to require.]

[*ihī tisro 'ti rocanāḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *etu tisro 'ti rocanā* AV. So Conc. There is no actual variant in the form, since it is followed by *y-*; AV. p. p. to be sure reads *rocanā*, as if neut., which is the regular gender of the word; but the fem. adjective *tisro* proves that *rocanāḥ* fem. must have been understood.]

§800. Due to assimilation:

*viśo yantre* (KS. *yantrī*) *nudamāne aratim* KS. TB. ApŚ. The word is in apposition with *devī* (dual fem.), and is assimilated to it in gender in KS.; *yantre* is neuter, but the change may have been helped along by the fact that it is formally ambiguous, since it might be derived from a fem. °*yantrā* as well as from neut. *yantra*.

*prthivy udapuram annena viṣṭā* TS.: *udapurā nāmāny annena viṣṭā* MS. KS. A nonce-word, but the neuter gender of TS. is rather to be expected (*pura* neut.); it is assimilated in gender to the subject in MS. KS. (probably original).

§801. In the rest either gender seems justifiable; mostly nonce-words are concerned, but the first contains *svasti* or °*tiḡ*, in which both genders are known:



*paraśur* (TS. *parśur*) *vedih paraśur nah svasti* (TS. °*tiḥ*) AV. TS. The loss of final visarga is an easy phonetic change (VV 2 §381), and *svastiḥ* occurs just before, even in AV. On the other hand TS. may have *svastiḥ* by assimilation to this preceding form.

*kiyāmba atra rohatu* RV.: *kyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA. *jāyatām*) AV. TA. The word is known only here.

*asyopasadyān mā chaitsū* ŚB. BṛhU.: *asyopasadye mā riśāma* ŚG.† 3. 7. 3c, Kauś. *upasadi* : *upasadya*, probably 'worship'; neither known elsewhere.

*kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmanas tanvas pāhi* VS. ŚB.: *brahmanas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS. °*pāya*, p.p. °*pāyāh*) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS. TA. (pratiśka, °*pāya* [iṭi], ApŚ. MŚ.). Stems *paraspa* : °*pā*; as abstracts ('protection') both recorded only here. See §152. In the same passages:

*prāṇasya tvā paraspāyai* (MS. °*pāya*, v. l. °*pāyāḥ*, p. p. °*pāyāh*) *cakṣuṣas* . . . MS. TA. (pratiśka ApŚ.). And:

*divas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS. °*pāya*) *antarikṣasya* . . . MS. TA. (pratiśka ApŚ.).

§802. Apparently due to assimilation:

*varuṇasya skambhanam* (KS. °*ny*) *asi* TS. KS. MahānU. ApŚ. Nonce-word; either gender is formally good; KS. doubtless assimilates to the gender of *śamyā* 'yoke-pin', which is addressed. So in the next, in the same context:

*varuṇasya skambhasarjanam* (KS. °*ny*) *asi* TS. MS. KS. MahānU. MŚ.: *varuṇasya skambhasarjanī śthah* VS. ŚB. On the dual see §769.

### 3. Distinctive feminine forms varying with masculine as 'common gender'

§803. An interesting little group of cases concerns words which refer to feminine entities and appear in one variant in distinctively feminine forms, while the other variant shows forms that are masculine or at least not distinctively feminine; they may be called 'common gender' forms. Thus the acc. pl. of the 2d personal pronoun is, of course, regularly *yusmān* without regard to gender. But since the ending suggests masculine rather than feminine gender, the form *yusmās* is twice used in VS. (followed by ŚB.) when referring to feminine entities (Whitney 492a, Wackernagel 3 p. 468):

*yusmān* (VS. ŚB. *yusmā*) *indro 'vṇīta vṛtratūrye* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

*īvam āyantam abhy atra yusmān* (VS. ŚB. *yusmāh*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§804. Somewhat similarly, the technical priest-name *hotrāśansin* is once feminized when it is made to refer to *āpah*, fem., in a ritual passage: *āpo me hotrāśansinah* (AG. \**sinyah*) ŚB. ApŚ. AG.

§805. In the preceding the masculine ('common') form is regular, the feminine unusual and analogical. In a couple of other cases the feminine form is regular. Thus stems in the agent suffix *tar* regularly have feminines in *tri* (Whitney 375c, Wackernagel 3 p. 202), but in one variant the 'common gender' form is used with a feminine noun:

*adbhīr viśvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ApMB.; *adbhīḥ sarvasya bhartṛbhiḥ* ŚG. The latter doubtless feels *bhartṛbhiḥ* as an appositional noun: 'the waters, bearers of all.'

§806. Yet more anomalously, MS. once uses the masculine form *adhipati* instead of the fem. *adhipatni* referring to Aditi. The formula occurs in a list of similar ones with different god-names, mostly masc., so that *adhipati* is properly found in most of them; this doubtless helps to determine the use of the common gender form in MS. But all the other texts have the 'proper' fem.:

*aditir adhipatny* (MS. \**patir*) āsīt VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

#### 4. The indefinite neuter

§807. A neuter epithet, most commonly an adjective or pronoun, tho sometimes the adjective is practically substantivized, is not infrequently used in an indefinite or absolute sense, translatable in English by a periphrasis containing the word 'thing' or the like, or by a pronoun in like construction. Such a passage may, in a variant form, appear with a masc. or fem. form, which indicates that the author has more clearly in mind the gender of the entity referred to. The masc. or fem. form with definite reference may be dual or plural when the number of the entity referred to requires it, while the indefinite neuter is regularly singular in any case; such variants, involving difference of number as well as gender, have been listed above in §§727 ff. and will not be repeated here; they belong, of course, equally in this group.—We shall append here also a group of cases in which an indefinite neuter varies with an equally indefinite masculine, the only difference being that the latter is personal ('such and such a one'), the former impersonal ('such and such a thing'). Substantive pronouns, which may either be indefinite neuter singular, or agree in gender and number with predicate nouns, will also be mentioned here (cf. §§730, 776).—Hirt, *IGGr.* 3 §226, regards the indefinite neuter as an inheritance from a prehistoric period in which grammatical gender did not exist



§808. Adjectives of definite reference varying with indefinite neuters occur as follows:

*indrasya* (also *viṣṇor*) *dhruvo* 'si (TS. ApŚ. *dhruvam asi*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. A knot (*granthi*, m.) is addressed; hence masc. in most texts. 'Thou art Indra's (Viṣṇu's) firm one (firm thing; Keith 'fixed point'; Caland 'Festes').'

*brahmacani tvā kṣatравani rāyaspoṣaṇani paryūhāmi* VS. ŚB.: *brahmacanīm tvā kṣatравanīm* (TS. KS. add. . . *rāyaspoṣaṇanīm*) *paryūhāmi* TS. MS. KS. MŚ. *tvā* refers in all to a post of udumbara wood, *audumbari* (sc. *athūnā*), and is fem. (cf. TS. 6. 2. 10. 3, and KŚ. 8. 5. 31). In VS. ŚB. it is made neuter: 'thee, a brahman-winning thing' etc. Mahīdhara, in his commentarial way, takes it quite simply as for *ṣanīm* with loss of ending, referring to Pāṇ. 7. 1. 39.

*abhi tvādhām sahīyasā* RV. ApMB.: *upa te 'dhām sahīyasām* AV. The RV. original has a neuter indefinite, 'with that which is stronger, a stronger thing', but really means a plant just like AV., which makes the adjective agree in gender with *oṣadhi*.

*ya* (*yaś*, *yah*) *strīṇām jivabhojanah* VS. TS. KSA. ŚŚ.: *yat strīṇām jivabhojanam* Vait. The 'antecedent' is *añjīm*, 'the slippery one', referring to the male member; it is masc. even in Vait. which follows with these indefinite neuters, 'the thing that is. . .'

*agnir ekākṣareṇa* (MS. KS. *\*kṣarayā*) *prāṇam* (MS. TS. KS. *vācam*) *udajayat* (VS. ŚB. add *tam ujjēṣam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. And so *aśvinau dvyakṣareṇa* (*\*kṣarayā*), *viṣṇus tryakṣareṇa* etc., 17 items in same passage. With the fems. doubtless *vācā* is to be supplied: 'with monosyllabic (etc.) utterance'. The accent (*ék<sup>o</sup>*) shows that possessive adjective compounds are meant in all texts (not, then, 'with one syllable'). Mahīdhara supplies *chandasā* with them, but it seems more likely that they are indefinite: 'with the monosyllabic (thing).'

*indrasya vajro* 'si *vātraghnaḥ* TS. MS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApMB.: *indrasya vātraghnam asi* VS. ŚB. Since a bow is used in the ritual of the Vāj. school, VS. ŚB. may understand *dhanus*; yet it is at least as likely that the adjective is indefinite ('thing relating to the Vṛtra-slayer, victorious').

§809. Pronouns, relative and demonstrative, varying between indefinite neuter and definite masc. or fem.:

*tad aśvinā paridhātām svasti* TS.: *tam aśvinā paridhātām svasti* (MŚ. *svastaye*) KS. MŚ. The masc. refers to wind, here invoked in the ritual. The indefinite neuter must really have the same reference.

*sam tam* (KS. ApŚ. *tal*) *anīcatu rādhasē* (KS. ApŚ. ²ā) RV. KS. Vait. ApŚ. *tam* refers to soma-drops (*drapsa, anū*); this is repeated in KS. once with the indefinite neuter *tal*. Another KS. passage adapts the formula to a different context, where *tal* refers to *chidram*; this is repeated in ApŚ.

*yām āśmī emi kevalī sā me astu* AV.; *yad ichāmi manasā sakāmaḥ* TB. Followed by:

*videyam enān manasi praviṣṭām* (TB. *enad dhrdaye nivṣṭam*) AV. TB.

The definite 'what desire I go to' of AV. is replaced by 'what (thing) I desire' in TB.; hence neut. for fem. in the following pāda.

*pumān enaṁ tanuta ut kṛṇatti* RV.; *pumān enad toyaty udgrṇatti* AV. 'This' in RV. refers to *yajña* in the preceding. In AV. no word for sacrifice occurs in the context, and *enad* is indefinite, tho it must mean something of the same sort.

*yam ākirā* (VS. *yad ākīrdā*) *dampatī vīmam āśnutaḥ* VS. TS. In VS., 'what good thing'; in TS. gender influenced by the following *putra*, which is the specific boon obtained.

*yad indro apibac chacibhiḥ* VS. KS. AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ.; *yam asyendro apibac śacibhiḥ* MS. Preceded by *yad atra kṣipam (riptam) rasinaḥ sutasya*. The relative is made masc. in MS. in reference to *sutasya* (m.) which immediately precedes. Followed by:

*aham* (AB. AŚ. *idam*) *tad* (MS. *tam*) *asya manasā kīrena* (MS. \* *ghṛtena*), same texts.

*deva savitar etam* (LŚ. *etat*) *te yajñam prāhur...* ŚŚ. LŚ.: *etam te deva savitar yajñam prāhur...* VS. ŚB. The context of LŚ. refers to *samidh* (fem.), and the pronoun must be indefinite ('this thing').

*ya etad* (TA. MahānU. *enaṁ*, MahānU. v. I. *etad*) *vidur* (ŚB. BṛhU. *yo tad vidur*) *amṛtās te bhavanti* ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. KU. ŚvetU. 'Those who know this (him; TA. comm. *paramātman*).'

*tad* (MŚ. *tam*) *aham manase prabrahmī* VSK. TB. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Vait. 'I proclaim this (truth; MŚ. him, referring to Savitar).'

*kaṁ* (KapS. ms. *kīṣi*) *vid garbhān prathamam dadhra* (KapS. ²*rur*) *āpaḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. KapS. Raghu Vira em. to *kaṁ*, wrongly; Oertel 18. In RV. etc. *kaṁ* is adjectival to *garbhān*; in KapS. substantival, 'what (thing)?' On *dadhrur* see Edgerton, *Language* 10.243f.

*tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam* VS. ŚB.: *tam anu prehi sukṛtasya lokam* TS. KS. It seems that *tam* must go with *lokam*; there is then no expressed object of the verb in TS. KS. The VS. has a lect. fac.; *tad* is the object and refers back to *yad...* of the preceding.



*eṣa* (MahānU. *etat*) *te kama* TAA. MahānU.: *kāmaītat te* AV. etc. The TAA. comm. supplies *ājyabhāgaḥ*; that on MahānU. *haviḥ*, but the latter with *etat* is surely indefinite. The formula *kāmaītat te* occurs in a different context and is perhaps not really to be brought in here. In the same passage:

*eṣa* (MahānU. *etat*) *te manyo* TAA. MahānU.

§810. In other cases an indefinite neuter varies with a masculine which is equally indefinite, but personal. This occurs especially in negative expressions, where the meaning is 'no one' : 'nothing':

*ahir jaghāna* (PG. *ḍadārba*) *kam* (AG. MG. *kim*) *cana* AG. PG. HG.

ApMB. MG. 'The serpent has killed (seen) no one (nothing).'

*ṛtaṁ nātyeti kim* (GG. *kaś*) *cana* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. GG.

*māmīṣāṁ* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *maiṣāṁ*) *kam canoc chiṣaḥ* RV. SV. VS. TS.

TB. ApŚ.: *māmīṣāṁ mośi kaś cana* AV.: *maiṣāṁ uccheṣi kim cana* AV.

*nakir* (SV. *na ki*) *indra tvad uttaraḥ* (SV. *\*ram*) RV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Followed by:

*na jydyān* (SV. *jyāyo*) *astī vṛtrahan* RV. SV. And:

*nakir* (SV. *na ky*) *evā* (SV. *evan*) *yathā tvam* RV. SV. Wackernagel 3 p. 562 considers (*na*) *kī* (found only in SV.) a mere corruption.

To us it seems clear that it is a deliberate variant, a neuter to RV.'s masc., formed on the analogy of the endingless neut. nom.-acc. of *i* stem nouns. See also §820 where both *nakī* and RV. *nakis* are adverbial.

*yasmāj jātaṁ na parā kim canaiva* VS.: *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *astī* JB. ŚŚ.: *yasmād anyo na paro astī jātaḥ* PB.: *yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti* Vait.: *yasmān na jātaḥ paro anyo astī* ('*sti*') VS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MahānU. NṛpU.: *yasmāt paraṁ nāparam astī kim cit* TA. MahānU. N.: *tasmād dhānyan na paraḥ kim canāsa* RV. TB.: *yasmāj jāta na parā naiva kim canāsa* TA. Only the forms *jāta na parā* of TA. need explanation. The comm. takes them as fem. sg., supplying *prajā*. But more likely they are Vedic neuter plurals (indefinite).

§811. But also with positive expressions, meaning 'such and such a one' or 'thing'; sometimes it is hard to see the reason for the variation, as in the first:

*gopāyamānaḥ* (KS. *\*naś*) *ca mā rakṣamāṇam* (KS. *\*naś*) *ca. . . gopāyetān* (*\*yatām*) KS. PG. MG. 'The protecting one (thing) and the guarding one (thing) shall protect. . .' Occurs in a list of formulas, the subjects of which are all personal (masc. or fem.) in all texts except

for this formula in PG. MG. Parallels in AV. 8. 1. 13. Why PG. MG. provide this one formula with an impersonal, neuter subject does not appear.

*avasphūrjan* (MS. KS. °*jad*) *hetih* (TS. *prahetih*, MS. KS. *dhetih*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'The one who (that which) thunders is his weapon.' Griffith and Keith render simply 'thunder'. The surrounding formulas generally have personal subjects. The following one has *vidyut*; perhaps MS. KS. have adapted the form of *ava*° in an external, mechanical way to the ending (-t) of this word. But *vidyut* is regularly fem. (exceptionally neut. according to pw., without quoting any occurrence).

*brhad* (ŚB. *mahad*) *dha tathau bhuvaneṣe antaḥ* RV. ŚB. AA.: *brhan ka tathau rajaso vimānaḥ* (JB. *vimānaiva*) AV; JB. Both 'the great one', masc. or neut.

*śukro brhan dakṣiṇayā* (TB. *brhad dakṣiṇā tvā*) *pipartu* AV. TB. The comm. on TB. understands by *brhad* the *sāman* of that name. That on AV. takes *śukro brhan* as Sūrya; Whitney, Soma.

[*yan* (ŚŚ. *yam*) *naḥ pitā samjānūte* AB. ŚŚ. Indefinite in both. AB.: 'what (i.e. the situation which) our father approves.' ŚŚ. might be interpreted: 'whom (whatever person; really thinking of Śunah-śepa) our father approves.' But the ŚŚ. comm. reads *yan*, clearly understanding *yad* (gloss: *yan no 'smākaṁ pitā samjānūte tasminn ādeṣe vayan tiṣṭhāmahe*). It seems that *yam* is only a bad writing for *yan*.]

#### Substantive pronouns in equational sentences

§812. In introducing equational sentences, pronouns may be in the indefinite neuter singular without regard to the gender or number of the noun referred to, or they may agree in gender and number with the latter. Cf. §§730, 776, where other examples are quoted, and §826.

*kā* (TS. TB. *kim*) *vid āsīt pilippilā*,

*kā* (TS. TB. *kim*) *vid āsīt piśāṅgilā*,

*kā* (TS. TB. ApŚ. *kim*) *vid āsīt pūrvacittih*, all VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB., the last in ApŚ.

*kaḥ* (VS. *kim*) *vit prthivyai varṣiṇyān* (VS. °*yah*) VS. AŚ. ŚŚ. The answer expected is 'Indra'; hence masc. *kaḥ* in most texts.

#### 5. Adverbial forms

§813. Related to the indefinite neuter are the numerous neuter forms used as adverbs; it is the indefiniteness of the neuter gender which



makes it the favorite form of adverbs. When forms of other genders are used adverbially, we take it that in principle they must have been originally definite, with ellipsis of some noun; altho, to be sure, there are such cases where it is difficult for us to suggest the noun to be supplied, and we may admit that such forms come to be used as stereotyped adverbs. Among the variants we find distinctively fem. as well as neut. adverbs, varying with adjectives of any of the three genders, as well as with other adverbs.

§814. We begin with the rare instances of fem. adverbs varying with masc. adjectives:

*ud enam uttarām* (VS. TS. KS. ŚB. °rām) *naya* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś.: *ud asmān uttarān naya* ApŚ.

*divaś cid antān upamām* (TA.† *upa mām*, RV. *antān upamān*) *udānaḥ* RV. AV. SV. TA. Whitney adopts the v. l. *upa mām* for AV. Benfey takes *upamām* as an adverb. See §495.

§815. Neuter adverbs varying with masculine adjectives:

*agne yāhi suridatrebhīr arvān* (MS. *arvāk*, p.p. *arvān*) RV. AV. MS. TB. N.

*yuktā* (so Poona ed. of TB. for *yuktā* Conc.) *hari vṛṇaṣ yāhy arvān* (MS. *arvāk*, p.p. *arvān*; KS. ms. *arvāḥ*, ed. *arvāk*) RV. MS. KS. TB. *prān* (VS. TB. *prāṅk*, MS. *prāk*, p.p. *prān*) *samo atidrutaḥ* VS. VSK. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ.

*pratyak* (p.p. *pratyān*) *samo atidrutaḥ* MS.: *pratyān* (VS. TS. MS.† ŚB.\* TB. *pratyāṅk*) *samo atidrutaḥ* (VS.\* †10, 31b, MS. *atidrutaḥ*) AV.† (see Whitney's note) VS. (his) VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. (his) TB. ApŚ.

*etat tvā deva savitar vṛṇate*... ŚB.: *deva savitar etan tvā vṛṇate*... AŚ. ŚŚ. N.

*tam u tvan* (SV. *tava tyan*) *māyayāvadhīḥ* RV. SV. Preceded by: *pad dha tyan māyīnam mṛgam*. SV.'s *tyan* can only be construed as an adverb. It is due in some part to the preceding *tyan*.

*tam idam* (ApMB. *īman*) *vi vṛṇāmi te* RV. AV. ApMB. 'I here (now) pluck it out for thee.' *īman* is an adverb; ApMB. makes it into a pronoun agreeing with *tam*.

*svasti naḥ pūrnamukhaḥ pari krāmatu* (HG. °*mukhaṁ pari krāmantu*) ApMB. HG. See §404.

*ava tara* (TS. *avattaram*, MS. p.p. *avātaram*, AV. *avattaro*) *nadiṣṇ ā* (AV. *nadinām*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. *avattaram* is apparently an adverb. See §404.

*tad āsata rṣayaḥ sapta sākam* AV.: *lasyāsata rṣayaḥ* (TS. TAA. °*āsate harayaḥ*) *sapta* fire TS. ŚB. BṛhU. TAA. *tad* seems to be adverbial.

*aśvinendram na jāgrvi* (TB. °vi) VS. MS. TB. See §762.

*taṁ tvā pra viśāmi sarvaguh...saha yaṁ me 'sti tena* AV.: *taṁ* (KS.† *taṁ*) *teendrugraha prapadye* (ApŚ. *praviśāmi*) *saguh...saha yaṁ me 'sti* (astī) *tena* KS. ApŚ. *taṁ* in KS. adverbial.

*viśvak palantu didyavaḥ* RV.: *viśvaṇeo asmac charavaḥ palantu* AV.

*dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyah śuciḥ* (VS. *śuci*, comm. *śuciḥ*) RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. *śuci* may be an adverb; but cf. VV 2 §381.

*taṁ* (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °yi) TS. MS. TA. Perhaps bad writing (*tan* for *taṁ*).

*tan* (JB: *taṁ*) *mā puṁsi kartary erayadhvam* JB. KBU. As *pree*, *somaḥ prathamō vivide* RV. PG. HG. ApMB.: *somasya jāyā prathamam* AV. 'Soma was the first to marry thee': 'thou wast Soma's wife first.'

*ye 'do* (MS. *amī*, KS. *vādo*, VS. ŚB. *vīmī*) *rocane divaḥ* RVKh. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApMB.: *ye cāmī rocane divi* NīlarU. *adas* adverb, 'there'.

§816. A special group under this heading may be formed of the variants involving the pronominal neuter *yad*, used as a conjunction, in variation with masculine forms of the same pronoun:

*arundhatīḥ ye* (ApMB. *yad*) *dhruvatām ha ninyuh* ApMB. HG. '(The ṛsis) who have led...': 'since (the ṛsis) have led...'

*toke vā goṣu tanaye yad* (and *yam*) *apeu* RV. (both).

*nava yat puro navatīḥ ca sadyaḥ* RV. AV.: *nava yo navatīm purāḥ* RV. AV. SV.

*pūro yat* (MŚ. *yah*) *sataṁ aparo bhavāsi* ApŚ. MŚ.

*pra ye* (SV. *yad*) *gāvo na bhūrṇayah* RV. SV.

*yad* (MŚ. *ya*) *āgachāt pathibhir devayānāḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ.

*yā* (TA. ApŚ. ApMB. *yad*) *ṛte* (PB.† *yakṣate*) *cid abhiśriṣaḥ* RV. AV. SV. TB. TA. KŚ. MŚ. ApŚ. Kauś. ApMB. GG.

*yena tvābadhnāt* (KŚ. *mā°*, TS. ApMB. *yam* *abadhnāta*, MŚ. MG. *yaj jagrandha*) *savitā suśevaḥ* (AV. °vāḥ, TS. ApMB.\* *suketah*, MŚ. MG. *satyadharmā*) RV. AV. TS. MŚ. KŚ. ApMB. (bis) MG.

*viśvakarmā vīmanā ād vīhāyāḥ* (KS. *vīmanā yo vyomā*, MS. *vīname yo vīhāyāḥ*, TS. *manasā yad vīhāyāḥ*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. N.

*yad* (SV. *yo*) *devasya kavasā prāriṣāḥ* RV. SV.

*yad agne kavyavāhana* TS. TB. ApŚ.: *yo agniḥ kravyavāhanah* (VS. KS. *kavya°*) RV. VS. KS. AŚ.

*yad* (LŚ. *yam*) *devāso lālāmagum* AV. VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. LŚ.

*anu yam viśve madanti* (AV.\* *anu yad enaṁ madanti* †viśva) *āmāḥ* RV. AV. (both) SV. VS. AA. ApŚ. MŚ. N.



*tiṣṭhā ratham* (TB. ApŚ. *rathe*) *adhi tam* (VS. ŚB. *yam*, TB. *yad*) *vajra-hasta* (TB. °*taḥ*) RV. VS. ŚB. TB.

*viprā tṛgātham gāyata yaj jujoṣati* (AA. °*ṣat*) AA. ŚŚ.: *viprāya tṛgātham gāyata yam jujoṣate* SV.

§817. Feminine adjectives varying with neuter adverbs. The first case involves the conjunction *yad*, as in the last paragraph:

*andhena yat* (TA. *yā*) *tamasā prāyātāsi* (TA. °*tāsi*) AV. TA. 'When she was (thou who wast) enveloped in blind darkness.'

*yajñasya jihvām avidāma guhyām* (MG. *guhyam*) RV. TS. MS. KS. 'We have found the secret tongue (in secret the tongue) of the sacrifice.'

*viśvair devair anumatā* (KS. TA. °*taṁ*) *marudbhiḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. The original fem. adjective applies to *sūda* 'furrow'. In TA. it occurs in a different connexion which requires a masc. (§849). In KS. the connexion is the same, and the neut. must be taken as an adverb.

*caraty ananuvratā* ApMB, HG.: *vicaranty apatīvratā* ŚG. MDh.: *yac catārānanuvratam* ApŚ. See §404.

*asambādha yā madhyato mānavebhyah* MS.: *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma*°) *mānavānām* AV. Kauś. See §623.

*achidritam tvāchidreṇa... juṣṭam* (KS. °*tām*, v. l. °*ṭam*) *grhṇāmi* MS. KS. ApŚ. The fems. refer to *sura*. Caland on ApŚ. would read *juṣṭam* (adverb) in KS., and since the best ms. reads so, with the parallel texts, he may be right. But *juṣṭam* as fem. adjective would be equally construable.

§818. And once a fem. noun, in the dative (quasi-adverbial), varies with a neuter adverb:

*taṁ* (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS. °*yi*) TS. MS. TA. 'Unto splendor' virtually equals 'splendidly'. See §487.

§819. Neuter adjective varying with fem. adverb:

*upamaṁ* (SV. °*mām*) *devatālaye* RV. SV. *upamaṁ* goes with *śapaḥ* preceding; *upamaṁ* must be an adverb.

§820. In the rest both variant forms seem to be adverbial. The only clear case of masc.-neut. variation here concerns the Rīgvedic *nakis*, formally a nom. sing. masc., but sometimes used adverbially; twice in the same verse SV. replaces it by *na ki*, on which see §810 above: *nakir* (SV. Svidh. *na ki*) *devā minīmasi* (SV. Svidh. *inī*°) RV. SV. Svidh. *nakir* (SV. *na ky*) *ā yopayāmasi* RV. SV.

§821. Once, also, SV. substitutes *nakih* for RV. (*nū*) *cit*: *nū cit* (SV. *nakih*) *sa dabhyate janah* RV. SV.

§822. We may mention also the following, which simulates a masc.-neut. variation with the forms *kam* : *kim*, altho of course *kam* cannot be, historically, an acc. sg. masc. of the stem *ka*:

*prajāyāi kam* (AV. *kim*) *amṛtaṁ nāṣṛṇā* RV. AV.

§823. As to fem.-neut. variants, we find chiefly a group involving the equivalent adverbs *prataram* and *\*ram* (once *samtarām* : *\*ram*):

*pra tāry agne prataram na āyuh* RV. MS. KS. ApŚ.: *prātāry agne prataram na āyuh* TS.

*jīvātave prataram* (SV. SMB. *\*rām*) *sādhayā dhiyāḥ* RV. SV. SMB.

*indremaṁ prataram* (VS. TS. ŚB. *\*rām*) *kṛdhī (naya)* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*drāghīya āyuh prataram* (TA.† *\*rām*, MG. *pratiram*) *dadhānāḥ* (AV. *\*te dadhām*) RV. AV. (ter) TA. AG. MG.: *ayur dadhānāḥ prataram navīyāḥ* AV.

*sāmṛājyāya prataram* (ApŚ. *\*rām*) *dadhānāḥ* RV. KS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*adhi kṣami prataram didhyanāḥ* RV. AV.: *asmin kṣaye prataram didhyanāḥ* SV.

*pra taṁ* (RV.\* *no*) *naya prataram* (TS. ApMB. *\*rām*) *vasyo acha* RV. (bis) VS. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

*samhitam cit samtarām* (VS. TS. KS. *\*rām*) *saṁ kīśādhi* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

§824. Otherwise we have noted only the following, in which both variant forms are parts of the pple. of a compound verb and are perhaps hardly to be classified here; cf. VV 2 §505:

*svamīkṛto 'si* KS.: *svāmīkṛto 'sī* VS. TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

#### 6. Pronouns referring to nouns of different gender

§825. Pronouns which refer to a series of nouns of different genders may agree with the nearest noun in gender, or with the gender of the plurality of the nouns; or else they may be masc. if the series includes both masc. and fem. nouns:

*tās* (ApMB. *te*) *trā vadhu prajāvatīm* AV. ApMB. Preceded by *yā oṣadhayo yā nadyo yāni kṣetrāṇi yā vanā* (ApMB. *yāni dharmāni ye vanāḥ*, so read). In AV. *tās* follows the gender of the fems. of the first pāda; in ApMB. *te* follows that of the nearest noun, *vanāḥ* (on which see §793), or is masc. as including both masc. and fem. (see next).

*rohīḥ kundṛṇācī golattikā tā apsarāsām* (VS. *te 'psarasām*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. Since *rohīḥ* is regularly fem., the fem. pronoun is expected (with only fem. nouns). The masc. of VS. is apparently due to



taking *rohita* as masc. (so VS. comm.); with a series including masc. and fem. nouns, a masc. pronoun is justified by usage (Renou, *Gram.* p. 500).

#### 7. Pronouns agreeing with antecedent or predicate noun

§826. When the antecedent and the predicate of a substantivè pronoun are of different genders, the pronoun may agree with either (cf. §812).

*namas te bṛhate yat ta uttarato yat ta uttarah pakṣah* LS.: *namas te bṛhate yas ta uttarah pakṣah* AA.: *namas te bṛhate yas ta uttaro bāhur yas ta uttarah pakṣah* ŚŚ. *bṛhat* means the *sāman* of that name. Similarly *namas te rathamātarāya (rātham°)* . . . , and *namas te vāmadevyāya (vājanāya)* . . . , see Cone.

(*yadi vṛkṣād abhyapaptat phalam tat*) *yady antarikṣāt sa u vāyur eva* AV.: (*yadi vṛkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam*) *yad vāntarikṣāt tad u vāyur eva* HG.: (*yadi vṛkṣād yady antarikṣāt*) *phalam abhyapaptat tad u vāyur eva* ApMB. The neuter *tad* of ApMB. HG. refers back to *phalam* and keeps its gender, despite the masc. predicate *vāyur*. The masc. *sa* of AV. is doubtless to be explained by the gender of the predicate, altho *apām stokaḥ* of the preceding verse may also have been influential.

*striyaḥ satīs tām (TA. tā) u me punsa āhuḥ* RV. AV. TA. N. 'Those that are women, they declared to me to be men.' The original makes the pronoun agree in gender with the predicate; TA. changes it to agree with the antecedent.

§827. Somewhat similarly, an adjective epithet in the following variant agrees in gender either with the subject (Agni; so most texts), or with an adjoining noun—predicate of a different clause this time, but one which immediately precedes and is closely associated in TA., the text which makes this agreement:

*sāmpriyaḥ paśubhir bhava* (TB. ApŚ. *bhuvat*, KS. °*yaḥ paśubhiḥ*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.: *sāmpriyam prajāyā paśubhir bhuvat* TA. Subject is Agni in all; the formula *purīṣam asi* precedes in TA. and KS., and follows in MS.

#### 8. Compound nouns

§828. On the familiar use of neuter singular dvandvas as the equivalent of duals (or plurals) of any gender see §751. Peculiar is the case of the dual stem *ahorātra*; for the masc. or neut. gender of compounds in *-rātra*, see Wackernagel 2, 1, p. 40. Note that there is nothing in

the context of the following variant to disprove that *-rātrās* and *-rātre* may be fem. (which gender the word has at least in VS. 14. 30):

*ahorātrās* (KS. TA. °*rātri*) *te kalpantām* VS. KS. ŚB. TA.: *ahorātre te* (TB. *me*) *kalpetām* MS. TB.

§829. Occasionally shift of gender is due to taking a form in one case as a karmadhāraya, then keeping the gender of the last member of the compound, and elsewhere as a bahuvrīhi, then agreeing in gender with the noun it modifies. Thus:

*ayakṣmayā* (KS. °*mena*) *pari bhuja* VS. TS. MS. KS. NīlarU. Preceded in all by *yā te hetir mīdhuṣama*, *haste babhūva te dhanuḥ*, *tayā-mān viśvatas team* (with slight variants). Since KS. has fem. *tayā* (referring to *hetir*) in pāda c, like the rest, the neut. *ayakṣmena* of pāda d can only be taken as a karmadhāraya, 'with non-disease'.

*pīsoannān* (VS. °*nā*, MS. °*nam*, p.p. °*nān*) *rayivrdhaḥ sumedhāḥ* RV. VS. MS. AB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. All texts but VS. intend *pīsoannān*, a bahuvrīhi, 'he seeks men with rich food...' Mahidhara, followed by Griffith, takes VS. in the same way, calmly stating that the final *n* of the acc. masc. is lost! Unless it is a phonetic variant or corruption (cf. VV 2 §307, to which this should be added), it must of course be a karmadhāraya, acc. pl. neut.: 'he seeks rich foods.'

*tatrāpi dahre* (MahānU. *dahraṁ*) *gaganam viśokaḥ* (TA. Poona ed. °*kam*, v. l. °*kaḥ*) TA. MahānU. *viśokaḥ* 'freedom from grief', coordinate with *gaganam*, which is modified by *viśokam* 'free from grief'.

#### 9. Nom. agentis (masc.) : nom. actionis (fem. or neut.)

§830. Occasionally the same (or virtually the same) word is used either as a noun of agent (masc.) or a noun of action (neut. or fem. according to formation):

*eṣa vas tadvisvācanaḥ* ŚŚ.: *eṣa vaḥ sadvisvācanam* AB. Comm. on AB. paraphrases by *adhyāpanam* and supplies *kariṣyati*. Better, 'he (shall be) to you instruction in what is right.' ŚŚ., '...instructor in that.'

*sā* (MS. *yā*) *prathamā saṁskṛtīr viśvavārā* (MS. *yajñe asmin*) VS. MS. ŚB.: *sā prathamāḥ saṁskṛtīr viśvakarmā* TS. TB. ApŚ. The latter make a noun of agent out of *saṁskṛti*.

#### 10. Substitution of one noun for another

§831. Sometimes the change of gender in an epithet is due to the substitution of one noun for another, altho the context is in general the same. Thus, as between masc. and fem.:



*avasyā* (TB. ApŚ. °taḥ) *parā pata* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. TB. Vait. ApŚ. AG. Followed by:

*śaravya brahmasamhite* (TS. °ta) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.: *śaro brahmasamhitaḥ* TB. ApŚ. For *śaravyā* TB. ApŚ. substitute the synonym *śara*.

*ūrvāḥ gavyāḥ pariśadanto agman* RV. KS. ('surrounding it they penetrated into the prison-cave of the kine'): *urvāḥ gavyāḥ pariśadam* *no akran* AV. (a far-reaching Verbalhornung; Whitney, 'they have made for us a wide conclave rich in kine').

*gireḥ pravartamānakaḥ* RV.: *gireḥ avacarantikaḥ* AV. Preceded by *kūṣumbhakaś tad abravīt* RV., *kāṇṭ śvāvīt tad abravīt* AV. The fem. gender of *śvāvīdh* is otherwise unrecorded and is ignored by the dictionaries.

§832. As between masc. and neut.:

*yam* (AV. TS. ApŚ. *yat*) *te devī nirṛtir ā babandhu*,

*pāśam* (AV. TS. *dāma*) *grīvāśv avicartyam* (VS. ŚB. *avicṛtyam*, AV. *avimokyam yat*),

*taṁ te* (AV. *tat te*, TS. *idaṁ te tad*) *vī śyāmy āyuṣo na madhyāt* (MS. KS. *nu madhye*, AV. *āyuṣe varcase bālāya*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB., and the first in ApŚ. MŚ. Here the two synonyms are *pāśa* masc. and *dāman* neut.

§833. As between fem. and neut.:

*yathēyam strī putram agham na rodāt* AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.:

*yathedaṁ strīputram aganma rudrīyāya* MG. The latter has a far-reaching reconstruction; *idaṁ* agrees with *strīputram*.

§834. These cases, where the nouns to which the variant epithets apply are clearly expressed, are simple enough. More dubious are some cases in which, without change of the general context, an epithet changes its gender, apparently in agreement with nouns which in at least one form, and usually in both, are not expressed in the context at all. A simple instance, requiring no comment, is the following, in which the late RV. hymn 6. 75 speaks of the bow as 'father of many daughters' (arrows?), *bahvīnām* fem., for which MŚ. substitutes 'of many sons', *bahūnām* masc. (no one would want many daughters!):

*bahvīnām* (MS. *bahūnām*) *pītā bahur aśya putrah* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA. ApŚ.

§835. In other cases the nouns denoted by the variant epithets are in one or both cases often uncertain. Masculine and feminine:

*taṁ uttamāsy oṣadhe* RV. VS.: *uttamo aśy oṣadhīnām* AV. The AV. 6. 15. 1a repeats RV. 10. 97. 23 with change of gender, apparently referring to an unnamed plant with masc. name (according to the comm. *palāśa*, but Kauś. uses barley).

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- [*ati dhanvea tān ihi* RV. AV. SV. VS.: *dadhanvea tā ihi* TA.: *nidhanvea tān imi* TA. The TA. repeats the verse in the same context, once recording *tā(s)*, fem., which seems to us to make no possible sense. We believe that it has merely lost final *i* by the phonetic process treated VV 2 §309, to which this variant should be added.]
- tāsān viśiśnyānām* (KS. *viśiśnyānām*) MS. KS.: *teṣān viśipriyānām* (VS. ŚB. °*ṇām vo 'ham*) VS. TS. ŚB. Preceded in same verse by *yās* (TS. *yeṣān*) *tisraḥ paramajāḥ* (MS. *prathamajāḥ*). Reference is to soma-cups (*graha*), and we do not understand the fem.; yet note *tisraḥ* even in TS. (The TS. comm. supplies *prakṛtayaḥ*.) Keith ignores the point. Perhaps a fem. synonym of *graha*, such as *āsutī*, is understood.
- jīvaṁ* (ApMB. *jīvām*) *rudanti vi mayante* (AV. *nayanty*) *adhvare* (AV. °*ram*) RV. AV. ApMB. In an obscure stanza used in the wedding rite; see Bloomfield *AJP.* 21. 411 ff., Oldenberg *Noten* on 10. 40. 10. The fem. of ApMB. surely means the bride; it is still problematic who is meant by *jīvaṁ*.
- enām* (ŚG. *enam*) *kumāras taruṇaḥ* AV. ŚG., and:  
*enām parisrutāḥ kumbhaḥ* AV.: *enam parisrutāḥ kumbhyā* ŚG. The fems. refer either to the house (*sālā*) or to the chief post (*sthūṇā*); the masc. apparently to the latter under its name *sthūṇārāja*.
- utemāḥ paśya* MS. MŚ.: *utemāḥ paśya* TS. See §740.
- asyai* (TS. *asmai*) *sah datta vīryam* (TS. *bheṣajam*) RV. VS. TS. *asyai* refers to an herb, into which all herbs are to put their healing power, of course for the benefit of the yajamāna, to whom TS. refers directly with *asmai*.
- śivebhīr* (AV. VSK. TS. °*śivābhīr*) *adya pari pāhi no gayam* (°*rdhe*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. TS. (both) MS. KS. TB. The masc. agrees with *pāyubhiḥ* in the preceding in some texts; in others some such masc. (or neut.?) word has to be supplied, or else it is an indefinite, quasi-adverbial neuter. With the fem. the AV. comm. supplies *ūtibhiḥ*; it might however be considered adverbial.
- anu manyatām anumanyamānaḥ* (TS. °*mānā*) AV. TS. And:  
*tasya* (TS. *tasyai*) *vayaṁ heḍasi māpi bhūma* AV. TS. These two pādas occur in a hymn addressed to Anumati, to whom the fems. refer; the masc. forms of AV. are well attested but we can explain them no better than Whitney (see his note).
- vīśvā* (MS. *vy*) *amīdāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣṭibhiḥ* (KS. °*ṣebhyaḥ*, MS. °*ṣāṇām*) AV. MS. KS. See §573.
- sam eta śrīve vacasā* (SV. *vīśvā ojasā*) *patim divaḥ* AV. SV. By *vīśve*



AV. undoubtedly means 'all men'. Benfey suggests either that *riśvā(h)* is a nominal instead of a pronominal form, in that case masc., or else that *stutayāḥ* is to be supplied with it. Ppp. is reported by Roth as reading *riśed*.

[*anābho mṛḍa dhūrta* (MS. *dhūrte*, v. l. °*ta*) MS. MŚ.: (*andrbhava mṛḍa*) *dhūrta* (KS. °*te*) *namas te astu* ('*stu*) KS. ApS. Knauer on MŚ. would read *dhūrta* also in MS. Rudra is addressed and no voc. fem. seems possible; if a voc. form is concerned it can only be *dhūrta*. But *dhūrte* occurs in KS., KapS. (4.6:45.1, see Oertel 101), and in two mss. and p.p. of MS. The persistence of the form suggests that *dhūrta* is a lect. fac. Perhaps we have an obscure corruption of some form containing the pronoun *te*, or some sort of noun form, dat. sg. or loc. sg.]

[*mānasya patnī śaraṇā syonā* AV.: *mā naḥ śapatnaḥ śaraṇaḥ syonā* HG. Followed by:

[*devī devebhīr nimitāsy agre* AV.: *devo devebhīr vimitāsy agre* HG. The fems. *vimitā* and *syonā* are sufficient to prove the corruption of HG.; Oldenberg adopts the AV. readings.]

§836. A special case under this heading is formed by an interesting group in which occur pronouns or adjectives referring (in the fem.) to a collective noun such as *senā* 'army', or (in the masc.) to the individuals which compose the collectivity. Cf. §715:

*indra āsām* (AV. MS. KS. *esām*) *netā bṛhaspatiḥ* RV. AV. SV. VS. TS.

MS. KS. The fem. pronoun refers to *senāḥ* 'armies', in the context; the masc. to the men who compose them.

*yuvāṇ tām* (SV. *ubhau tām*) *indra vṛtrahan* AV. SV. As in prec.; here *senā* sing.

*āmūr aja pratyāśartayemāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA.: *prāmūḥ jayābhīme jayantu* AV. The original *āmūr* probably refers to armies (Geldner). Whitney takes the AV. form as *amūn*, referring to the individual enemies; but p.p. *amūm* (comm. *śatrusenām*).

*nama āryādāhinībhyo vīdhyantībhyāś* (KS. *vīdhyadbhyāś*) *ca vo namaḥ* VS. TS. MS. KS. In this litany to Rudra and his associates, the plural doubtless refers to Rudra's hosts, understanding *senā* plu.; the masc. of KS. to the individual members.

§837. Masculine and neuter:

*māleṣa putraṇ bibhṛtāpiv enat* (MS. *bibhṛtā sv enat*, TS. KS. *bibhṛtā sv enam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The neut. refers to the ashes put into water (mentioned in the context); the masc. apparently to Agni, the fire here carried in a pan.

*vardhamāno* (TS. °*nam*) *mahān* (TS. MS. *maha*) ā *ca puškare* (TS. °*ram*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The half-verse accompanying this one in VS. 11. 29 is addressed to a lotus leaf (*puškara* or *puṣkaraparna*, both neut.) on which is laid a hump of clay representing Agni. Our pāda is followed by *divo mātrayā varinā* (*varimnā*) *prathama*. Mahidhara on VS. thinks that *vardhamāno* still refers to the lotus leaf, with 'Vedic' change of gender. With Griffith we must rather understand Agni, in the form of the hump of clay, as addressed. In VS. 13. 2 the verse is used in laying a lotus leaf on the site of the āhavanīya fire-altar, and Agni is doubtless again addressed in the 2d half verse. TS. uses neuters, referring to the lotus leaf as in the other half verse.

*ya enad veda sa id enad* (AV. *enam*) *arhati* RVKh. AV. The neut. refers to *hiranyam*; the masc. apparently to an unexpressed *maṇi* or some masc. name of a jewel (Bloomfield, *SBE.* 42. 669).

*astyā ultarān* (MS. MŚ. °*rañ*, TS. ApŚ. °*rāny*) *aśīya* TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. MŚ. Used in the shaving ceremony; the neut. we take to refer to *śmaśrūṇi*, with Caland and Henry (otherwise comm. and Keith). The masc. pl. (intended also in MS. MŚ.) may refer to *keśān*; it is hardly necessary to emend as Schroeder suggests.

*devaśrud imān* (sc. *keśān*) *pravape* MS. MŚ.: *devaśrūr dāni* (sc. *śmaśrūṇi*) *pravape* TS. HG. As prec.

[*viśo* (SV. *diśo*) *viśvā anu prabhuḥ* (TB. *prabhu*) RV. SV. MS. TB. Followed by *s-*; doubtless phonetic corruption in TB., cf. VV 2 §381.]

[*saṁśīlām kṣatram jiṣṇu* (Ppp. MS. KS. TA. *kṣatram me jiṣṇu*, AV. *kṣatram ajaram astu jiṣṇuḥ*) AV. Ppp. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. *jiṣṇuḥ* can only be a blunder; VV 2 §381.]

§838. Feminine and neuter:

*gāthayaiti pariṣkṛtam* (AV. °*tā*) RV. AV. See Oldenberg, *Notiz* on 10. 85. 6. Apparently the neut. refers to Sūryā's garment (*vāśah*). AV. makes the fem. refer to Sūryā.

*haviṣ* (*haviḥ*) *kṛvantah parivatsariṇam* (MG. °*rīyam*, HG.† SMB.† °*rīṇām*) AV. SMB. ApMB. HG. MG. Both Kirste and Jørgensen confess inability to interpret the fem., and we can do no better. But its occurrence in two texts, of different schools, is very strange.

[*ya ābabhūva* (PB. āva°) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB. *viśvāḥ*!) VS. PB. JB. ŚŚ. Vait. *viśvāḥ* is perhaps a misprint, certainly an error (VV 2 §381); the comm. has *viśvāni*.]

§839. Masculine, feminine, and neuter:

*ūrṇamradasaṁ* (ūrṇā°) *teḥ strṇāmī* (KS. *ūrṇamradah prathasva*, Kauś.



*ūrnamvadam prathāva*) *svāsthām* (VS.† ŚB.† °*athām*) *devabhyaḥ* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. Kauś. ApŚ. Masc. in TS. TB. ApŚ. (applying to *prastara*); fem. in VS. ŚB. (to *vedi*); neut. in KS. Kauś. (to *barhis*?).

### 11. Transfer of epithet

§840. The preceding group of variants leads over naturally to those in which the change in gender is explained by the application of an epithet to different nouns in the context. These are of the same type as those classed under 'transfer of epithet' between various case forms, many of which, it will be remembered, show change in gender as well as case; these will not be repeated here. Transfer of epithet appears in the following variants between masculine and feminine forms:

*īdāno* (KS. °*nā*) *vahnir* (KS. °*nim*) *namasā* AV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS.  
See §399.

*añgāny ahrutā yasya* (TS. and vikāra of ŚB. *yasyai*) VS. TS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *taṁ mātṛā* (KS. *taṁ devā*, TS. and vikāra of ŚB. *tām devāḥ*) *saṁ ajiḡamam* (KS. *acik[pan]*). The masc. (original) makes the pronouns refer to the embryo (*garbha*) of the cow; the vikāra of ŚB. contemplates the possibility that the embryo will be female (and belongs with §782). TS., on the other hand, contains a genuine and obvious 'transfer of epithet', making the pronouns refer to the cow herself (who, to be sure, is referred to in the stanza only by second person pronouns).

*taḍ agnir anumanyatām ayam* (PG. *iyam svāhā*) PG. HG. The simpler, and presumably original, reading is *ayam*, referring to Agni; *iyam* is difficult; Stenzler omits the word in translating and regards it as an intrusion; Oldenberg renders by 'N. N.', apparently as standing for the name of the bride (the verse is spoken by the bridegroom); the comm. on PG. makes *iyam* agree with *svāhā* as n. pr., 'and this Svāhā (Agni's consort).'

*dvāro devir anu aya viśve* (MS. KS. *viśvāḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. The masc. *viśve* is a coordinate subject, along with *dvāro*; in MS. KS. it becomes an epithet of the latter.

*tām tvam svadhām taiḥ sahopa jīva* ApMB.: *taṁ svadhām akṣitam taiḥ sahopajīvasau* HG. Most likely HG. is original: 'upon that (wave, *ūrmī*, which is) sweet drink (and is) inexhaustible live thou with these.' ApMB. makes the pronoun agree with *svadhām*.

*kasmai* (KS. *tasmai*) *deva vaṣaḥ astu tubhyam* VS. VSK. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tasmai ca devī vaṣaḥ* . . . TS. The voc. masc. refers to Prajāpati (or

'Kā'); the fem. of TS. to Pṛthivī (denoted by *uttānāyāi* in the preceding).

*garbham sravantam agadam akaḥ* (AŚ. *akarma*) TS. AŚ. ApŚ.: *garbham sravantīm agadam akarma* ApŚ.: *ukhām sravantīm agadam akarma* (KŚ. *aganma*) KŚ. MŚ. The masc. forms go with *garbha*, the fems. with *ukhā* (which is clearly understood even when not expressed).  
*apāsya ye īsindh pāsah* KS. ApŚ.: *apāsyaḥ satvanah pāsān* Kauś. The fem. refers to Nirṛti, preceding; the masc. apparently to the yajamāna.

*indreṇa dattam prayatam* (TS. *dattam prayatām*) *marudbhīḥ* TS. MŚ. KS. Preceded by *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* (MS. *nābhīm*). The masc. pples. agree with the last word, the fems. with *dhārām*.

*mā hīṣiṣur vahatum uhyamānam* (ApMB.† *āhyamānam*) AV. ApMB. 'Let them not injure the procession as it proceeds': 'let them not injure the procession and her (the bride) that is being carried off.'

§841. In some of the above the 'epithet' is in one form more or less independent; in a couple of others it is quite distinctly so, that is not really an 'epithet' of another word at all (cf. §15):

*pratyāñ ud eṣi mānuṣān* (AV.\* *°ṣiḥ*) RV. AV. (both) ArS. N. Preceded by *pratyāñ devīndm vīṣah*. The RV. *mānuṣān* = 'humans, men'; in AV. sc. *vīṣah*.

*mṛgā na bhīmās tarīṣibhīr arcinaḥ* (TB. *tarīṣebhīr ūrmibhīḥ*) RV. TB. The orig. *tarīṣibhīḥ* is apparently a noun, 'with might'; TB. feels that a form of the adjective *tarīṣa* is required, and supplies *ūrmibhīḥ*, perhaps recollecting RV. 6. 61. 2.

§842. Transfer of epithet, masculine and neuter:

*anāptā yā* (AV. *ye*) *vah prathamā* (AV. p.p. *°māḥ*) AV. KS. ApŚ. See §552, end.

*eṣa vasūni pibana* (SV. *°nah*) RV. SV. The adj. is transferred from *vasūni* to *eṣa* (= Soma).

*śambhu mayobhu* (TB. TA. *śambhūr mayobhūr*) *nō hṛde* RV. SV. TB. TA. Kauś. N. Preceded by *vāta āvatu bheṣajam*; the adjectives go with *bheṣajam*, or with *vātaḥ*.

*amīn have puruhūtaḥ purukṣuḥ* (AV. TS. *°kṣu*) RV. AV. Ppp. TS. KS. Preceded by *urvyacā nō mahīṣah śarma yaṇsat* (*yachatu*). Transfer from *mahīṣah* to *śarma*.

*kakubham* (*kakuhām*) *rūpam vṛṣabhasya* (*rūpam ṛṣ°*) *rocate brhat* (VSK. *brhan*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In VSK. *brhan* goes with *somah* following.



*codad rādha upastulāt* (ArS. °*tan*) *cid arvāk* RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB.

The adjective is transferred from the subject (Indra) to *rādhas*.

*tad ayaṁ* (MG. *idam*) *rājā varuṇo* 'numanyatām AG. SMB. PG. ApMB.

HG. MG. In MG. *idam* (with *tad*) replaces *ayaṁ* (with *rājā varuṇo*).

*vīḍuharāś tāpa ugro* (AV. *ugram*) *mayobhāḥ* RV. AV.

*matuṣī suśiprā* (SV. °*prin*) *harivas tad* (SV. *tam*) *īmahe* RV. SV. 'We wish that': 'we pray to [thee] here.'

*yenā samatsu sāsahāḥ* (SV. °*hiḥ*, MŚ. °*hi*) RV. SV. VS. ApŚ. MŚ. The original *sāsahāḥ* is a verb form; in SV. it becomes an adjective epithet of the subject; 'whereby (thou shalt be) conquering in battles'. In MŚ. this adjective is made to go with the preceding *manas*.

*brahmādhiguptaḥ* (PG. *brahmābhī*°, MG. *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG. *surakṣitaḥ syām*, MG. *svārākṣāṇaḥ*, most mss. *svārarakṣāṇaḥ*) *svihā* (MG. omits) AG. PG. MG. In MG. the first word is attracted into agreement with the preceding neuters (*bhūtām bhaviṣyad uta bhadrām astu me*); in the others it goes with the 1st person subject.

*dhṛṣṇāṇaṁ* (AV. °*no*, but Whitney translates °*nam*; AA. *dādhṛṣṇāṇaṁ*) *dhṛṣṭam* (AV. °*taḥ*, but Whitney translates °*am*) *śaraḥ* AV. AA. ŚŚ.† The masc. forms, if accepted, would apply to Indra, the subject of the preceding *pāda*, instead of to *śaraḥ*. The passage is very troublesome.

§843. In the next (cf. §15), the 'epithet' is in one variant made an independent word; *amṛto* modifies *panthā(h)*, but MS. uses *amṛtam* as an independent noun, 'nectar':

*prāṇasya panthā amṛto* (MS. °*am*) *grahābhyām* VS. MS. KS. TB.

§844. Transfer of epithet, feminine and neuter:

*upasthāsānām mītravad astu ojaḥ* TS. MS. AŚ.: *upasthāsā mītravalīdam ojaḥ* KS. In KS. *mītra*° agrees with *āsā*, in the others with *ojaḥ*.

*tebhīr mā* (ApŚ. *tābhīr no*, ApMB. *tābhīḥ tvā*) *devaḥ savitā punātu* MS. ApŚ. ApMB. Preceded by *śatam pavitrā vitatā hy* (MS. *vitātāny*) *āsu* (sc. *apsu*). The pronoun refers to *pavitrā* in MS., in the others to *āsu* (*apsu*).

§845. The next may perhaps be classified as showing an original 'epithet' made into an independent word (§15); but the reconstruction of the secondary ApMB. is very sweeping. It means 'shine thou for my foot-water (*padya*, neut.).' In the original, *padya* is used as an epithet of the noun *Virāj*:

*mayi dohaḥ padyāyai virājaḥ* (MG. adds *kalpatām*) AG. HG. MG.: *mayi padyāyai virājo dohaḥ* ŚG. ŚŚ. PG.: *mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB.

## 12. Phrase inflection

§846. In many cases variation in gender accompanies and signals the adaptation of old material to a new context. Sometimes several *pādas*, or even an entire verse, is thus readapted. For example, the Rigveda itself contains a verse which is used twice, once in a woman's charm against feminine rivals, and once in a man's charm for dominion and victory. The two verses are practically identical thruout, but the subject is feminine in one case, masculine in the other. Hence the variants:

*asapatnā* (RV. also °*naḥ*) *klābhavam* (ApMB. °*bhavam*) RV. ApMB.; followed immediately in both RV. and ApMB. by:

*asapatnaḥ sapatnaḥā* RV. AV.: *asapatnā sapatnaghñi* RV. ApMB.

§847. Such a variation may properly be called a *vikāra* in the technical sense. Many of the variants here included are nothing but technical *vikāras* or *ūhas*; often they appear in the same passage, modulated according to different nouns, as in the following, where the AV. in a single hymn applies the epithets once to *mīḍāvaruṇau*, masc., and once to (*dyauh* and) *pṛthivī*, fem.:

*jāramṛtyam kṛnātāḥ samvidānau* (and °*ne*) AV. (both).

§848. We find the following variants of this sort; first some in which all three genders appear:

*vānaspatyo 'si* PB. ApŚ. MŚ. AG.: *vānaspatyam asi* KS.: *vānaspatyāsi* MS. ApŚ. MŚ.

*jāgataḥ asi* MS. TA. ApŚ.: *jāgatāsi* MS.: *jāgato 'si* MS. MŚ. Also *gāyatraḥ asi*, *gāyatro 'si*, *gāyatro asi*; *traistubho 'si*, °*bham asi*, *salakṣmā* (MS. KS. °*ma*) *yad viṣurūpā* (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. °*pani*) *bhavāti* (MS. KS. *babhūva*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *viṣurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS. See §727.

§849. Between masculine and feminine, besides those just quoted, occur:

*trpto 'ham* MS. KS. MŚ.: *trptāham* (v. l. *trpto 'ham*) MŚ. In the last the words are spoken by the *patnī*; it is a simple *ūha* of the other, recollection of which is responsible for the v. l. with masc.

*tās te* (TS. MŚ. *te naḥ*) *kṛṇvāntu bheṣajam* RV. AV. TS. MŚ. PG. Different contexts; perhaps not true variants.

*agninḥ kulāyam abhisamvasānti* (ApŚ. °*vasānti*) MS. ApŚ.: *agninḥ grhapatim abhisamvasānti* TB. ApŚ. The entire verse is repeated, with subjects respectively *prajāḥ* and *paśavaḥ*



*aiḥo me bhagavo janīṣṭhā maitrāvaruṇā* MS.: *aiḥi me bhagavatṛ ajānīṣṭhā maitrāvaruṇī* MS. Ūhas; followed by the respective directions: *iti pumāṇsam jātam abhimantrayeta*, and *iti strīyaṁ jātam abhi*°. In the same passages the next four:

*citrā citram* (and *citrām*) *asūt* MS.,

*citrāḥ citrā* (and °*rān*) *asuvan* MŚ.,

*puṇyā puṇyam* (MS.\* *puṇyām*) *asūt* MS. MŚ.,

*puṇyāḥ puṇyā* (and °*yān*) *asuvan* MŚ.

*jyotir viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛṇcāli* (and *kṛṇvan*) RV. (both). To Uṣas and Savitar respectively.

*tam* (KS.\* *tām*) *agne hviṣaḥ pāri te vṛṇaktu* VS. TS. MS. KS. (both) ŚB. To Agni and *māyā*; in adjoining stanzas in KS.; the others also have both stanzas but with a different pāda instead of *tām*... KS. has allowed one stanza to influence the other.

*tasya te bhaktivāṇsaḥ syāma* (MS. KS. *bhaktivāno bhūyāśma*) AV. MS. KS.: *tasya te sayam bhūyīṣṭhabhūjo bhūyāśma* ApŚ.: *tasyās te bhakṣivēdṇaḥ syāma* (MS. KS. ApŚ.†\* *bhaktivēdno bhūyāśma*, AŚ. *bhāgam aśimahi*) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ. (bis) AŚ. Different contexts.

*tāns te paridadāmy aham* ApŚ.: *tān te paridadāmy aham* (TA. °*dadāmi*) TA. ApŚ.

*trir ā divo vidathe putyamānaḥ* (and °*mānāḥ*) RV. (both).

*traṣṭṛmantas* (MS. MŚ. *traṣṭṛi*°, ApŚ. *traṣṭṛu*°) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *traṣṭṛimati* (TS. ApŚ. *traṣṭṛi*°, so also TA. Poona ed. with v. l. *traṣṭṛi*°) *te sapema* TS. TA. ApŚ. The fem. subject is the patnī; see §725.

*pari tmanā viśurūpo jigāsi* (and °*rūpā jigāti*) RV. (both).

*viśvair deśair anumata* (KS. TA. °*tam*) *marudbhūḥ* AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Different context in TA.; on KS. see §817.

*indrāya somam euṣutam bharantaḥ* (and °*fiḥ*) RV. (both)

*aśmeva tvaṁ sthīrā* (Ppp. MG. ApMB.\* HG.† \*[l. 4. lb] *sthīro*) *bhava* Ppp. (for AV. *aśmā bhavatu te tanūḥ*) AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. The fem. to the bride, the masc. in different context to a boy.

*pari dhatta dhatta no varcasemam* AV.: *pari dhatta dhatta vāsasainām* (HG. ApMB. °*nam*) SMB. HG. ApMB. As prec.

*batāyusaṁ* (SMB. °*ṣṭm*) *kṛṇuta dīrgham āyuh* SMB. ApMB. HG. As prec. *āyusmalīdam pari dhatva vāsaḥ* AV. SMB. PG. MG.: *āyusmann idam* ... MG.: *āyusmān idam* ... ApMB. HG. As prec.

*upahūto 'yaṁ yajamānaḥ* (...) TS. MS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ.: *upahūteyaṁ yajamānā* TB. The whole of the second passage in TB. is a vikāra of the other. It contains the next six.

*divye dhāman* ('many) *upahūtaḥ* (TB.\* °hūta) TS. MS. TB.\*

*uttarasyām devayajyāyām upahūtaḥ* (TB.\* °tā) TS. ŚB. TB.

*tasmīn upahūtaḥ* (TB.\* °tā) MS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

*upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkarāṇe* (haviḥk°) MS. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *bhūyasi haviṣkarāṇa*

*upahūtaḥ* (TB.\* °tā) TS.† 2. 6. 7. 5, TB. (bis) ŚB.

*viśvasya priyasyopahūtasypahūtaḥ* (and °tā) TB. (both)

*viśvam asya* (TB.\* °asyāḥ) *priyam upahūtam* TS. TB. (both)

*vr̥ṣāsi vr̥ṣṇyāvan* (Kauś. °vatī) AV.† Kauś.† Different contexts, tho both in rites for virile power; AV. addresses the man concerned, Kauś. the magic herb.

*irām vahanto* (ApMB. *vahato*, MG. *vahantī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇāḥ* AŚ. ApŚ. AG. ŚG. ApMB. MG.: *irām vahantaḥ zumanasyamānāḥ* HG. See §739.

*īśānam vāryāṇām* RV. AV. SV. TS. MS. KS. JB.: *īśāna* (sc. *āpaḥ*) *vāryāṇām* RV. AV. MS. TB. TA.

*mayi puṣṭim* (AV. *puṣṭam*) †*puṣṭipatīr* (AV. *puṣṭa*°) *dadhātu* (AG. †*dadātu*) AV. MS. KS. TAA. MahānU. ApŚ. AG. SMB.: *mayi puṣṭim puṣṭipatnā dadhātu* KS. The latter in a different context.

*yaṭamānā* (and °no) *raśmibhiḥ sūryasya* RV. (both)

*rākāyā aham devayajyayā prajāvān* (and °vatī) *bhūyāsam* ApŚ. (both).

Spoken by the yajamāna and his wife respectively, in adjoining passages. In the same the following:

*śinūdyā aham devayajyayā pakumān* ('matī) *bhūyāsam*, and *kuhā aham devayajyayā puṣṭimān paṭumān* (puṣṭimati paṭumati) *bhū*°, *rodena kṛṇatīr* ('vaty, °vanto) *aḥam* AV. (ter).

*viśūcīm* (and *viśvañcam*) *vi vr̥hāmasi* AV. (both)

*śivāḥ śagmo bhavāsi naḥ* TB. ApŚ.: *śivā cā me śagmā caidhi* TB. ApŚ.

*śamvatsarasya śaṣṭhaḥ* (TS.\* KS.\* °ṣaṣṭhi) TS. KSA. Both in a series of formulas; with the masculines different parts (*avayava*, m.) of the shoulder are offered; with the fems. various ribs (*vañkri*).

*vasūni cārur* (SMB. *cārye*, ApMB. *cāryo*, v. l. *cāyyo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi* (*bhṛjāsi*, *bhajā sa*) *jīvan* AV. SMB. HG. ApMB. See §334.

*sa cakārārasam* (and *sā cakarthārasam*) *viṣam* AV. (both)

*sa jīva śaradaḥ śatam* ŚB. BṛhU. KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG. N. Mbh.: *sā jīva śaradaḥ śatam* ApMB. An ūha.

*saṃjagmāno abibhyuṣā* RV. AV. SV. N.: *saṃjagmānā abibhyuṣiḥ* (MS. *avihrutāḥ*) AV. MS.

*sa* (and *sā*) *nō viśvā atī dviṣaḥ* RV. (both)

*sā* (HG. *sa*) *mām ā viśatād iha* (MG. *viśatām ihaiva*) ApMB. HG. MG., and RVKh. Scheftelowitz 10. 151. 3d.



*sa* (and *sā*) *no dohatām suvīryam* (MŚ. *suvīram*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ. (both in all texts). Ūhas, in same passages.

*sumṛṇīkām abhiṣṭaye* RV. TS. MS.: *sumṛṇīkām abhi*° RV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

*yasmād bhūta* (bhūto) *niṣidasi* MŚ. (both)

*yanta rāṭ* TS. KSA. TB.: *yantri rāṭ* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

And, in same passages:

*yanṭsi yamanah* VS. TS. KS. KSA. ŚB. TB.: *yantry asi yamani* (TS. *yamitri*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

*sa* (AV. *sā*) *naḥ śarma trivarūtham vi yansat* (AV. *nī yachāt*) RV. AV. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

*ūrdhvām enām* (VS.\* ŚB.\* LŚ.\* *ūrdhvām enām*) *uc chrayatāt* (chrāpaya) VS.\* TS. MS. KSA. ŚB.\* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.\* ApŚ. In same passages the next:

*athāsya* (TS. MS. TB. °*syā*, KSA. *adhāsya*, VS.\* LŚ.\* *athāsya*) *madhyam edhatām* (edhatu, ejatu, ejati) VS.\* TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ.\*

*ut tiṣṭha* (VS. ŚB. KŚ. *utthāya*) *brhatī* (TA. *brhan*) *bhava* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. MŚ. Followed by:

*ūrdhvā* (TA. °*vas*, VS. ŚB. *ud u*) *tiṣṭha dhruvā* (TA. °*vas*) *tvam* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA.

*yamena tvam yamyā saṁvidānā* (TA.\* °*naḥ*) VS. TS.† MS. KS.† ŚB. TA. (bis). The fem. of all but TA. applies to Nirṛti. In the two TA. passages, which are different from the other contexts, a dead man is addressed; the form should according to the sense be masc. both times. Yet once TA. reads... *saṁvidānottamam* (combining with *uttamam*, first word of the next pāda); for which the comm. says *saṁvidānā saṁvidāna aikamatyam prāptaḥ*. Here we must either understand *saṁvidānaḥ* with 'double sandhi', or a mechanical reminiscence of the (more original) feminine form found in the other texts.

*amṛtā martyebhyaḥ* RV.: *amṛtām martyābhyaḥ* TB. ApŚ.

*soruh satī na nivartate* TA.: *uruh san na nivartate* TA. Ūhas, in adjoining passages.

*aniṣitāni sapatnakṣit* VS.: *aniṣitāḥ* (KS. ApŚ. add *stha*) *sapatnakṣayanīḥ* MS. KS. ApŚ.: *aniṣito 'si sapatnakṣit* VS. ŚB.

*bhavati bhikṣam dehi* Kauś.: *bhavan bhikṣm dadātu* AG.

*aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevah* MS.: *yusmākaṁ sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV. The next is in the same passage:

*ittham kṛeyo manyamānedam āgamam* AV.: *idaṁ kṛeyo manyamāno vā āgām* MS.

- ugraś ca bhīmaś ca* VS. MS. MŚ.: *ugrā ca bhīmā ca* TA.  
*apadyamānaḥ prthivyaṁ* TA. ApŚ.: *apadyamānā ṣprthivi* TS. ApŚ.:  
*avyathamānā prthivyaṁ* (MS. v. 1. °rī) VS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
*adharūcīḥ* (AV. *adharūñcam*) *pard suva* AV. VS. MS. KS.  
*ākāśānā* (TS.\* ApŚ.\* MŚ.\* °naḥ) *saumanasam* (TS.\* ApŚ.\* *suśīryam*)  
 AV. TS.\* KS. TB. Vait. ApŚ.\* MŚ.\* ApMB.  
*edhamānaḥ* (Kauś. °nāḥ, ApMB. °na) *svagṛhe* (Kauś. *see gṛhe*, ApMB.  
*see vaśe*) ŚB. BṛhU. Kauś. ApMB.: *edhamānā sve gṛhe* (HG. *raśe*)  
 ApMB. HG. On the m. (sg. or pl.) see §725. The fem. is used in  
 a different context.  
*nīveśanī saṅgamaniḥ vasūnām* TS.: *nīveśanaḥ saṅgamano vasūnām* AV.  
 VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *rāyo budhnaḥ saṅgamano vasū-*  
*nām* RV.  
*aditir achinnapatrā priyā* (and *achinnapatraḥ priyo*) *devānām*...KS.  
 (both). Ūhas, in same passage.  
*etā u tyāḥ praty adṛśran purastāt* RV.: *etā u tye praty adṛśran* RV.  
*sā* (AB. *sa*) *tram aśy amo 'ham* (and the like) KS. AB. JUB. ŚB. BṛhU.  
 AG. ŚG. PG. ApMB. MG. The fem. (original) refers to the bride;  
 the masc. to the purohita, whose relation to his king is paralleled  
 to that of wife to husband. In the same passages:  
*amo 'ham aśmī sā* (AB. *sa*) *tram* AV. KS. AB. etc.: *amūham aśmī sā*  
*tram* TB. ApŚ. ApMB. HG.  
*svāsanthaḥ* (TS. °sthā) *tanuvā samvīkṣva* TS. TB. ApŚ.  
*asmin goṣṭhe kariṣiṇīḥ* (Kauś. °ṇaḥ, MS. *purīṣiṇīḥ*) AV. MS. Kauś.  
 Originally referring to cows; used in Kauś. in a new context, refer-  
 ring to *grhāḥ*.

§850. Phrase inflection, masculine and neuter:

- tasmin ma etat suhutam astu prāṣitram* GB. Vait.: *tasmin ma eṣa suhuto*  
*'ste odanaḥ* Kauś. As in §846, an entire verse is here adapted to  
 different contexts. Followed by:  
*tan* (Kauś. *sa*) *mā mā hīnsīḥ parame vyoman* GB, Vait. Kauś.  
*anādhṛṣṭāsa* (ŚŚ. °tāny) *ojasā* RV. ŚŚ.  
*bārhaspatyam aśi* MŚ.: *bārhaspatyo 'si* PB.  
*vāji tvā*...ApŚ. MŚ.: *vājinam tvā*...VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.  
*ado yad aradhāvati* AV.: *ado* (adverb) *gīribhyo adhi yat* (conjunction)  
*pradhāvaṇi* TB.: *asau yo 'vasarpati* VS. TS. MS. KS.: *amī ye ke*  
*sarasyakā aradhāvati* HG. ApMB. Diff. contexts; hardly variants.  
*amṛtam aśi* VS. TS. MS. etc.: *amṛto 'si* SMB. Hardly variants.  
*ghṛtād ullūptam madhumat suvarṇam* (AV. *madhunā samaktam*) RVKh.  
 AV.: *ghṛtād ullūpto madhumān payasvān* AV. In this and the



next two (same stanza) we have adaptation of almost an entire verse; the masc. words refer to an amulet of *darbha*-grass, the neuters to a 'triple' amulet called *trīṣṭi*, neut.

*bhūmidrāho 'cyutāś cyāvayisṇuḥ* AV.: *bhūmidrāham acyutām pārayisṇu* AV.: *dhanamjapam dharuṇam dhārayisṇu* RVKh. See prec. and next.

*bhīndat* (AV.\* *nulan*, RVKh. *ṛnak*, 10. 128. 10) *sapatnān adharāśā ca kṛṇat* (AV.\* *kṛṇan*), same (see prec.).

*akṣitam asi mā pitṛnān*... ApMB. HG. BDh.: *akṣito 'sy akṣityai tvā mā*... TS. GB. Vait. MŚ. Cf. *akṣitir asi mā*... VSK. AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ. *taj* (RV. *tā*, see §727) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.: *tam juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV.

*tad asmān pātu viśvataḥ* AV.: *so asmān pātu sarvataḥ* AV.: *so asmān sarvataḥ pātu* AV.

*tat te badhnāmy āyuze varcase baldya* AV.: *tam te badhnāmi jarase svastaye* AV.: *tam te badhnāmy āyuze* (and *āyuze varcase*) AV.

*tena* (and *tais*) *tvam garbhīṇī bhava* HG. (both). *tena* is masc. (*garbha*); *tais* neut. (*śṛyāni*).

*viśvānān* (VSK. °nā) *vyasyatām* (VSK. °tāt) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Diff. context in VSK.

*satyaḥ* (RV. °yāś) *citraśravastamam* (RV. °mah) RV. TS. KS.

§851. Phrase inflection, feminine and neuter:

*sam asya* (Kauś. *asyai*) *tanvā* (*tanuvā*) *bhava* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. Kauś.

*na vi jānāmi* (AB. *jānanti*) *yutarat* (AV. °rā) *parastāt* AV. AB. JB.

*viṣṭhitāḥ* (AV. °tā) *prthivīm anu* RV. AV. VS. AB. TB. SMB.

*tayā* (and *tena*) *sapatnān pari vr̥ndhi ye mama* AV. (both). Modulations, in the same hymn.

*prthivyaḥ adhy udbhṛtam* (and °tā) AV. (both).

*subhagaṁkaranī mama* AV.: *subhagaṁkaranam mama* SMB.†

§852. The following variants hardly belong here but may be added as an appendix because superficially they look like gender variants. In reality they are variations between (relatively) primary nouns and derivatives thereof. In the first two, *gāyatrī* is the name of the meter, while *gāyatra* is the adjective derived from it, meaning 'of the *gāyatrī* (meter)'. In the third, *gāyatra* is the name of the sāman so called (fundamentally, of course, the neuter of the adjective just mentioned), while *gāyatrī* may either be felt as adjectival ('the wheel, *vartani*, of the *gāyatra*-sāman [of the *gāyatrī*?]'), or as an appositional noun ('the *gāyatrī* [meter] as wheel').

*vatsam gāyatrīm anu tā ihāguḥ* AV.: *gāyatrīm vatsam anu tāḥ ta āguḥ* TB.  
*gāyatrīm chando anu saṁrabhadhrām* MS.: *gāyatrīm chandāṁsy anu*  
*saṁrabhantām* KS, ApŚ. (Add to VV 1 §337.) The latter means  
 'the *gāyatrī*, (and the other) meters.'

*pāvamānasya* (TS, KS, *pāvamānena*) *tvā stomena gāyatrasya* (KS, °*tryā*)  
*caritanyā*. . . TS, MS, KS. See §586.

*pāvamānyaḥ* (ŚG, °*nāḥ*) AG, ŚG. Sc. *trpyantu*. 'The *pāvamāni* hymns'  
 the (ṛsis) of the p. hymns.'



## INDEXES





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*Note.*—The detailed Table of Contents makes it unnecessary to furnish to this volume an extensive index of subjects or of words. We have tried to include in this and the next index all entries which are likely to be really useful to users of the book, but no others. It is our belief that all subjects and words treated in the book which are not here listed can easily be located, either from the Table of Contents, or from the index of mantras, which is complete. References in all the indexes are to sections.

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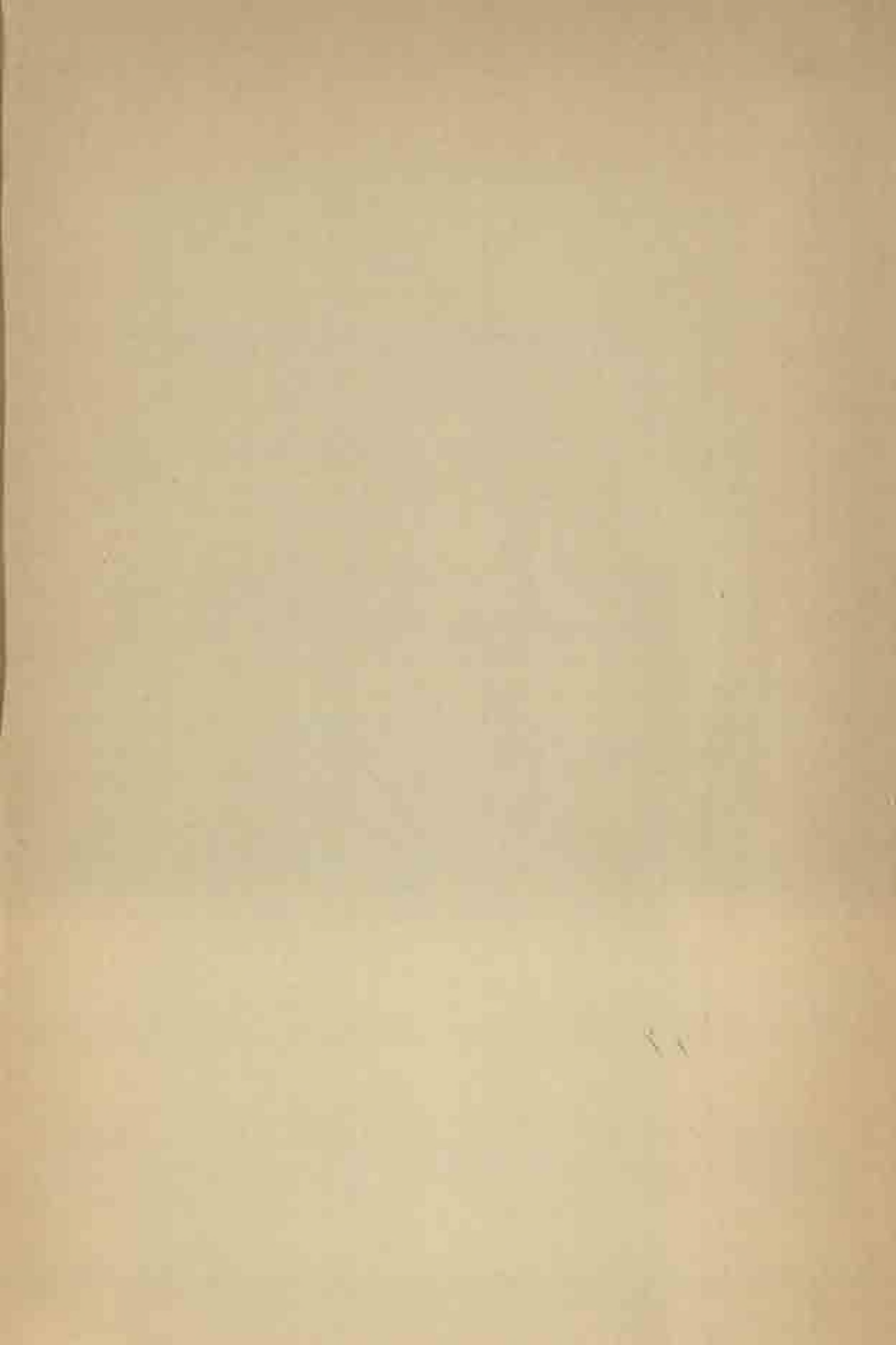
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